Nebojša Čamprag
Lauren Uğur
Anshika Suri *Editors*

Rethinking Urban Transformations

A New Paradigm for Inclusive Cities

Springer

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Editors
Nebojša Čamprag (ID)
Faculty of Architecture
TU Darmstadt
Darmstadt, Germany

Lauren Uğur
Faculty of International Business
Heilbronn University
Heilbronn, Germany

Anshika Suri
Unite! University Alliance
TU Darmstadt
Darmstadt, Germany

Foreword

Inclusion for a Shattered Urban World

As the majority of the urban world crawls out from under the experience of the COVID-19 pandemic, questions about urban transformations for inclusive cities are front and centre. In the 3 years since the WHO declared a global health emergency, cities around the globe have been tested in many ways: what were the areas and populations hardest hit by the virus's path? How ready and resilient did urban public health and medical institutions show themselves to be? How inclusive were testing and vaccination strategies? Did the emergency relief programs reach those that needed help most? The answers to these questions are still inconclusive and contested as we may already have to prepare urban communities for the next dramatic event that may threaten them. What we do know for sure is that the more overcrowded, precarious, excluded, racialized, and disempowered urban communities were, the more likely they were going to suffer in the pandemic. Inclusive urbanism proved elusive to many in the social, spatial, and institutional peripheries of our cities under stress.

This book, while not explicitly about the moment in time that the world has gone through with the coronavirus pandemic, has answers both in terms of how we need to *rethink* inclusive urban futures in and beyond systemic and idiosyncratic injustice and inequality and *what to do* about it. Its marvellous multiplicity and truly global perspectives provide a paradigmatic reevaluation of urban life as we settle into the realities of the urban century, a century characterized by a planet of cities. The authors of the highly diverse chapters provide empirically rich accounts of urban agency while being keenly aware of the opportunities and obstructions of the obdurate built and institutional structures that stand in the way of progressive transformation. This book deserves to be read widely by students of urban studies and practitioners of urban change.

Toronto, Canada   Roger Keil

Preface

During the last few decades, the world has increasingly faced the effects of rising urbanization. Extensive and rapidly progressing socio-political, economic, spatial, environmental, and many other challenges that this process has induced emphasize the need for effective and comprehensive adaptations of local urban systems, but also its uncontrolled trajectories that render power-related restructuring and fuel socio-spatial struggle. Along with the rise of such transformative processes and their effects, neoliberal urban development endeavours additionally jeopardized the fragile values of socio-spatial inclusion, equity, and diversity. This altogether highlights the scope of the emergent challenge for planners and policymakers that already inspired urban theories and global policies calling for normative goals of how cities should be planned, developed, and managed in this regard.

This book takes a step further in understanding transformative processes and their effects on cities and societies by investigating the influences of rapid urbanization on the vulnerable aspects of inclusion and diversity. Its conceptual framework is based on diverse but interlinked research strands, which highlights the importance of a transdisciplinary approach and promotes exchange and dialogue between related scientific disciplines. Therefore, the editors of this book are extremely thankful to the international team of urban researchers of various backgrounds that brought valuable insights, case studies, reflections, and contributions, to testify to the emerging urban development paradigm and investigate ways for its better inclusion in urban planning theory and practice. They offer an in-depth understanding of the inseparable link between inclusive and sustainable urban planning and demonstrate inclusion and diversity playing a central role in urban solutions for global sustainable development. As a joint product, the book aims to offer guidance, support, and inspiration to young researchers, urban scholars, planners, and policymakers, but also to open up new ways of understanding and dealing with the imminence of urban transformation.

Although highly diverse and comprehensive, the joint contribution of this book represents only the tip of the iceberg of all the relevant topics and cases waiting to be examined. From the perspectives of urban research, further scholarly tasks should be to identify and systematically describe emerging planning and development endeavours from an international perspective aiming to promote an inclusive society in a rapidly changing world. Furthermore, equally important is to investigate the more efficient ways of promoting and sustaining diversity in/of cities, and point

out the possibilities for integration and exchange between scholarly discourses and the reality of growing challenges in contemporary cities. The editors of this book hope to inspire new research ideas and directions in this regard, as well as more creative, sustainable, and inclusive ways of dealing with global transformative processes for a better urban future for all.

Frankfurt, Germany   Nebojša Čamprag

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About the Editors

Nebojša Čamprag is an urban planner and an adjunct professor (Privatdozent) at the Faculty of Architecture, Technische Universität Darmstadt, Germany. He holds a PhD in Architecture and Urbanism, an MSc in International Cooperation in Urban Development, and an MSc in Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism. As an urban researcher, Nebojša deals with the phenomena of ongoing socio-spatial transformations from an international perspective, particularly emphasizing the challenges of urbanization in terms of its environmental, economic, socio-political, and cultural transformations, sustainable and inclusive planning solutions, and the gaps between research, policy, and planning practice.

Lauren Uğur is a professor of International Business and Tourism Management at Heilbronn University of Applied Sciences, Germany. She holds a PhD in Sociology and an MSc in International Cooperation in Urban Development, as well as an MBA from the University of South Australia. Her research focuses on resilience building and inclusive development planning, and she has gained significant experience in the practical application of local development strategies in a variety of contexts as an independent consultant.

Anshika Suri is an architect and urban development planner who works as the Policy and Funding Advisor for the Unite! University Alliance (University Network for Innovation, Technology and Engineering), at Technische Universität Darmstadt, Germany. She holds a PhD in Architecture and Urbanism, an MSc in International Cooperation in Urban Development from Technische Universität Darmstadt, and an MSc in International Cooperation in Sustainable Emergency Architecture. She is also the co-lead researcher for the Urban Morphosis Lab in the Faculty of Architecture at TUDa, where her research focuses on feminist intersectional design perspectives in urban infrastructures and city development.

Introduction: Inclusive Cities as a New Paradigm?

Nebojša Čamprag

1 Towards Inclusive Cities

During the last few decades, urbanisation advanced as a global phenomenon across developed and developing economies. Although this process made cities places of new opportunities and better life quality for many, rapid urbanisation, technological innovation and rising social upheavals were labelled as the drivers of the 'wicked problems' and 'deep uncertainties' that modern society is currently confronted with (Haasnoot et al., 2012; Rauws, 2017; Rittel & Webber, 1973; van Bueren et al., 2003). Consequently, after neoliberal ideology started to lose its former force more recently (Gerstle, 2022), the ongoing post-politicisation of global capitalism and the emergence of the so-called post-neoliberal alternatives started advocating for the approaches towards 'more just, democratic, ecological city-regions (...) to be taken more seriously' (Oosterlynck & González, 2013: 1076).

The new paradigm of inclusive cities became evident in the scholarly literature that demonstrated rising discourses calling for innovation, dynamism and collaboration in adapting local policy solutions to increasing urban challenges (Katz & Bradley, 2013; Tabb, 2015). In addition, the challenge of growing socio-spatial segregation and inequalities in cities emerged as one of the central topics for the global urban development of the new millennium (Boisen et al., 2011; Kokkali, 2013). Some recent transnational policy discourses, outlined under the auspices of the United Nations (UN)—such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the New Urban Agenda—highlighted a shared vision for a better world that mostly relies upon interventions on urban, local and community scales to deal with the global challenges (United Nations, 2015, 2017). Many strategies to reach a

N. Čamprag (✉)
Technische Universität Darmstadt, Fachbereich Architektur, Darmstadt, Germany
e-mail: nebojsa.camprag@tu-darmstadt.de

sustainable urban future, therefore, increasingly rely on supporting local governments and community-driven solutions, with a distinct territorial focus.

This edited volume departs from the growing awareness about incremental transformative processes and escalating socio-spatial and representational inequalities in cities that inspired urban theories calling for normative goals of how cities should be planned, developed and managed in this regard (Davies, 2002; Pieterse, 2008). The urban development paradigm in focus emerged around the idea of a progressive society being smart, resilient and inclusive, evident in the socio-economic and environmental issues gaining prominence in the recent agendas for a sustainable urban future (Fotopoulos, 2010; Panwar & Mishra, 2020). Furthermore, the ambitious general objectives should be first achieved on a local and community level, which emphasises direct and tangible benefits to the quality of lives of the local population as a prerequisite for reaching the objectives of a sustainable global community.

Although such recent shifts of transnational scholarly and policy discourses are an optimistic signal of necessary changes in the post-neoliberal world, the rising enthusiasm inspired by the paradigm of a sustainable and inclusive global urban future is confronted with the implementational challenge. On the one hand, there is a translational task of appropriately meeting unique sets of local circumstances; on the other hand, engagement across different urban scholarly subfields remains highly challenging, in addition to an enduring gap between urban theory and practice. All this indicates that productive exchange and synchronisation between different involved parties and disciplines to support the translational challenge necessarily requires additional efforts (Palermo, 2014). Consequently, effective dealing with the growing socio-spatial and environmental transformations should be understood as a challenging task that urges for better integration of transdisciplinary knowledge and its integration in inclusive policymaking—including the effective ways for its practical implementation.

Resulting from this situation, the editors of this book are particularly driven by the necessity for further inter- and transdisciplinary efforts to contribute to the evolving inclusive planning paradigms and concepts by pointing out new ways of dealing with growing urban challenges in theory and practice. The edited volume titled 'Rethinking Urban Transformations: A New Paradigm for Inclusive Cities', in the frame of the Springer book series 'Diversity and Inclusion Research', brings trans- and interdisciplinary explorations of socio-spatial transformations by emphasising two particularly relevant aspects in this regard. The first aspect implies the promotion of the concept of an inclusive society in urban theory and its challenging integration into planning practice; the second one involves the exploration of the perspectives for long-term sustaining socio-spatial diversity in the contemporary changing city.

The following section reflects on these concepts from the perspective of scholarly discourses in more detail and justifies their utmost relevance for a sustainable urban future.

2   Inclusion and Diversity in the Current Scientific Discourses

Since the early beginnings of participatory planning, inclusive society and socio-spatial diversity as concepts were considered central to sustainable planning and development of cities (Guidikova, 2014; Jayashree et al., 2019). Reflecting on a broad theoretical turn towards the concept of inclusive society through more inclusive planning in the scholarly work from the 1960s and 1970s, a growing wave of critical responses characterised the traditional rationalist approaches to planning as undemocratic and unresponsive to community needs (Lane, 2005). Scholars characterised centralised planning methods as being disconnected from real knowledge of life in a city (Jacobs, 1993) and advocated for more participatory approaches to urban planning that resulted in the creation of a typology of different forms of citizen involvement in municipal programmes (Arnstein, 1969). Therefore, a series of prominent planning theorists suggested in the 1970s alternative models of urban planning (Davidoff, 1965; Friedmann, 1973), which were more participatory in nature and constituted a broad theoretical turn towards a 'participatory planning paradigm'.

At around the same time, the inclusion of neighbourhood residents in the process of land use planning through participation finally became central to planning policy and practice. However, although highly praised until today, the concepts of inclusive society and socio-spatial diversity remained persistently compromised in the course of the rapidly developing urban challenges. The political, economic, social and ecological elements of socio-spatial inclusion and diversity were increasingly jeopardised—not only alongside the advancing urbanisation but also during the neo-liberalisation of urban economies and its associated phenomena of global capital circulation, intercity competition and investor-driven urbanism (Beel et al., 2017; Pesce & Bagaini, 2019; Pineda, 2020). The elements of inclusion and diversity in cities became particularly fragile alongside with increasing large-scale planning and development initiatives, particularly after the post-industrial shift towards the so-called entrepreneurial city of consumption.

During the era of economic repositioning in the production of material goods towards symbolic and cultural ones, symbolic representation of cities as means of collective identification became subjected to extensive manipulation in the frames of new urban economies. As an example, since the concept of the *global city* imposed representation of success in many localities all over the world (Sassen, 2000), it rapidly jeopardised urban recognisability in some contexts through the creation of cities that resembled each other (Ellin, 1999; Koolhaas, 2005). The trend of 'generic cities' fostered rapid homogenisation of society and cultures, compromising not only the *genius loci* but also the identification of residents with their local urban contexts (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Such prioritisation of economic benefits that contributed to the rise of exclusive and polarised urban identities, city images and cultural heritages (Müller, 2013; Silverman, 2011) operated through the misuse of urban marketing and branding. Consequently, these activities became

exclusive tools for meeting the growth objectives of entrepreneurial urban governance.

Considering the array of these and similar urban phenomena driven by the neoliberal economy, it became evident that market-driven socio-spatial transformations were reproducing the existing concentration of economic, political and social power among the privileged social strata (Fotopoulos, 2010). Local communities were often deprived of economic gains, and disadvantaged social groups mostly remained underrepresented (Fuchshuber, 2016). These and similar growth strategies based on superficial urban image- and identity-making to enhance global inter-urban competition faced rising criticism. They were accused for masking social, ethnic, class and gender polarisations by mobilising the aesthetic power of image and illusion and for running the risk of not sufficiently connecting to the everyday constructions of diversity in cities (Low, 2019; Ulldemolins, 2014).

The phenomenon of socio-spatial and economic inclusion being overshadowed by the advancements of the new urban economies was also the consequence of urban tourism becoming the largest service industry in the world (Porter, 2008). Contrary to the many advantages of the tourism industry, the raising issues resulting from this trend implied questionable economic and social benefits of tourism, diversion of valuable resources, the prioritisation of interests by the corporate elite and evident difficulties in sustaining an inclusive society concept for both visitors and residents (Spirou, 2011). Consequently, post-neoliberal urban governance relied on more inclusive approaches, evident in the principle of collaborative, cross-boundary urban governance that demonstrated potential not only to 'generate impacts and adaptations across the systems' but also 'to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished' (Emerson et al., 2012: 1–2).

Consequently, the concept based on reproducing the global city ideal for attracting new investments, residents and visitors provoked growing contestations that instead called for 'ordinary' cities to become central to academic analysis and policy recommendations—in all their complexity, diversity and peculiarity (Robinson, 2006). Such artificial image-based strategies that caused remaking, engineering and rewriting of urban mythologies and images required a radical shift back towards their original objectives—creation of common identities and fostering inclusion among the local urban population. This became particularly evident in the more recent urban branding and marketing initiatives and local tourism industry, gradually shifting towards the promotion of social cohesion and the strengthening of local identity among urban communities (Hubbard, 2006; Low, 2019).

Reflecting on some other urban development challenges, such as population growth, climate change and the intensification of violent conflicts that increased the rising international movements of people and forced migrations, the concept of inclusive cities can be further tested. The dramatic increase in migrations to Western Europe presents yet another example, where the common reactions included closed doors policies and the progressive restriction of legal entry channels for economic migrants in most EU member states. The so-called refugee crisis that started in 2015 compelled nation-states to activate reception systems but often leaving cities to deal with the massive challenge and responsibility of developing inclusive strategies and

policies. The war in Syria, and more recently in Ukraine, fuelled migration flows in search of humanitarian protection, pushing further for urgent policy changes and adequate institutional responses in this context.

These issues generated a significant concern and an additional challenge for policymakers, aid agencies, scholars and civil society organisations. The knowledge gap in this regard particularly refers to the complex relationship between displacement and urban integration models. Alongside the constant rise of rent and house prices, the EU cities already suffer from a chronic lack of affordable housing stock (Feantsa, Abbé Pierre Foundation, 2015). Likewise, migrants face particular difficulties in accessing housing, additionally aggravated by a growing anti-migrant political sentiment feeding xenophobic attitudes in the overall population, further emphasising an urgent need for long-term community-building towards meaningful social inclusion. The quest for models of social and spatial integration of migrants and other vulnerable social groups is, therefore, becoming an increasingly relevant urban challenge. The transitional spaces that Saunders named 'arrival cities' should be understood either as the places of new opportunities or new conflicts, depending 'on our ability to notice and our willingness to engage' (Saunders, 2012).

All these challenges, along with the representational issues, power-relations disbalances, or simply ever more challenging shortage of affordable housing options highlight the crucial questions of global urban sustainability—for whom are cities being planned, whose voices should be heard and included in these processes, and how to achieve cities to become more inclusive, diverse and hospitable places. As a result, the idea of the right to the city, proposed by Lefebvre in 1968, has been taken up more recently by social movements, thinkers and certain progressive local authorities as a call to reclaim the city as a co-created space. They advocated for the city to get detached from the growing effects that commodification and capitalism had on social interaction—including the rise of spatial inequalities during the last few decades (Harvey, 2008).

As demonstrated above, the capitalist growth economy repeatedly demonstrated inadequacy to amend power relations in cities. Nonetheless, some radical paradigms in urban theory and planning practice called for drafting a whole new concept of an inclusive society for the post-neoliberal city (Fotopoulos, 2010). In addition, urban research kept on promoting diverse urban perspectives—particularly since the introduction of the analytical framework of intersectionality in the field of legal studies in the early 1990s.

Intersectionality shifted the focus in urban studies on interactions between gender, race and other categories of difference, looking beyond the narrowly defined demands for inclusion. The rise of feminist epistemologies in analysing some urban issues such as the rights to the city, access to services, employment and development, among others testifies to an inclusive approach to urban planning through spatial practices of diverse urban groups (Beebeejaun, 2017; Fenster, 2005; Valentine, 2007). Alongside these and similar scholarly efforts, in addition to the emerging post-neoliberal urban paradigms, some tools and practices previously associated with neoliberal urban development started to shift towards more people-centred, innovative and inclusive approaches.

This phenomenon is particularly important when considering that in times of growing challenges and transformation processes, the global society is currently exposed to the vulnerability of inclusive society and socio-spatial diversity as societal, humanitarian and democratic concepts require particular attention. The recent shifts in urban economies that questioned the adequacy of the neoliberal model, alongside the rising economic and socio-spatial inequalities and marginalisation of disadvantaged groups, finally helped these concepts take over their former central roles in urban planning for a global sustainable development.

Inclusive and sustainable urban solutions at the local and community levels are particularly needed more than ever in dealing with the complexity of global challenges, as a seed of a profound change. Consequently, inclusive and diverse cities as a 'new-old' paradigm in urban research represent the link between urban communities, leaders and experts—but also among urban experts themselves, from scholars to planners and policymakers. The paradigm of planning inclusive cities, therefore, re-emerges as promising guidance in the practical dealing with urban development challenges, sustainable only if the idea of an inclusive and diverse global urban society is preserved and further promoted.

3   Research Strands and Book Contributions

In the frames of this edited volume, socio-spatial inclusion and diversity are explored as the central elements for both (re)conceptualising sustainable transformation of cities and as the main objectives of contemporary urban planning and development. Considering the complexity of the concept, the conceptual framework relies on the selected aspects of inclusion and diversity and their manifestations in urban spatial contexts through trans- and interdisciplinary and diverse yet interlinked research strands. These are selected to tackle the most current aspects of inclusive urban transformation from different perspectives, as follows:

(a) Alternatives for sustainable urban transformation
(b) Transformation of cities through inclusive development processes
(c) The role of culture and heritage in the diversification of urban identities
(d) Inclusive and intersectional city-making practices and policies

The following sections bring an explanation of the research strands and their authors contributions in more detail.

3.1   Alternatives for Sustainable Urban Transformation

The first part aims at setting up grounds for the socio-political (re)conceptualisation of inclusive and sustainable urban transformation, criticised for still being much in line with neoliberal understandings (Adelman, 2018; Fotopoulos, 2010). It departs from the present urban development models being no longer a reliable option for the

future—as exemplified by the recent global financial, economic, social and environmental crises (Asara et al., 2013; Vercelli, 2015). The stronghold for alternative approaches to the global capitalist system is primarily evident in the awakening of the consciousness about human exploitation and environmental destruction. It became embedded in the political idea of a society in which social and ecological well-being is prioritised instead of corporate profits, over-production and excess consumption.

The first part of the book brings two cases highlighting alternative ways of reconceptualising inclusive transformations and their socio-spatial implications in international planning practice. In the first chapter, titled 'The open city concept: evidence from Berlin', the authors Grace Abou Jaoude, Olaf Mumm and Vanessa Miriam Carlow reflect on the Open City concept, which emerged as a guiding premise to create spaces of encounter, inclusion and diversity. In their analysis of its various socio-spatial attributes and qualities, the authors highlight the capital city of Germany, widely celebrated as an inclusive and experimental playground. The case of Berlin demonstrated that openness is in a constant state of negotiation and transformation, confirming the importance of innovative urban policies to foster urban inclusion.

In the following chapter, titled 'From reactive to proactive participation: a case study on micro-regeneration in Shanghai, China', Jingyi Zhu and Xuewei Chen highlight the potential of community organisations in stimulating active participation in the city-shaping processes. The authors are focusing on the particular stage of urban transformation in Shanghai and other Chinese cities, characterised by the so-called micro-regeneration, in which inclusion is not comprehended as a one-directional process but rather as a complex interplay of different external forces and internal motivations.

3.2 Transformation of Cities Through Inclusive Development Processes

The second research strand emphasises the socio-spatial effects of transformative processes occurring in cities by examining increasing vulnerabilities and inequalities. It departs from the debates about diverse realities in cities, including struggles with rapid urbanisation, infrastructural inadequacy and spatial fragmentation (Abebe, 2011; Watson, 2014). These issues pose incremental challenges for policymakers, development practitioners, academics and citizens alike but also add to the debates about inclusive urban transformation. Regarding this complex problem, some scholars argued that it should involve all social strata ranging from the affluent and powerful elites to the marginalised groups in the identification of concrete and inclusive development perspectives (Kühn & Liebmann, 2012; Liebmann & Kuder, 2012; Schenkel, 2015). Others claimed that this would require a more radical socio-political shift that implies a transition to a whole new societal model of 'Inclusive Democracy' (Fotopoulos, 2010; Schwartzman, 2012; Weiss & Cattaneo, 2017) that

'explicitly attempts to integrate but also transcendent the classical democracy/ autonomy tradition' (Fotopoulos, 2010: 4).

The complex issues of inclusive urban transformation could represent a valid topic for some other specialised studies. In the frames of this book, the authors bring the Western European context in their examination of the housing challenge in Germany and France, as a case study of emerging inclusive urban transformations. They provide insights into an array of urban spatial practices that illuminate diverse contestations and negotiations, placing the focus on promoting inclusion in cities challenged by integration problems and reduced access to affordable housing. It starts with the chapter 'Living in contexts. Transforming housing vacancies as a driving concept for inclusive cities' by Ulrike Fettke and Elisabeth Wacker, which brings an interesting case of the Munich Metropolitan Region where the special features of the housing markets at the municipal level reinforced the need for inclusion. The authors argue that promoting inclusion is a community task by exploring the transformation of vacant housing, which the municipalities strategically designated as the point of necessary change. The following chapter by Adriana Diaconu, titled 'Adaptive planning for the hospitable city: the experiences of temporary housing in Grenoble, Rennes and Villeurbanne', highlights the necessary transformation of the role of cities in insuring access to housing for all using the example of French cities. The author focuses on rethinking the city as a hospitable arrival space by retrofitting the existing urban stock and using vacant spaces and land for housing and integration of newcomers.

Finally, in the last chapter of the section, titled 'An integrated framework for transforming cultural landscapes through innovative and inclusive strategies', the authors' team composed of Evinç Doğan, Constantinos Antonopoulos, Federico Cuomo and Luca Battisti examines strategies, approaches and solutions to reactivate and regenerate cultural landscapes in metropolitan areas of abandonment and degradation. The authors present the case of (peri)urban farming practices in the Turin metropolitan area and discuss innovative strategies for inclusive solutions and collaborative production and consumption in a sharing economy.

3.3   The Role of Culture and Heritage in the Diversification of Urban Identities

The third part of the book departs from the phenomena of urban heritage becoming subordinated to present-day agendas and interests, mostly involving the mobilisation of selected and desired pasts and histories (Daugbjerg & Fibiger, 2011; Ulbricht & Schröder-Esch, 2006). The aspects, which could not be marketed easily for tourism development, or had little or no relevance for political identity building, were often excluded both from conservation policy and cultural reality (Čamprag, 2014). However, this strand also involves the observation that with the rise of the digitalisation, travel and tourism industry, new perspectives were opened for de-contestations of cultural heritage and urban identities. To exemplify, in the majority of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), the legacies of urban planning and

architecture of state-socialism have not been properly evaluated and remain largely excluded from present-day preservation and development agendas (Kliems & Dmitrieva, 2010; Stanilov, 2007). The recent interest in the socialist heritage in the international media and tourism industry opened up new dynamics for local and national re-evaluations of this legacy, highlighting the potential to promote the diversification of urban cultures and identities towards more inclusive transformations (Čamprag & Suri, 2019).[1]

This section of the book starts with the chapter 'A reflection on culture-led urban development: from symbol-oriented consumption towards the city for all', bringing an overview of the rise, shifting dynamics and emerging trends of culture-led urban development during the last few decades. The chapter demonstrates how claims for re-evaluation of the strategies based on the commodification of culture enforced redefinition of the role of culture in urban development towards a resource for other sustainability goals besides mere economic ones, such as socio-spatial inclusion and promotion of diversity among urban communities.

The following two chapters are exploring an interesting case from the CEE region itself—the second largest city in Serbia, Novi Sad. This city is taken as a valuable case study to illustrate the challenges of socio-cultural urban (re)branding in a particular multi-ethnic, multicultural and transitioning context. Dragana Konstantinović and Miljana Zeković in their chapter titled 'Rethinking dissonant heritage—the unabsorbed modernisation of Novi Sad' start by questioning the contemporary identity of this city within the prevailing cultural and urban politics. They highlight the unabsorbed modernisation as a symbol of the socialist past, being an unrecognised urban heritage layer of importance for a comprehensive understanding of the present and the future of this city. Furthermore, the team of authors comprised of Aleksandra Stupar, Nebojša Čamprag, Evinç Doğan and Darko Polić in their chapter titled '2021/22 European Capital of Culture: inclusive culture-led branding of Novi Sad?' investigate the recent culture-led (re)branding process of this city, including the modes of its integration into cultural strategy and urban development plans. The authors highlight inclusion, innovation and flexibility as crucial elements for reaching sustainability in both culture-led urban (re)branding and redevelopment endeavours.

3.4   Inclusive and Intersectional City-Making Practices and Policies

The fourth and final research strand focuses on investigating socio-spatial practices in city-making processes through an intersectional lens. Since it was introduced to study '(…) interactions between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies' (Davis, 2008: 68), intersectionality looked beyond the narrowly defined

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[1] Based on the outcomes of the DFG International Conference on Cities and Change 'Three Decades of Post-socialist Transition' that the UML network organised in 2019.

demands for inclusion and addressed the broader 'ideological structures in which subjects, problems, and solutions were framed' (Cho et al., 2013: 785). Previous research has highlighted the advantages of feminist epistemologies in analysing geographical issues (Beebeejaun, 2017; Valentine, 2007); however, there has been little engagement with the concept in urban development planning discourses despite urban spaces being actively created through the spatial practices of diverse groups (Beebeejaun, 2017; Fenster, 2005; Valentine, 2007).

Taking the example of gender-transformative city-making practices, the main research questions stem from the need to understand whose voices should be heard and included in the planning processes and how inclusive strategies can augment the post-pandemic transformation of cities and urban spaces. Henriette Bertram in her chapter 'Planning gender-inclusive cities—tactical and strategic support for the reconciliation of paid work and care work' provides an overview of urban planning measures for gender inclusiveness to support the reconciliation of paid and care work. Using the newly planned district of Hamburg-Oberbillwerder in Germany as a case study, the author illustrates the lack of strategies in this regard and points out potential measures for making gender-inclusive planning more strategic. Furthermore, Sveva Lazatti, Gül Tuçaltan and Fleur Wouterse in their chapter titled 'Empowerment and adaptive capacity of women in urban areas: mitigating the risk of water insecurity in Chad' emphasise water insecurity as one of the key risks associated with climate change. The authors highlight women in this context being particularly inadequate compared to men in the domains of leadership, autonomy and resources and highlight various channels for strengthening their empowerment in this regard.

The book finishes with the contribution by Safa Ashoub, titled 'Urban struggles redefined: on the disenfranchisement and agency of Cairo's middle-class citizens'. The author examines the recent urban re-planning projects in the city's middle-class neighbourhoods through the systematic processes of socio-spatial disenfranchisement that took place since the 2014 political transition. Through investigating several urban interventions, this chapter exemplifies how urban re-planning is employed as an instrument for exclusive city-making, highlighting the tactics used by the citizenry to reverse this trend.

4   Outlook

The book series 'Diversity and Inclusion Research' generally aim at examining different facets of diversity in a variety of contexts, highlighting the approaches to and perspectives on diversity and inclusion and covering diversity and inclusion-related issues within communities, cities, regions, nations and societies. The diverse research strands of the edited volume 'Rethinking Urban Transformations: A New Paradigm for Inclusive Cities' holistically deal with the central topic, aiming to contribute to the overall book series by bringing up different aspects of inclusion and diversity in cities from the area of urban studies and through a transdisciplinary lens. Throughout the 12 chapters of the book, the international team of authors of

various backgrounds brings valuable case studies and reflections on the overall topic from different contexts. Their contributions testify to the emerging urban development paradigm based on creative rethinking of urban transformations for achieving more inclusive cities by highlighting the innovative ways for its implementation in urban planning and development practice. However, considering the complexity and vulnerability of the notions of inclusion and diversity, in addition to the translational challenge of normative theories, and a gap between urban theory and practice, further transdisciplinary scholarly research on these topics is necessary.

Through the transdisciplinary and holistic approach to the reconceptualisation of inclusive and sustainable urban solutions, this book aims not only to promote inclusive planning perspectives but also inspire new, creative and sustainable ways of dealing with urban transformative processes—towards a city of the future for all.

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Part I

Alternatives for Sustainable Urban Transformation

The Open City Concept: Evidence from Berlin

Grace Abou Jaoude, Olaf Mumm,
and Vanessa Miriam Carlow

1   Introduction

In the summer of 1999, Berliner Festspiele developed a guidebook that was later issued by the Berlin Senate to celebrate Berlin as an Open City: an open exhibition that showcased, through thematic tours and spectacles, ongoing processes of transformation (Berliner Festspiele and Architektenkammer Berlin, 1999). The Senate seized every opportunity to curate the city's image for residents, tourists and international corporations by opening construction sites and newly renovated buildings to the public. Berlin, a palimpsest where certain pasts were erased and new visions were inscribed, was branded as an inclusive, receptive and forward-looking city open to change and innovation. This vision sought to attract creatives, youth and investments by presenting Berlin as a global city of the twenty-first century (Huyssen, 1997). The vision extended beyond politico-institutional contexts to impact and shape urban spaces. However, Berlin's rhetoric of openness belied top-down planning and market-driven hegemonic forces that all too often intensified socio-spatial exclusion and gentrification. Allegedly intended to foster the Open City, spatial imaginaries and urban developments in Berlin concealed contested patterns of spatial injustice and capital accumulation (Allon, 2013a).

The developments after reunification along the Berlin Wall best represented this paradox. While Berlin was celebrated as an Open City, various areas around the former Wall were vulnerable to commercial developments and increasing land values (Loeb, 2006). As the dismantling of various sections of the Wall continued in the late 1990s, the Berlin Senate, led by the Red-Green coalition, highlighted the

G. Abou Jaoude (✉) · O. Mumm · V. M. Carlow
ISU Institute for Sustainable Urbanism, Technische Universität Braunschweig, Braunschweig, Germany
e-mail: g.abou-jaoude@tu-braunschweig.de; o.mumm@tu-braunschweig.de; v.carlow@tu-braunschweig.de

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need to preserve the history of the Wall by establishing green spaces and memorials (Loeb, 2006). The idea of a greenbelt that facilitated free movement and openness along the former border was indeed the antithesis of the 'wall' but one that also privileged surrounding areas. While the proposed open spaces presumably activated inaccessible spheres for the public, corporate actors' new investments around the Wall maintained forms of division and intensified exclusion across the urban fabric. Overall, urban imaginaries of openness, acceptance and tolerance, driven by corporate interests, sustained racialised narratives that suppressed the 'other', reinforced borders and uprooted the city from its past.

Beyond the context of Berlin, the term 'Open City' is rooted in the ideas of Popper (1945) and generally evokes a panoply of connotations. The term has been used across literature particularly in fiction, urban economics, data mining and architecture (Cordua et al., 2015; Domínguez, 2016). From the perspective of physical planning and design, various scholars emphasised the Open City as an approach that nurtures and orients emergent potentials and latent changes based on an understanding of the city's dynamics. It is an incremental process that denies definitive or pre-established future outcomes (Porqueddu, 2018). The Open City stems from a critique of top-down masterplans that all too often separate the city into closed systems. It rather emphasises a piecemeal or gradual development of parts—an open-ended project where socio-spatial elements collectively interact based on certain rules to allow for further accretions (Sennett, 2018). In an institutional schema, the Open City is not merely concerned with providing equal access to resources and opportunities (Rieniets, 2009); rather, it involves the democratisation of institutional capacity to prioritise social needs and shared resources over capital gains (Brenner, 2013). From the social perspective, the Open City accepts immigration and multicultural identities and affords the conditions to foster a productive cultural complexity that affects urban politics (Ipsen, 2005). In the Open City, inhabitants engage with and actively participate in different urban processes (Rolshoven, 2014). Ipsen (2005: 646) asserted ambivalence as an element of the Open City and confirmed that the latter is 'not a structure … not a system, but either a configuration which creates itself, or a project which lives in and through its contradictions'. In sum, the Open City is often described as an inclusive vision (Friedmann, 2002); an ideal concept or project (Ipsen, 2005); an urban condition that productively incorporates difference, contradictions and unpredictability (Porqueddu, 2018); or a positive and desirable value of cities (Clark, 2010).

Given its different understandings, defining the Open City is a difficult undertaking. Assuming that all interpretations of the concept are presented in a single definition is essentially challenging the concept's openness to new understandings. Contrary to prevalent dichotomies (open vs. closed; private vs. public), the notion entails a degree of flexibility where every day social practices and dynamics extend along a continuum with two opposites, namely, the acceptance of new people and ideas against the exclusion of the foreign. As per this scale, the degree of openness denotes the acceptance of new and foreign concepts, people and commodities (Ipsen, 2005). According to Reijndorp (2009), the Open City refers to the extent newcomers are accepted and offered access to existing networks. This continuum

draws forth a set of questions as to which socio-spatial conditions and attributes foster the emergence of the Open City and how are these conditions analysed in relation to the built environment.

While various scholars problematised the Open City based on observations and case studies (Christiaanse, 2009; Sennett, 2018), an operationalisation of the concept remains limited in literature. This chapter aims to explore and operationalise the Open City concept using geospatial analysis and an equal weighting approach. Berlin serves as a case study to develop a better understanding of the concept and its attributes. Scoring results are verified through field observations conducted across four districts with varying degrees of openness. To the best of the authors' knowledge, this is the first study that spatially analysed the Open City attributes through an applied perspective. The term Open City is sometimes used interchangeably with openness throughout the chapter. While the Open City is widely used in planning, the term is one of the derivatives of the concept of openness. Various derivatives, such as open access, open data and open government, have been used across literature and carry different meanings depending on the context and discipline. The Open City concept is first discussed based on a thorough review of urban studies literature. After briefly introducing Berlin's historical context, the attributes of openness are analysed, and the case studies are discussed by connecting the findings to the Open City concept.

2   The Open City and Its Attributes

The Open City concept is widely associated with diversity (Ipsen, 2005; Sennett, 2018), tolerance, acceptance, accessibility and inclusivity (Gleeson, 2001) as well as participation and political transparency (Lundgren & Westlund, 2017). The British Council along with a group of European cities defined openness as 'the capacity of a city to attract international populations and to enable them to contribute to the future success of the city' (Clark, 2010: 10). The Open City refers to a forward-looking city with a capacity to accept differences, new ideas and unpredictable tendencies. Historically, the openness of the urban to new ideas, often from outsiders, was instrumental to modern societies and a driver behind the Open City's transformation into a 'machine for creative social and economic development' (Shields, 2013: 347). In effect, openness is not only a capacity to welcome, accept and integrate new and diverse ideas and foreigners but also entails an outlook to the long-term future.

The Open City entails a participative approach and emphasises porous and accessible urban spaces. It allows spontaneous encounters and gatherings and fosters reciprocal interactions between inhabitants and the physical environment. The Open City rejects top-down planning driven by state institutions and private interests, which suppresses unpredictability, diversity and resilience (Porqueddu, 2018). The design of the Open City is contingent on emergent social, political and economic developments. The process orchestrates continuous negotiations and contentions between dualisms: control and informality, order and chaos, private and public,

permeance and change, etc. Since the Open City is not a clear-cut vision or plan but a balance between contradictory forces (Christiaanse, 2009), variations, substitutions and additions to the physical environment are indispensable and adaptations and changes that influence the character of a place are encouraged (Sennett, 2018).

Sennett (2007) credited Jacobs (1961) for the Open City concept. The latter rejected tabula rasa approaches and top-down plans that produce rigid forms, exclusionary spaces and closed systems. Alternatively, Jacobs (1961) advocated for complexity, diversity, dissonance and density. Drawing on Jacobs's urban vitality concept, Sennett (2007, 2018) and Christiaanse (2009) emphasised the role of urban form in promoting the Open City. Sennett (2018) subsequently proposed five conditions of openness including porous boundaries, incomplete forms, punctuations, synchronicity of activities and finally seed-planning. The latter condition called for the gradual development of parts or 'pockets of order' that interact to form a complex image of the urban whole. This condition resonates with the assemblage theory, where the image of the city emerges from interactions of different local clusters or parts without top-down interventions (Dovey, 2011; Porqueddu, 2018). The orchestration of different parts and their micro-interactions, based on minimal rules, facilitate the development of variations and support the emergence of open systems. Such an Open City is in constant flux—a process of making and remaking and of becoming (Porqueddu, 2018).

However, the question remains as to how can cities that emphasise barriers and exclusion promote openness? Through the theory of reflexive modernisation, Beck (2007) provides some insights and calls for the 'city of And', a cosmopolitan Open City characterised by diversity, cultural tolerance, harmony and ambivalence. This Open City is underpinned by 'socio-economic inclusion, a democratisation of public space and a radical opening out of non-political spheres' (Gleeson, 2001: 261). The 'city of And' accepts difference and embodies the vision of a reflexive architecture: one of hospitable and inclusive spaces. It entails a flexible urban form and fulfils individual needs while offering spaces for communal life. Elements of inclusion are reflected in the city's spatial forms and functions and are celebrated as a proxy of heterogenous identities that strengthen the sense of belonging. To attain this city, a democratisation of institutions and ideologies that shape the production of space is necessary including masterplans, markets and regulations (Gleeson, 2001).

Ideas of Beck (2007) echoed with Brenner's (2013) call for democratising collective and institutional agency to shape and produce urban space. Brenner (2013: 45) highlighted the role of designers in attaining the Open City and the need to incorporate 'questions of institutional control, political power and social justice into their vision of the site'. Indeed, the Open City is a continuous process of participation, use and appropriation where inhabitants equally impact decisions related to shared urban space and institutions. This understanding of the Open City and the role of designers resonates with the Right to the City concept introduced by Lefebvre (1996). The concept extends beyond calls of accessibility to resources and includes the transformation of urban governance to activate a democratic control over processes of urbanisation. It is a collective right to (re)shape the city 'as a socialist body politic in a completely different image - one that eradicates poverty and social

inequality' (Harvey, 2012: 138). The Right to the City is a call to restore the agency of inhabitants, who are not passive users, but rather emancipated citizens and participants in making the city (Shields, 2013).

A significant feature of the Open City is the acceptance of social diversity, foreignness and heterogeneity. As an urban area, the Open City is in a constant state of adapting to differences and creative dissention (Ipsen, 2005; Shields, 2013). It is predicated on a productive cultural complexity that results from immigration and gives rise to new urban cultures (Ipsen, 2005). New urban cultures can generate knowledge while contributing to economic productivity. At some instances, diverse groups can (in)voluntarily retreat into protected cultural enclaves that give rise to socio-spatial isolation. These self-contained enclaves and encapsulated communities often exist side by side and can be triggered by exclusions from traditional citizenship frameworks, national narratives and market-driven regulations (Allon, 2013a). Isolation can intensify tensions and fractures and is considered an unproductive form of cultural complexity. From surveilled luxurious neighbourhoods, designed for affluent social groups, to the clustering of marginalised minorities, these enclaves reinforce the emergence of walls and barriers. Indeed, isolation and the ensuing inaccessibility are characteristics of a closed city, which are often exacerbated by institutional and spatial barriers. However, where individuals are voluntarily clustered, a network of communal economy can form facilitating the development of autonomous spaces and cultures while providing their individuals security, refuge, familiarity and safety (Ipsen, 2005). These homogeneous spaces reduce encounters with the 'other' and resist the heterogeneity of the Open City, yet it is in these very spaces—which offer a haven to their inhabitants—that the Open City can also emerge. Often marginalised and neglected, these spaces embody new codes of sharing and social belonging.

By hosting diverse ethnic minorities, marginalised areas transform into sites where new forms of belonging emerge (Allon, 2013a, 2013b). However, such multiplicity is often not well captured in traditional forms of citizenship and national imaginaries (Shields, 2013). In general, the multiplicity of urban cultures brings to the fore the disparity between traditional citizenship, which is territorially bounded to nation-states, and urban citizenship, which is tied to inhabitants' daily urban practices and their active engagement as participants in the production and appropriation of space (Allon, 2013b). As an alternative form of citizenship and belonging, urban citizenship includes political and grassroot activism, everyday activities of urban inhabitance as well as frictions resulting from negotiations, resistance and struggles to claim space. It provides groups, who are ostracised by legal citizenship, the potential to form communities and participate in creating and shaping urban spaces. More specifically, this local urban citizenship involves participatory and inclusionary everyday practices of (re)creating, inhabiting, producing and appropriating urban spaces and resonates well with the Open City and Right to the City concepts (Allon, 2013b; Friedmann, 2002). Overall, urban citizenship, reflexive architecture and the Right to the City concepts present valuable modes of enquiry to understand the Open City.

While certain enclaves can constitute a safe refuge, the retreat from a shared urban space to an isolated area can prompt the rise of boundaries and challenge borders. When boundaries are rigid, borders in an Open City are characterised by malleability, permeability, fluidity and self-regulation—operating as gradients between different entities (Sennett, 2018; Wolfrum, 2018). Borders can be symbolic or territorial. They entail thresholds that contribute to their porosity and facilitate interactions, encounters and exchange between diverse urban spheres (Stavrides, 2006). In fact, a porous city is the cornerstone of an open and tolerant city, one that embraces diversity and enables exchange between different cultural groups (Wolfrum, 2018).

While the diversity and interactions of urban cultures is necessary, Ipsen (2005) considered that a third culture—a 'meta-culture' that emancipates from existing cultures—is a prerequisite of the Open City. The meta-culture builds on shared rules, customs and norms and borrows from individual cultures to form a unique configuration. As an image of the city, the meta-culture can spatially manifest across the urban fabric, in common spaces with shared representation or materialise through symbols in particular spaces pertaining to a specific culture. Social infrastructure and places with diverse uses accommodate different urban cultures and offer spaces for social encounters and the emancipation of the meta-culture.

In sum, the Open City concept is a utopian ideal that manifests in parts of the city and across different scales. It is an attempt by planners to design physical conditions and structures that foster openness and creativity. It welcomes people from diverse backgrounds, promotes participation and entails the democratisation of institutions. The Open City favours flexible instruments or frameworks that enable piecemeal development, over predetermined top-down plans and fixed forms. Overall, the Open City involves spontaneity, ambivalence, volatility, flexibility, unplanned experiences and malleability of form. It engages with contingent social, political and economic developments. It is rather an approach for the long-term future that considers uncertainty and democratic engagement whereby the city is touted as an experimental and open-ended project. Used by policy-makers as a virtue for branding cities, the Open City has become a buzzword in policy and planning rhetoric. It remains unclear whether this desirable value that manifests in different parts of the city can be quantitatively evaluated and ultimately translated into planning and policy-making.

3   Case Study: Berlin

Berlin has witnessed many transitions and urban restructuring processes that shaped its identity and urban fabric: industrialisation in the nineteenth century, incorporation of settlements to form Greater Berlin (Groß-Berlin) in 1920, wartime destruction, reunification followed by its transition into the German capital (1990), transformation into a service-oriented city and currently its increasing digitalisation. The city's narrative was selective as it engaged with certain epochs of the cultural memory while erasing others (Loeb, 2006). Its reinvented image and

vision—the Open City—along with the monumental reconstructions and transitions masked historical struggles and exclusions and uprooted Berlin from its recent past. Outwardly, the vision signalled a new future where Berlin is demonstrated as a cosmopolitan, forward-looking and tolerant city that accepts change as well as social and cultural difference. Practices of space appropriation, such as squatting and grassroot movements of the 1960s, formed a significant part of Berlin's cultural identity and were used to brand the city as an experimentation playground for artists (Allon, 2013a). Ethnic pluralism as well as counter and micro-cultural spaces were employed as drivers of cultural competence that supported the city's global presence, competitive advantage and economic viability. Openness held social and visual connotations and materialised into new architectural interventions that emphasised transparency. However, the corporate-led building boom of Berlin has been fraught with controversy and complexity and brought about displacement, gentrification and resistance (Holm, 2013). Ironically, the self-proclaimed Open City increasingly privatised land for capitalist development. In effect, the celebrated image of the city emerged at the expense of difficult pasts where the concept of openness was exploited for capital accumulation (Allon, 2013a). These practices question Berlin's openness and the inhabitants' right to the city and provide an opportunity to explore ensuing processes of inclusion and displacement.

3.1 Operationalising the Open City in Berlin

Drawing on an extensive literature review (Abou Jaoude et al., 2023), six attributes of the Open City were identified, namely, accessibility (AC), borders and porosity (BP), participation and appropriation (PA), safety and surveillance (SA), synchronicity (SY) and diversity both social (SD) and typo-morphological (TD). Each attribute is based on one or more variables (Fig. 1). As Sennett (2007) attributed the Open City to Jacobs (1961), her four conditions of urban vitality were considered. In addition, previous research that systemically investigated vitality was consulted to develop the methodological framework (Delclòs-Alió & Miralles-Guasch, 2018; Xia et al., 2020; Ye et al., 2018). Abou Jaoude et al. (2023) further elaborated on the operationalisation and calculation of the Open City attributes in their recent work.

The data, pertaining to each attribute, was collected from different sources with varying spatial resolutions and reconstructed on a 100×100 m grid. The six attributes of openness were synthesised using an equal weighting approach, and the mean value of openness per district was calculated. The synthesis followed a three-tier hierarchical structure where 25 variables were separately generated as normalised values. Variables corresponding to a particular attribute were then summed together, and the mean openness score (OS) was finally calculated by summing the six attributes into a single value as per Eq. 1:

$$OS = TD\left(\frac{1}{8}\right) + SD\left(\frac{1}{10}\right) + AC\left(\frac{1}{4}\right) + BP\left(\frac{1}{2}\right) + PA\left(\frac{1}{2}\right) + SA\left(\frac{1}{2}\right) + SY \quad (1)$$
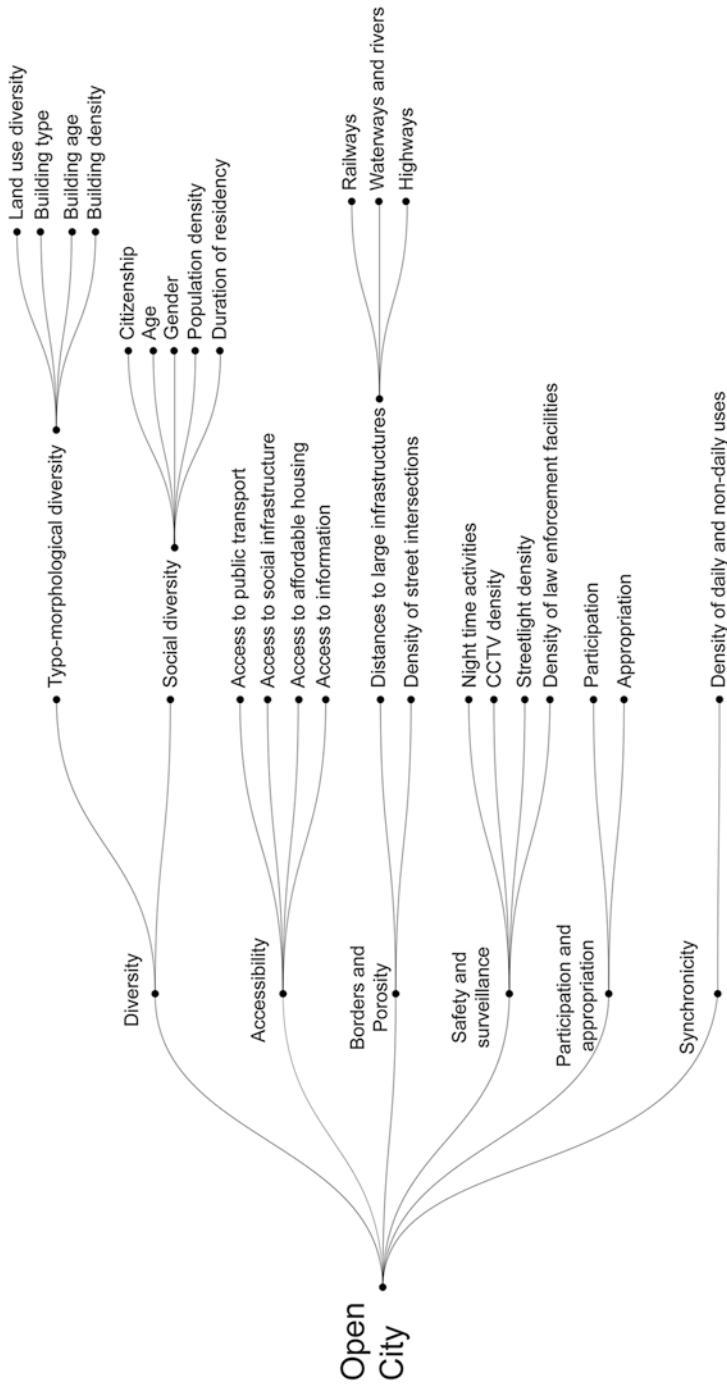
Fig. 1 The six attributes of openness, their categorisation and corresponding variables

A thorough understanding of the Open City requires an analysis of complex systems and interactions across multiple scales. Based on the scoring results, four neighbourhoods in Berlin, which reflected various degrees of openness, were selected to gain further insights on the concept (Fig. 2). The cases included Hellersdorf, Gesundbrunnen, Niederschöneweide and Charlottenburg-Nord. The fieldwork visits and observations were intended to verify the scoring results and identify the reasons behind a district's score.

4   Case Studies Findings

The results of the geospatial analysis (Fig. 3) and synthesis emphasised a centre-periphery pattern (Fig. 4), and the data followed a normal distribution ($\mu = 3.93$ and $\sigma = 0.67$). A high potential of openness was found at the centre particularly in Friedenau, Kreuzberg and Wilmersdorf due to their high accessibility, land use and social infrastructure diversity as well as richness of building ages and types (Figs. 3 and 4). Areas with a moderate degree of openness surrounded central districts and offered a gradual transition towards conurbations with the lowest potential of openness. A lower potential of openness was evident along the peripheries, particularly in Wartenberg and Blankenfelde. Despite their centrality, certain districts such as
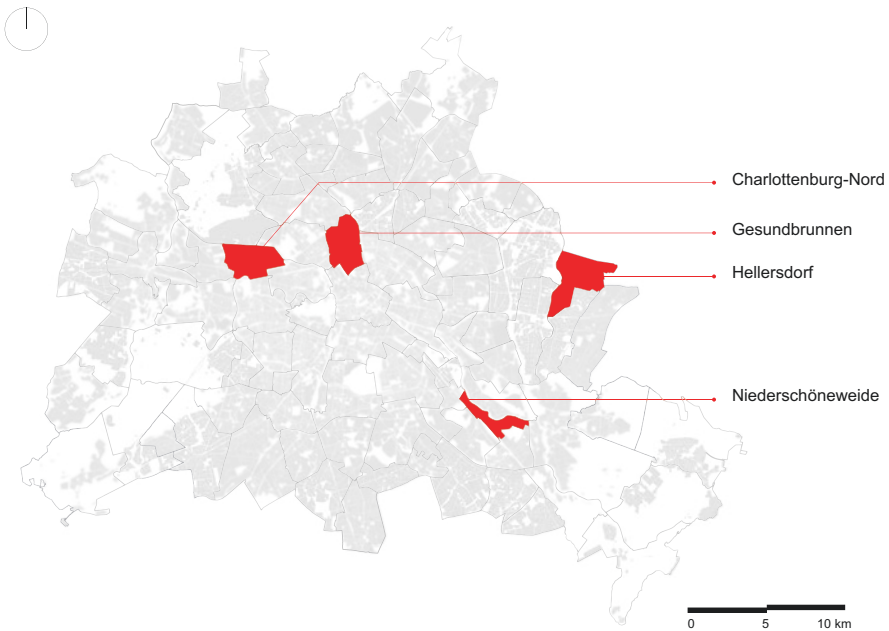
Fig. 2 The four selected case studies: Hellersdorf, Niederschöneweide, Gesundbrunnen and Charlottenburg-Nord. The designation of districts (Ortsteile) follows that of Berlin's Senate Department for Urban Development, Building and Housing (Geodata was obtained from (Geoportal Berlin, 2021)
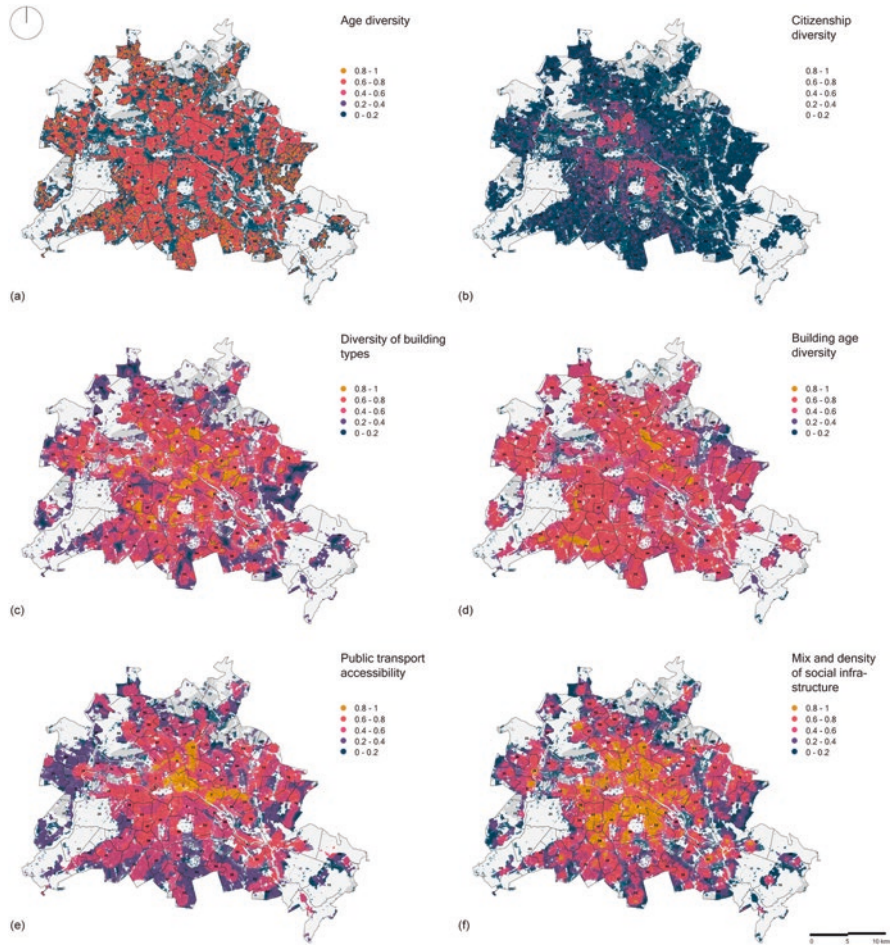
Fig. 3 Geospatial analysis of selected attributes of openness: (**a**) age diversity, (**b**) citizenship (as a proxy of cultural diversity due to the lack of available data), (**c**) diversity of building types, (**d**) building age diversity, (**e**) public transport accessibility, (**f**) mix and density of social infrastructure. Abou Jaoude et al. (2023) elaborated on the attributes and the analysis

Tiergarten scored significantly low due to the presence of large open spaces and the consequent small built-up area. It is worth mentioning that certain peripheral areas, such as Buckow and Gropiusstadt, exhibited a high potential of openness, given their social diversity (Figs. 3 and 4).

Following these results, four case studies were selected and are discussed further below.
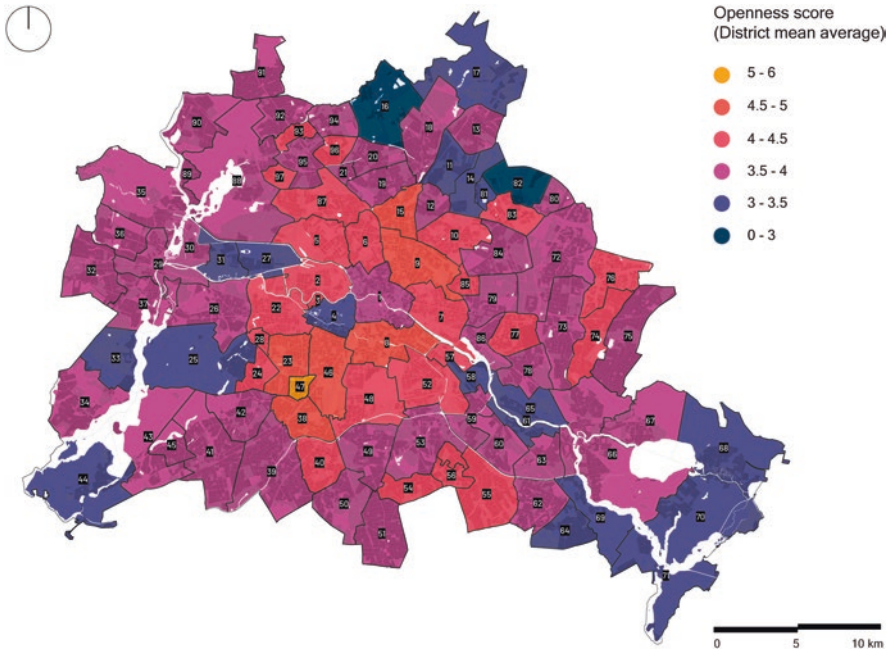
Fig. 4 Mean openness score per district in Berlin (Abou Jaoude et al., 2023)

4.1   Hellersdorf

Historically, the district of Hellersdorf was established in the 1980s on former agricultural land. Similar to most districts in former East Berlin, Hellersdorf consisted predominantly of large-scale prefabricated residential buildings circumscribed around a common courtyard (Carlow, 2016). Due to the lack of funding and with the fall of the Wall in 1989, few amenities and infrastructure were initially constructed. In response to the increasing housing demand and social polarisation, the Berlin Senate launched a regeneration programme after the German reunification to refurbish and improve the deteriorating former eastern estates (McCarthy, 1997). Accordingly, the building stock in Hellersdorf was structurally repaired and modernised to accentuate the distinctiveness of its micro-neighbourhoods. The programme also sought to integrate ecological principles and introduce new services, amenities and public art to improve and differentiate the relatively monotonous urban structure and architecture.

Our study revealed a low building age diversity[1] (0.38) underlining the homogeneity of the building stock and reflecting the temporally concentrated development. The provision of social infrastructure in Hellersdorf today is comparatively high given the district's network of sub-centres that hosts shops, schools, kinder gardens,

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[1] The values presented above are obtained from Abou Jaoude et al. (2023). They provided detailed explanations and calculations pertaining to each variable.

higher education institutions, care homes and other services. Overall, the district is very well connected to public transport (scoring 0.57 for four public transport modalities[2]) and comprises various leisure and night-time activities (two activities within 500 m radius). Most commercial premises are located around Cecilienplatz, Alice-Salomon-Platz and Fritz-Lang-Platz. Wiesenpark and Kienberg Park, which are adjacent to the district, act as green corridors and are used by residents for outdoor activities. While courtyards and open spaces around apartment blocks are intended for residents' use, these spaces remain largely empty, while others serve as green buffer zones along railways and passageways.

Hellersdorf is characterised by a low percentage of non-German[3] residents (2.6%). The district is home to many German descents (Russlanddeutsche) and other migrants from the former Soviet Union. Murals on apartment buildings and artefacts in the neighbourhood emphasise this cultural identity and define the cultural landscape of the district (Fig. 5). Apart from the low voter turnout[4] (47.6%), the area consists of diverse age groups with adults between 30 and 49 years old forming the majority.

While the area exhibited a high potential of openness, field observations partially aligned with our findings. Results can be attributed to various reasons including the fenced courtyards. Initially intended for urban equity, the fences currently act as borders to guarantee security. They hamper exchange between different groups and thus reduce the porosity and openness of spaces. In addition, the increasing privatisation of the building stock, reflected in the district's current low social housing density (0.03), contradicts the collectivist principles that the area was predicated on. Historically, the standardised apartment blocks were intended as an open, safe and collective city that represented an egalitarian model (Rieniets, 2009). With the hegemony of capitalist urbanisation, these allegedly open cities transformed into closed entities. Findings from Hellersdorf also align with evidence that the retreat of people from similar backgrounds could give rise to protected cultural enclaves (Rieniets, 2009; Stavrides, 2006). This is evident by the strong presence of the Russlanddeutsche community whose cultural symbols manifest throughout the built environment. Overall, the continuous stigmatisation of these large-scale estates as physically deteriorating and socially polarised districts challenges their openness and fuels their perception as closed areas.

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[2] To measure accessibility, four public transport modalities were considered and the Euclidean distance from the grid cell's centre to the closest public transport hub was measured. A score of 0.25 was given to each modality within the mode-specific threshold distances.

[3] Due to the lack of data on ethnicities, cultural diversity was calculated using the categorisation of German statistics which differentiates between Germans, irrespective of their cultural backgrounds, and foreigners, segregated by country groups (European Union (EU), non-EU states, etc.).

[4] Voting data was obtained from 2017 to calculate voters' turnout ratio in a specific district as a proxy for participation and openness.
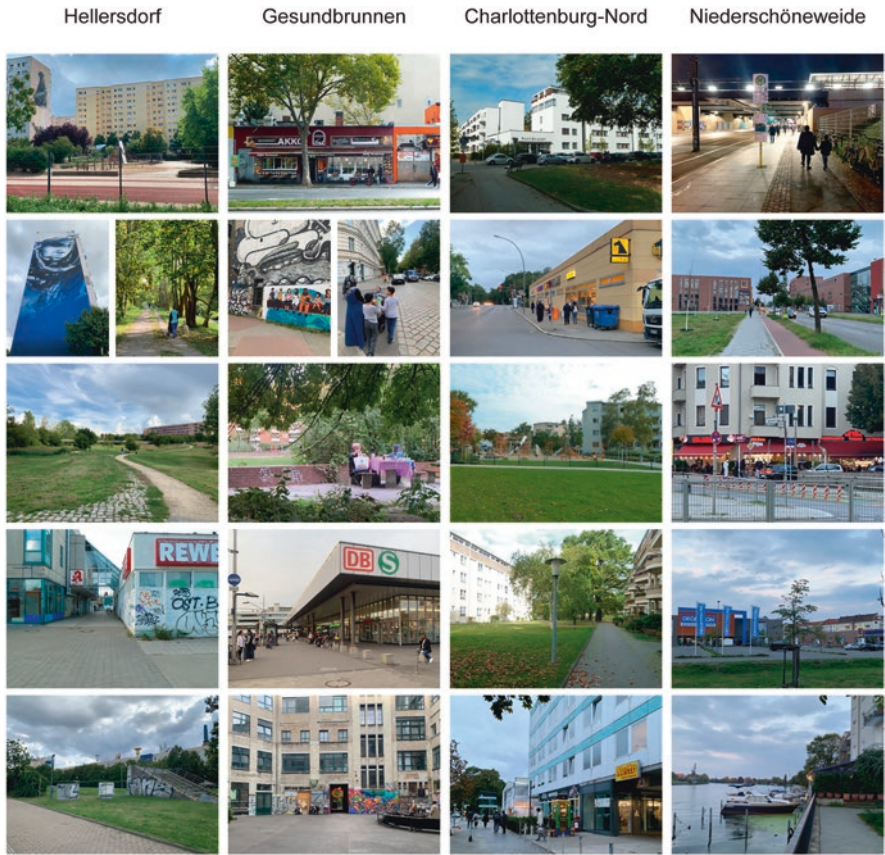
Fig. 5 Pictures of the four case studies. The pictures reveal the diversity of urban spaces, the representation of cultural identities and the variety of uses in the different neighbourhoods

4.2 Niederschöneweide

Niederschöneweide is a former industrial area and part of Treptow-Köpenick, a borough in former East Berlin. The district prospered during Berlin's industrialisation era as textile firms initially settled, followed by the chemical and metal industries. Prior to the 'Zukunftsorte' (Future Areas) strategy (Suwala et al., 2021), the district has witnessed ongoing transformation due to the renovation of its building stock and displacement of its industrial premises. Apart from maintaining its industrial character, the area is characterised by a high building age diversity (0.49) particularly with the gradual redevelopment of industrial lands along the waterfront into residential and commercial spaces. The district is also characterised by a high residential mobility where a low residency duration (below five years) was observed (0.22). A low residency duration can be a proxy of continuous change, weak neighbourhood ties and a low sense of belonging.

Niederschöneweide has a low social diversity as most residents are considered German citizens (94%). However, streets connected to Edisonstraße and the Kaiersteg Bridge host various shops that reflect multicultural ethnicities. The age composition of Niederschöneweide varies where most of the population is between 30 and 49 years old (28.2%). As a district bordered by the Spree River and with the presence of an extensive green area and railway network, which is largely inaccessible and unoccupied, the distance to border vacuums or large infrastructure is short[5] (310 m per grid cell). These borders reduce accessibility as well as the area's permeability and affect its potential of openness. The district's porosity is further exacerbated as large parts of the waterfronts are inaccessible and largely developed as residential or commercial premises.

Overall, field observations from Niederschöneweide aligned with the results of the analysis. The district's low potential of openness can be attributed to the presence of large infrastructure, particularly the extensive infrastructural networks that divide different neighbourhoods. These findings support conclusions that border vacuums weaken the vitality and porosity of urban areas (Jacobs, 1961; Wolfrum, 2018) and thus the openness of the district. Developments along the river hamper access to the waterfront and exacerbate the district's openness.

4.3   Gesundbrunnen

Gesundbrunnen is a district located just north of the city centre, in former West Berlin. It was developed into a working-class neighbourhood featuring predominantly multi-storey tenement buildings with one or more courtyards (Mietskaserne). Gesundbrunnen today shows a high potential of openness. Despite its high density of social housing (0.56), the district has a high residential mobility given its inhabitants' short length of residency (0.45). With the ongoing transition of Brunnenviertel and the renovation of former industrial grounds and neighbourhoods along the Panke Canal, the area is characterised by high building and housing age diversity (0.74 and 0.69, respectively). Gesundbrunnen has a diversity and synchronicity of uses and activities (0.71) with various local shops that reflect multicultural ethnicities. In addition, the area has the highest percentage of non-German citizens (31.7%) in our study with numerous residents of Arab and Turkish origins. The Arab, Turkish and African landscape of the district is reflected in the signage of local shops, languages spoken on the streets and the presence of individuals who share similar cultural practices, thereby indicating difference or 'otherness' (Fig. 5). The presence of proximate uses and amenities, particularly with the district's high mix of social infrastructure (0.75), emphasises social equality as it facilitates access to daily activities, particularly to groups with no private vehicles (Talen, 2006). These diverse uses along with the high density of intersections (230 intersections within

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[5]To map border vacuums, large infrastructure networks, such as railways, highways and water bodies, were considered. The Euclidean distance to these border types was calculated from the centre of a specific grid cell.

500 m) promote spontaneous encounters, encourage pedestrian activity and increase the porosity of the urban fabric. Various open spaces and playgrounds are well exposed to the streets and are predominantly occupied by families from different social backgrounds after-school hours. The outdoor playtime after-school not only contributes to vital streets but also increases interactions and strengthens the sense of community and safety in Gesundbrunnen.

Despite Gesundbrunnen's high mobility, which can lead to weaker social ties (Kan, 2007), field observations supported the quantitative results and verified the high potential of openness that the district affords. The district's high potential of openness is credited to the high building and age diversity, the mix of uses and social infrastructure as well as to the district's social diversity. These characteristics promote pedestrian activity. The accessibility and inclusivity of the spaces in Gesundbrunnen shape urban identity and provide a unique urban experience. These findings confirm arguments put forth by Sennett (2018) and Christiaanse (2009) who advocated for mixed-use programmes, variegated urban structures and social diversity as prerequisites of the Open City.

4.4   Charlottenburg-Nord

Charlottenburg-Nord is a district of the former West Berlin. The area consists of post-war developments, allotment gardens and industrial areas. The Jungfernheide Volkspark is at the heart of the district and considered its largest open space. The design of Charlottenburg-Nord was centred around the notion of a city as an urban landscape. Largely planned by Hans Scharoun, a former City Architect of Berlin, the district embodies concepts of modernism and has a productive residential structure that emphasises the relationship between dwelling, neighbourhood and the city (Borsi, 2018). These notions are reflected in the diversity of building types (0.57) that are predicated on a variety of dwelling plans and row housing construction (Zeilenbauweise). The district's planning, which entails the mixing of different social classes, is evident across various neighbourhoods and promotes a sense of collectiveness and openness. Indeed, the area has an adequate density of social housing (0.31) and a mix of social infrastructure (0.43). Charlottenburg-Nord has a relatively high percentage of non-German residents (14.7%), which demonstrates the complex composition of the district and emphasises cultural otherness. The district's high social diversity is attributed to the influx of migrants. In addition, Charlottenburg-Nord is characterised by a low voter turnout (46.5%). The district is bordered by the so-called *Stadtring* (city ring), the Berlin-Spandau Canal, Westhafen Canal and the Spree River and is divided by the A111 Road. Along with the low density of intersections (113 intersections within 500 m), these large infrastructures create border vacuums and reduce the porosity of the area as well as its openness.

Overall, field observations from Charlottenburg-Nord partially confirmed the results of the analysis. The district's high social and typo-morphological diversity foster a high potential of openness that reflects across different neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, Charlottenburg-Nord's low potential of openness, as per the geospatial

analysis, can be attributed to the large infrastructure, particularly the Jungfernheide Volkspark and the highway networks that cut across the district. Large infrastructure creates border vacuums that reduce the vitality, permeability and porosity of the district (Jacobs, 1961). The presence of large infrastructure in Charlottenburg-Nord align with findings that the latter can erode the vitality and porosity of urban areas and thus their openness (Delclòs-Alió & Miralles-Guasch, 2018).

5   Conclusion

The debate on the Open City is associated with urbanisation processes and imbued with contradictions, negotiations, consensus and tensions. In this study, six attributes of the Open City were derived based on a literature review and synthesised using an equal weighting approach to map the potential of openness across Berlin. Apart from the geospatial analysis, field observations of selected districts offered insights into the city's socio-spatial dynamics and contributed to understandings of the Open City concept. It is worth mentioning that the findings and the socio-spatial attributes used in this study, which include diversity (typo-morphological and social), accessibility, borders and porosity, participation and appropriation, safety and surveillance and synchronicity, remain unique to Berlin and cannot be generalised across different contexts.

Research findings revealed a high potential of openness around Berlin's city centre which gradually faded towards to the city's edge. The presence of atypical districts, which defied the centre-periphery pattern, revealed that thresholds and neighbourhoods are in a constant state of negotiation and transformation. The districts' potential of openness is largely dependent on the social and physical composition of the neighbourhoods. Field observations from Gesundbrunnen and Niederschöneweide confirmed the results of the geospatial analysis. Gesundbrunnen exhibited a high potential of openness given its high social and typo-morphological diversity, high accessibility and mix of social infrastructure. As a place that has continuously hosted migrant populations, marginalised minorities, newcomers and the youths (Al-Khanbashi, 2020), Gesundbrunnen is a site of urban citizenship where microcultures contribute to the district's complexity and where struggles of space appropriation and production manifest. Field observations from Hellersdorf and Charlottenburg-Nord challenged our findings. Hellersdorf's social homogeneity, fenced courtyards and empty green spaces around apartment blocks may be reasons behind the perceived low potential of openness. Different neighbourhoods in Charlottenburg-Nord exhibited a high potential of openness, yet various infrastructures that cut across the district maybe behind its low openness score.

While the vision of Berlin as an Open City was rather an ahistorical and predetermined prescription, the geospatial analysis and field observations confirmed that openness only manifests in parts of the city. Indeed, the Open City does not prevail across all of Berlin. Openness is found across different instances in the city and is rather in a continuous state of flux (Christiaanse, 2009; Porqueddu, 2018). To foster this condition across different areas in Berlin, the city needs flexible narratives,

participative approaches and an experimental urban policy that can contribute to inclusive urban developments, democratise institutions, strengthen the agency of inhabitants and embrace unpredictability. Future projects and developments require a thorough understanding of the specificities and socio-spatial dynamics of urban spaces. These interventions, which could incrementally form the building blocks of the Open City, should capture the cultural complexity, idiosyncrasies and contradictions of Berlin.

While the study focused on quantitatively evaluating the potential of openness across different districts in Berlin to achieve a better understanding of the Open City concept, future research can adapt and customise the approach to specific geographic contexts and scales. Additional attributes from different disciplines can also be consulted to provide better interpretations of the Open City and its spatial conditions.AcknowledgementsThe authors would like to thank Majd Murad for the curation and analysis of data as well as the production of maps. They also thank Yevheniia Berchul for conducting the field visits.

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From Reactive to Proactive Participation: A Case Study on Micro-regeneration in Shanghai, China

Jingyi Zhu and Xuewei Chen

1   Introduction

An inclusive city should be one that can be 'accessed, understood, and used to the greatest extent possible by all people' (Tucker et al., 2020, p. 291) and that treats people in different and in particular disadvantaged situations in an equitable way (Heylighen et al., 2017). For a city to be inclusive, inclusion should happen in all spatial, social, economic, environmental and political dimensions (Liang et al., 2022), and inclusive space should endeavour to meet the needs and preferences of individuals of different gender, race and ethnicity by providing designs and facilities that consider these differences (Mehta & Mahato, 2020). Inclusive placemaking should thus encourage full participation and self-expression (Sharp et al., 2005; Zhou, 2019) and promotes visibility and opportunities for socialisation among different social groups (Sezer, 2020). As one of the concepts often discussed in the context of inclusion, participation has a reciprocal relationship with the goal of inclusiveness. On the one hand, participation is considered an effective means to the end of inclusive plan-making as it helps break down cultural barriers and create intergroup cohesion (Nwachi, 2021). On the other hand, inclusiveness is indispensable for improving people's access to resources necessary for participation (De Haas et al., 2021). Even though the two concepts are not synonymous, the present research uses participation as the point of entry into the discussion of inclusive placemaking. As the rest of the chapter will show, in Shanghai, the empirical context for the research, although inclusiveness per se is not always what the official agenda emphasises, various experiments at participatory urban regeneration have in effect added more inclusiveness to placemaking processes conventionally dominated by the government and market actors.

J. Zhu (✉) · X. Chen
Bartlett School of Planning UCL, London, UK
e-mail: jingyi.zhu.17@ucl.ac.uk; xuewei.chen.20@ucl.ac.uk

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Seen through the lens of participation and engagement, studies of inclusive placemaking could be categorised into interconnected ones of scope and mechanism. The first strand focuses on understanding the needs and preferences of disadvantaged groups such as women (Huang & Napawan, 2021), people with disabilities (Patrick & McKinnon, 2022), children (Haider, 2007; Kusumaningdyah & Purnamasari, 2018; Krishnamurthy, 2019), homeless people (Nielsen, 2021), ethnic or religious minorities (Rishbeth, 2001; Johnson & Miles, 2014) and marginalised communities (Smiley et al., 2016) and integrating these needs into spatial design products and processes. In other words, these studies attempt to enlarge the scope of beneficiaries of placemaking to include those excluded and neglected by traditional placemaking practices. The second strand more closely examines the actor and method of making processes more equitable and empowering (Toolis, 2021), with a particular focus on the role of public institutions and governance models (Attia & Ibrahim, 2018; Wojtyńska et al., 2022). Following these two strands, a distinction can be also made between reactive participation and proactive participation. That is, studies of external inclusive measures promoting reactive participation, such as those highlighting how designers or facilitators strategically advance their competence (Luck, 2007; Sokolaj, 2022) and how institutions and states interrogate the power-sharing mechanisms (Arnstein, 1969; Milbrath, 1981), run parallel to studies of actors' internal motivations for proactive participation or reasons for shunning away from participation such as distrust (Swapan, 2014, 2016) and habitual thinking of management knows best (Morrison & Milliken, 2000). The present research therefore attempts to balance these two directions of participation and discusses how external measures promoting reactive participation and internal motivations leading to proactive participation simultaneously play a part in making more inclusive placemaking.

This perspective is particularly needed in the discussion of contemporary Shanghai urban regeneration, where inclusion and public engagement are frequently ambiguously defined and utilised interchangeably. As the city aspires to become an 'Excellent Global City'[1] and a 'People's City',[2] its ongoing urban regeneration emphasises the people-oriented nature of development and citizens' collaboration, participation and common interests. Conventionally, bottom-up, citizen-led participation in China has mostly consisted of demonstrations against unfair housing compensation, forceful displacement, not-in-my-backyard projects and the demolition of historically significant buildings (Zhang et al., 2020). In the new urban context, besides the existing formal information publication and consultation, planning and design experiments that respond to the people-oriented principle with various inclusive elements are emerging in Shanghai as part of the city's ongoing urban regeneration efforts (Zhong & Leung, 2019; Chen & Qu, 2020). The present research turns

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[1] "Shanghai Master Plan 2017–2035 (public version)", Shanghai Municipal People's Government, 2018. Available at: http://ghzyj.sh.gov.cn/ghjh/20200110/0032-811864.html.

[2] "Outline of the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021–2025) for National Economic and Social Development and Vision 2035 of Shanghai", Shanghai Municipal People's Government, 2021. Available at: https://www.shanghai.gov.cn/nw12344/20210129/ced9958c16294feab926754394d9db91.html.

to the micro-regeneration, one of the neighbourhood-scale participatory placemaking experiments in Shanghai that seek to empower local communities and involve more actors in combating the decline of inner-city neighbourhoods. This chapter explores how different stakeholders' rationales and motivations for proactive participation are intertwined with the techniques and mechanisms designed to promote the inclusion of multiple actors in Shanghai's micro-regeneration programmes. It therefore argues that the inclusion mechanisms that push for reactive practices must be understood in relation to what motivates people to engage in these processes proactively. It should be noted that micro-regeneration is by no means the first or the only participatory channel and what the chapter aims to highlight is its potential in raising civic awareness and stimulating more proactive thinking about changing the shared environment.

Two stages of fieldwork (March to October 2019, and August 2021 to March 2022) were conducted by the two authors respectively for this research, allowing the study to trace the evolution of different types of micro-regeneration practices. Instead of statistical analysis of data, the chapter aims to qualitatively capture the snapshots of micro-regeneration that are most pertinent to inclusive placemaking. Section 2 of the chapter discusses the development of different types of micro-regeneration. It is built on secondary data collected from policy documents, online announcements published by government departments and urban planning bureaus and major state-owned media reports. Section 3 then takes a closer look at the motivations and mechanisms for participation in micro-regeneration. It draws on primary data collected through semi-structured interviews and participant and non-participant observations. The interviewees were identified and contacted from publicly available project information as well as through the authors' personal contacts. The roles of the interviewees include architectural and landscape designers ($n = 30$), planners from different levels of planning authorities ($n = 10$), residents' committee representatives ($n = 15$) and residents ($n = 60$). The final section of the chapter puts forward some practical suggestions and at the same time reflects on some further issues with micro-regeneration in relation to inclusive city-making.

2   Changing Urban Regeneration Paradigm and Evolving Micro-regeneration in Shanghai

Urban renewal in China since the 1990s has been infamous for its massive demolition and reconstruction paradigm. After years of conspicuous growth, the primarily government-dominated regeneration model has become increasingly unsustainable due to accumulated problems such as limited available land resources, capital and financial constraints, social discontent and unbalanced development, and discussions of these issues were gradually making the front page and spurring public attention.[3] Since around 2015, however, there has been a notable shift from the

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[3] 'Shanghai nears construction land "ceiling" and aims for negative growth of 41 sq. km in 5 years', Pengpai News, 7 August 2015. Available at https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1361673.

excessive focus on economic development to a national promotion of city better-ment and urban quality improvement (Fig. 1). Shanghai and a few other top-tier cities in China like Beijing and Shenzhen started to experiment with the so-called micro-regeneration as an alternative to the traditional urban regeneration approach (Wang et al., 2022). Micro-regeneration, quite literally urban regeneration that is small or micro, covers a variety of spatial and social transformations, often happen-ing on the neighbourhood scale, that seek to engage different urban actors, develop inclusive platforms and promote social participation[4] (Fig. 2). Distinguishing the main device to organise actions, the chapter categorise the myriad of practices into four types, namely, pilot experiment, community action, model demonstration and pedagogical programme. Featuring varying but not drastically different leading actors and project delivery mechanisms, these four types are not developed strictly sequentially and can sometimes co-exist in a single micro-regeneration project.

The pilot experiment-type micro-regeneration emerged as Shanghai started to explore alternative urban regeneration approaches in the face of resource con-straints. To combat the urban diseases of declining spatial quality and living stan-dards typically found in old inner-city areas, the 'Shanghai Urban Regeneration Implementation Measures' published in 2015 encouraged the increased provision of public amenities and open spaces and multiple actors' participation in making urban regeneration plans.[5] To exemplify these principles and produce promotable model projects, the municipal planning authority initiated the 'Walking in Shanghai' community public space micro-regeneration scheme (Case A) in 2016 that served as a prototype for later micro-regeneration schemes. Adopting a design competition format, this initiative aimed to solicit design proposals for the renovation of prob-lematic leftover or underutilised space. In the initial 2 years of the scheme, most pilot projects were located within selected residential neighbourhoods (Fig. 3), and in the subsequent years, the scope of 'Walking in Shanghai' gradually expanded into the urban realm to include 'under-bridge' spaces (2018, 2019) and service facility building (2020).

To further test urban regeneration strategies outlined in the 'Shanghai 2035' masterplan published in 2018, the municipality encouraged community organisa-tions, professionals, philanthropies and other social groups to use more people-oriented methods to improve community governance in spatial planning coordination. Festivals, zines, markets, shared kitchens, gardens and other forms of community programmes have been used to facilitate community building and revit-alisation. Such community action-type micro-regeneration was unexpectedly

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'Shanghai sets four bottom lines for 13th Five-Year Plan: resident population should not exceed 25 million', Xinhua News, 24 December 2015. Available at: http://shzw.eastday.com/shzw/G/20151224/u1a9153282.html.

[4] 'Micro-regeneration is advancing from community pilot sites to more diverse public spaces', Jiefang Daily, 13 December 2021. Available at https://www.shanghai.gov.cn/nw4411/20211213/b52479f9fa8141e8ba6d7c43db57df18.html.

[5] 'Information on the Implementation Measures of Urban Regeneration in Shanghai', Shanghai Municipal Information Office, 2015. Available at: http://www.shio.gov.cn/sh/xwb/n790/n792/n925/n967/u1ai13031.html.

1980 Livable-oriented

Government financing (financial funds, government and public sector grants)

1990 Economic development oriented

During the transition from planned (command) to market economy, the land rent effect is utilised to entice foreign investment. Government led; enterprise operated.

2000 Heritage-presentation oriented

Under a socialist market economy, attract capital and take use of land transfer and leasing; government supported, enterprise operated, and public participated.

2010 Organic and incremental oriented with an emphasis on cultural preservation

Both top-down and bottom-up innovation kinds of public engagement proliferate; expert-guided and public participated.

2020 Competitiveness and high-quality development oriented

Adhering to the principles of "retention, reform, and demolition," as well as preservation and protection; government promoted, market operated, technology driven, and collaboratively building and sharing.

2015. "Shanghai Urban Regeneration Implementation Measures"

2016. "Four Action of Shanghai Urban Regeneration"
"Planning Guidance of 15-Minute Community–Life Circle"

2018. "Shanghai 2035"

2021. 14th Five-Year Plan and the goal of creating a "People's City"
Shanghai Urban Renovation Law

Shanghai Urban Renewal Progress

Case A
Case B
Case C
Case D

Fig. 1 Shifting urban regeneration paradigm in China. Source: authors' elaboration

Fig. 2 A variety of spatial interventions have been put under the umbrella of micro-regeneration. Source: author, various dates in 2019

boosted during the 2020 Covid outbreak as it helped community members to stay connected and motivated. A prominent example, the Seeding Plan (Case B), was launched in early 2020 during the pandemic by the Clover Nature School (CNS), a professional organisation most known for designing and managing community gardens to engage community environmental improvement, public participation and education. The project aimed to reconnect communities by building micro-gardens in private and semi-private spaces, sharing seeds among neighbours and keeping each other updated on the garden-making progress (Fig. 4). By doing so, it not only encouraged direct daily communication among community members but also advocated proactive participation in turning the otherwise leftover space into community public space.

As the 14th Five-Year Plan put forward the 'People's City' vision, local governments became more invested in model projects not only as tangible improvements of the local environment but more importantly as displays of local urban regeneration achievements and demonstrations of the 'People's City' ideal. One such model project is the Xinhua neighbourhood (Case C) selected as an exhibition neighbourhood in the 2021 Shanghai Urban Space Art Season (SUSAS) to showcase the sub-district government's achievements in implementing the '15-minute Community Life Circle'.[6] Dayu, the community organisation tasked by the municipal government to implement this project, specialises in stimulating residents to engage in community affairs collaboratively and creatively. They sought to reactivate local businesses by transforming existing commercial spaces into small exhibition halls where local businesses could showcase their daily activities to the wider public

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[6] 'SUSAS 2021', https://www.susas.com.cn/en/about.html.

Fig. 3 Representative projects from Case A. Source: author, various dates in 2019

Fig. 4 Community garden and seed station from Case B. Source: author, December 2021

Fig. 5 Transformation of commercial space into exhibition space in Case C. Source: author, September 2021

(Fig. 5). This way not only were residents and businesses mobilised in the regeneration of the neighbourhood, but the positive changes were also highly visible to the general public.

Because of its manageable scale and experimental nature, micro-regeneration has become a popular pedagogical programme for various social actors as well as students and design professionals new to the most recent developments in urban regeneration. In one of the most recent examples, the first National Community Garden Design and Construction Competition and Community Participation Action co-organised in 2021 by a local university and a magazine on architecture and landscape design, Dongming subdistrict (Case D) was chosen as the testing site for interested citizens, professional landscape architects and college students to make public spaces in neighbourhoods collaboratively. The competition drew 362 students from 26 universities around the country, ultimately resulting in the formation of 42 teams and the renovation of a total of 34 sites within the subdistrict ranging from building corner spaces to community centre public spaces (Fig. 6). Such programmes encouraged the residents, rather than designers or facilitators, to occupy the front stage. Professionals were meant to play an initiating role in stimulating the local community to self-organise and explore the different possibilities for transforming their neighbourhoods.

Fig. 6 Landscape improvement in Case D. Source: author, October 2021

3   Inclusion in Micro-regeneration: Motivations and Mechanisms

3.1   A Myriad of Motivations for Inclusion

Aiming to 'inspire a sense of honour, belonging, and mastery and create an atmosphere of every member of society building, sharing, and governing the city',[7] micro-regeneration in effect produces tools and mechanisms that make local place-making more inclusive than before in the quest for participation and co-creation. As more actors become aware of prospective changes and, to varying degrees, empowered to contribute to local transformation, previously government-dominated urban renewal processes are partially opened, allowing more diverse groups of professionals and social actors to participate. Simultaneously, local communities become inspired to contribute to improving their living environment, not only by providing feedback or taking part in design-led events devised by external facilitators but also by initiating and participating in more hands-on daily activities.

Before examining various mechanisms embedded in micro-regeneration that bring this inclusiveness, a closer examination of the motivations of different actors initiating or joining micro-regeneration at different stages is needed. As the key player in urban regeneration, the municipal planning authority has been keen to demonstrate the efficacy of social participation as an important component of urban regeneration in the new urban context. Encouraging public participation not only directs resources to target problems raised from the locals' perspectives but also symbolically demonstrates that the planning authority and the government in general are turning away from the old managerial approach to a more service-oriented role (Ma & Ying, 2016). For different levels of government, the participatory and

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[7] 'Seminar on Shanghai's Four Action Plans for Urban Regeneration 2016 and "Walking in Shanghai" Brand Launch', Shanghai Municipal Planning and Natural Resources Bureau, 2016. Available at: http://ghzyj.sh.gov.cn/xwfb/20200110/0032-684984.html.

inclusive elements in micro-regeneration add to the legitimacy of these spatial transformation processes and echo Shanghai's recent 'People's City' vision. In addition to demonstrating local progress and achievement, they are also crucial in highlighting the shift in the government-people relationship and the development of growing social awareness.[8]

According to interviews with those participating in the design of various micro-regeneration projects, personal passions and professional objectives strongly influence the participation of designers and facilitators in micro-regeneration. Designers with academic backgrounds or research interests in community development see participating in micro-regeneration as a research opportunity. Given various micro-regeneration projects' promise to follow through the entire project, relatively inexperienced designers and design students seek to use micro-regeneration to start building their professional profiles and apply what they learn in college to the real world. Native Shanghainese designers are also often motivated by their attachment to specific places or the old neighbourhood as a particular interesting component of the Shanghai residential typology. The aspiring NGOs tend to use micro-regeneration as an advanced test to interrogate how to include public voices in shaping neighbourhoods. This sometimes creates tensions between communities and NGOs since what some people see as the NGOs' exploration of new methods for promoting public participation in city-building could be perceived by local people as self-promotion and self-branding.

The participation of locals and the wider public is often personal and self-oriented, rarely inspired by inclusion as a social ideal. For example, some elderly people in Case D joined because this programme allowed them to claim a small portion of public space near their apartments to expand their planting territory (interviews with residents, June 2022). In Case C, with the programme allowing individuals to self-define their participatory projects, most social actors were motivated by more practical personal pursuits than a pure aspiration to help improve inclusive placemaking. For example, some young scholars offered to be researchers, recorders or workers so that they might collect the required information to do their research (interviews with two student researchers, December 2021). Some artists saw it as an opportunity to organise a solo exhibition, acquire skills and test neighbourhood art exhibitions (interviews with an artist and a curator, November 2021). In other words, contributing to the public welfare by working for the underrepresented people is often only a secondary motivation for these participants.

3.2   Informing, Inviting and Actively Contributing: A Mix of Reactive and Proactive Inclusion Measures

Over the years, micro-regeneration increasingly shows the potential as a catalyst that encourages communities to proactively contribute to community spatial and

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[8] "Urban Social Governance Enters the 2.0 Era", Xinmin Weekly, 6 January 2016. Available at: http://www.xinminweekly.com.cn/fengmian/2016/01/06/6628.html.

social changes in addition to reactively being invited to consultation events and informed of project progress. The tools and mechanisms enabling this mix of reactive and proactive participation can be discerned in different aspects of micro-regeneration including project initiation, project task, the role of facilitator, programme publicity and external incentives.

3.2.1 Project Initiation: From Imposing to Empowering

Since its early days, the promoters of micro-regeneration have attempted to distinguish it from conventional urban regeneration by highlighting residents' roles. For example, the pilot projects in Case A were chosen through a combination of bottom-up nomination and top-down designation, where residents were asked to propose their neighbourhoods as candidate sites to the local governments who then passed these intentions of participation to the municipal planning authority to coordinate further programme organisation. Although this approach had innate problems with the viability of public-proposed projects and the real degree of democratic decision-making, it symbolised the inclusion of local communities in the otherwise strictly top-down and imposed urban regeneration agenda. Similarly, in subsequent cases, residents could propose suitable sites, and government and professionals would review proposals, make evaluations and proceed with decisions. Still, the symbolic nature of such practices cannot be dismissed, and the persistent difference between local knowledge and professional judgement often leads professionals to think of the inclusion of too many voices as impractical or counter-effective (interviews with designers, May 2019).

3.2.2 Project Task: From Formal Design Intervention to Informal Open-Ended Daily Activity

Early projects such as Case A featured design tasks predominantly tackled by professionals. As a result, participatory measures such as questionnaire surveys and design review meetings were used by designers to collect information useful for making design decisions. Techniques such as these made the placemaking process more inclusive compared to the conventional formal consultation procedures in community affairs, but this inclusion was still one-directional and reactive as it was aimed at producing a consensual design outcome. As the technicality of design weighed heavily in such cases, inclusive procedures alone might not be enough to encourage active participation as residents considered the design interventions irrelative to them, lacked the experience to understand the project on paper or feared they were not competent enough to voice their suggestions (interviews with designers, various dates, 2019).

As micro-regeneration becomes increasingly open-ended and self-defined, more mundane and easy-to-complete activities are replacing professional-led formal design tasks, which enables micro-regeneration to stimulate more inclusive possibilities. For example, in Case B, locals were given the simple task of planting seeds in their homes or semi-private spaces and inviting ten other neighbours to participate. In this way, not only were community gardens built through incremental and collaborative efforts, but residents were also able to connect with their neighbours

with the help of activities and shared stories. This restoration of social networks proved to be extremely important for morale during the pandemic (interviews with designers and residents, various dates, 2022). Similarly, the exhibition platform in Case C provided venues for residents and other actors involved to showcase their individual projects and manifest how they were contributing to the community with their personal interests. These examples show that micro-regeneration is transitioning from technical design tasks to open-ended and daily placemaking, which in turn accommodates the goals and motivations of more diverse actors and stimulates participant interests, hence making the community regeneration programmes more inclusive.

3.2.3   Role of Facilitator: From Designing a Project to Managing a Platform

The development of micro-regeneration also sees the role of professionals shifting from designers of spatial improvements to facilitators of processes and further to managers of everyday community building. In the early days of micro-regeneration, professionals mostly became involved as participants in design competitions or through direct commission, and their main task was designing the project as technical experts. However, in some Case A projects, designers had started to act as an intermediary more consciously between resident groups, local governments and other stakeholders (interviews with designers, various dates, 2019). As micro-regeneration shifts from formal design interventions to informal, ongoing and open-ended community improvement, professionals also start to assume more diverse responsibilities as facilitators and managers by developing appropriate toolboxes or platforms. For example, CNS in Case B utilised a mobile phone application that allowed daily check-in, measurement of the duration and frequency of the participated events, story sharing and regular communication. In trying to cultivate participation and sharing habits, CNS acted as a facilitator enabling the collective production of the space and autonomous decision-making about the space based on a large subject. Similarly, in Case C, Dayu invested much in facilitation activities such as organising routine meetings and workshops, recruiting volunteers and mediating conflicts. While not conventionally considered a designer's responsibility, these activities help build bonds among stakeholders and stimulate more public interest in joining the scheme. These shifting roles of professionals ultimately help maintain a more inclusive milieu that exists beyond a single one-off design-led project.

3.2.4   Programme Publicity: From Giving Information to Explaining Philosophy

In addition, micro-regeneration practices become more inclusive as strategies for publicity diversify and increasingly appeal to individual interests. Rather than simply issuing an announcement informing people of pending projects and demanding comments, recent micro-regeneration initiatives put greater emphasis on attracting citizen participation and contribution by highlighting the project philosophy and developing a shared value and consensus. For example, in Case D, a programme

advocating for the collective improvement of public spaces in the neighbourhood, the organisers tried to convey to residents the philosophy of 'instead of waiting for the government to implement long-term plans, we can begin with community gardens in which we can all contribute to improving our living environment' (interview with a landscape architect, January 2022). Many residents actively participated exactly because they were convinced by this idea, and they aspired to try if they could indeed transform their own living environment (interviews with residents, March 2022). This case exemplifies that by using an explanatory approach and sharing the project philosophy, micro-regeneration could potentially become more inclusive by resonating with residents on a deeper level and consequently inviting more proactive participation.

3.2.5 External Incentives: From Individual Action to a Sense of Community and Collective Recognition

Finally, micro-regeneration can symbolically and ideologically encourage inclusion by evoking a sense of community and collective ownership. For example, in Case B, CNS used the social media platform to publish information as well as to instil in residents a sense of social identity as members of a larger community with a passion for maintaining public spaces (interview with an urban planner, January 2022). In Cases C and D, the official social media accounts at the community to subdistrict levels published updates on everyday involvements, openly praising the accomplishments of participants and nudging interested but hesitant community members to act. As an example, the personal experience of one local resident in Case D who not only participated in the programme herself but helped her neighbours with questions or confusion was widely circulated, and this motivated more people to join in the action (interviews with residents, November 2021). By displaying the personal experiences of locals, these motivating methods demonstrate that everyone can make positive changes and that they can collectively contribute to improving the neighbourhood's physical and social environment.

Evoking collective ownership also entails the use of incentives to provide extra motivation. The incentive does not have to be substantial monetary gains or promotion to any formal role within community organisations since getting social recognition and affirmation could be effective enough to encourage individuals to take the first step into collective placemaking (interviews with residents and designers, various dates, 2021 and 2022). One community participant in Case B was awarded a 'super active participant' for her outstanding contributions to the Seeding programme. This informal award was enough encouragement for this individual to feel a greater sense of responsibility and to continue her contribution, and what's more, this recognition also encouraged other community members to place more trust in this 'advanced' individual and follow suit (interviews with residents, various dates, 2021).

4   Challenges and Outlook

In Shanghai, the emergence of micro-regeneration cannot be separated from the city's pursuit of the 'Excellent Global City' and 'People's City' status, and the emphasis on participation, co-creation and social governance creates the condition for exploring inclusive placemaking. The preceding discussions on the one hand reveal that the stakeholders' diverse rationales are intertwined with the mechanisms of specific micro-regeneration programmes, producing different results in physical environment upgrades and community building. This complex interplay shows that to make the inclusive methods that push for participatory practices more effective, it is important to consider the internal motivations for proactive participation, which can be very local and context-specific. Simultaneously, a pattern could be discerned that the ongoing micro-regeneration experiments are shifting from informing and inviting citizens to citizens proactively contributing. These coexisting dynamics are reflected in the changes in project initiation, project task, the role of facilitator, programme publicity and external incentives that all stimulate and encourage the re-articulation of the social inclusion discourse in city-making.

Through the case studies, it is possible to identify some effective strategies to make local placemaking more inclusive and spark communities' proactive participation in the process. First, holding design competitions and other community programmes with competitive elements is helpful for soliciting new ideas as well as bringing social capital and resources into the community. It also appeals to the motivations of interested professional and social enterprises, which is beneficial since inclusive city-making includes the disadvantaged or underrepresented groups and other relevant actors who can help create a more inclusive social milieu. Second, inclusive placemaking should go beyond formal spatial interventions and draw on the advantages of informal, open-ended actions. This shift from reactive participation to proactive participation could maximise the mix of external motivation and self-motivation that pull people to actively participate in public affairs. Third, the use of digital platforms and other forms of technical support within micro-regeneration strategies should be further explored. Circulation of stories and progresses on these platforms is not only simply disseminating information but also creating a sense of involvement and ownership, which have also proven useful for easing individuals into participation in community-related actions. Last but not least, facilitators play a crucial role in inclusive placemaking by setting out rules, developing appropriate toolboxes and platforms and stimulating people's interest and confidence. Rather than dominating the process, they need to work closely with active local community members because the model effect embedded in the local social network cannot be downplayed. Or as Sennett (1992) contends, design professionals should provide people with the opportunity to learn how to outline their own futures rather than doing it for them.

This discussion of inclusive city-making in the context of Shanghai's ongoing micro-regeneration practices still leaves three important questions waiting to be explored. The first concerns where the decision-making power ultimately lies. The case studies show that practices are changing from reactive to proactive

participation, and with the support of improved policies and the facilitation of creative mechanisms, more diverse voices and standpoints have been included in different stages. However, even though communities have some ability to influence the direction of development or the details of design, there are still things that are not open for public debate such as local development policies and regulatory plans. Beyond the micro-regeneration phenomenon, many studies conclude that participation and inclusion in the Chinese context are still mostly consultation rather than real decision-making (Samara, 2015), and main stakeholders' rights and responsibilities remain unchanged (Xu & Lin, 2018). What needs to be further explored is how to make the decision-making process truly more inclusive by rebalancing the existing power dynamics in urban development.

The second question is how to balance the pattern book and the case-by-case approaches to inclusive placemaking. The case studies reveal the decision-makers' intention to use model projects to create a pattern book of exemplary micro-regeneration practices to be promoted more widely. This approach has indeed been successful in popularising the idea of micro-regeneration and persuading local stakeholders to adopt well-tested design methods. But the general good principles and intentions do not necessarily fit into specific local conditions. The useful tactics identified earlier work in the analysed cases, but their applicability in other conditions, with different local aspirations and development needs, is questionable. What remains to be explored is how to harness the context-specific attitudes, intentions and deployable resources and to design inclusive mechanisms that respond to specific local situations.

The final question is how to make inclusive placemaking a sustainable long-term process rather than a one-off project limited by specific facilitators, funding cycles and other restraints. Fundamentally, in the increasingly diverse and contentious urban world, an inclusive city should not be treated as a normative ideal but as a dynamic and open process shaped by the interplay of different motivations, rationales and agendas. Therefore, how to sustainably drive holistic endeavours remains a challenge, since relying on the government and waiting for changes is not a proactive way to contribute to a more inclusive city. This is why this chapter attempts to address the shift from reactive to proactive participation to determine the stimulus and mechanism that might change the existing governance mode, ignite people's passion and increase civic awareness. In order to evaluate the prospect of establishing more sustainable inclusion mechanisms, further research and experiments are needed. Ultimately, an inclusive city should be treated as a dynamic, open process rather than a normative ideal, and both reactive and proactive inclusion and participation mechanisms are needed in inclusive placemaking for urban actors as agents with both external connections to diverse urban processes and internal perceptions and judgments. Thus, inclusion should not remain a one-time endeavour, but need to become a long-term mechanism for more sustainable inclusion.

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Part II

Transformation of Cities Through Inclusive Development Processes

Living in Contexts: Transforming Housing Vacancies as a Driving Concept for Inclusive Cities

Ulrike Fettke and Elisabeth Wacker

1   Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing awareness of housing availability as a global problem (Wetzstein, 2017), which also affects most Western countries. Property prices are rising, especially in metropolitan regions such as Paris, Lisbon or Berlin, which are increasingly expanding into their surrounding areas. Housing markets are tightening not only in inner cities but also in the surrounding regions with an extremely limited housing supply (Dewilde, 2022). As housing is considered a ticket to health (Swope & Hernández, 2019) and social life (von Einem, 2016, p. 9), the risks of neglecting public health care, discrimination and exclusion in the housing market as well as social participation and inclusion are on the rise.

Municipalities across Germany have a particular interest in ensuring that the existing housing stock is used efficiently, as they have limited resources for new and (social) housing development (von Einem, 2016). Improved use of built infrastructure provides the following benefits such as more places for people to live, the more efficient use of natural resources and prevention of social segregation and exclusion. Current challenges and forecasts are prompting more and more municipalities to focus on vacant housing.

These are also the targets of the municipalities in the Dachau district, a region of the Munich metropolitan area characterised by strong population and economic growth and housing problems, especially displacement (Voglmann et al., 2021, p. 406). The mayors of the district note that lower-income professionals, such as police or healthcare workers, who are urgently needed to provide public services for the community, also have a tough task in finding affordable housing. At the same time, there are local estimates of about 2000 vacant housing units, many of them in

U. Fettke (✉) · E. Wacker
Technical University of Munich, Munich, Germany
e-mail: ulrike.fettke@tum.de; elisabeth.wacker@tum.de

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private detached houses. This housing shortage and its consequences have led the district's 17 municipalities to actively participate in the research project WohL 'Worthy places from unused spaces' (in German: Wohnungsleerstand wandeln!— WohL, i.e., Transforming Vacant Housing), with the aim of combining their efforts to find solutions for the re-use of vacant housing in the district.

However, municipalities have good reasons, and several options for action to meet the needs and their obligations related to equal housing opportunities and social inclusion. The Dachau case illustrates that it is important to think more carefully about the impact of the transformation of vacant housing on living together (in the community). Simply creating housing does not automatically establish a welcoming environment for a diverse population. In order to promote a vibrant community, it is important to focus attention on inclusion and dealing with diversity.

This is exactly where the WohL study based on the concept of action research (Lewin, 1948) takes off. In this tradition, participatory research is mainly used in health and inequality research. It looks for solutions customised to situations but stresses participation instead of action (von Unger, 2014, p. 3). The subjects under study participate, do research and interpret themselves (Hartung et al., 2020, p. 6). Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) is a research format of participatory research tailored to communities (Israel et al., 1998) and urban settings, where it can be adapted to the dynamics of the field (Higgins & Metzler, 2001).

Accordingly, the WohL study is tailored to the Dachau case. Using Dachau as an example, the WohL study shows the possibilities of a problem-oriented exchange of experiences as well as the possibilities and the potential of conflict solving. The WohL study offers solutions in a field with unequal starting positions. There are those who are desperate for housing and those who can afford vacant housing. Based on different starting positions, it is possible to think about a communal transformation, which also corresponds to the concept of inclusive communities.

In the following report, the findings from the current literature on transforming vacant housing are presented. Then, the WohL study and its case study, the Dachau district, are outlined. This example is subsequently used to discuss how the transformation of vacant housing can lead to more inclusive communities. Finally, the contribution of community participation to the municipal conflict culture is presented and considered as a potential.

2   Re-using Vacant Housing and Building Inclusive Communities

With the growth of cities, urban and rural living environments are becoming increasingly interwoven. At the same time, social contrasts are not dissolving, but condensing into growing challenges. Social inclusion, however, means that there should be no winners or losers and living together must develop accordingly. A decline in the numbers of vacant housing units may contribute to this.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the researchers of the Chicago School (Park & Burgess, 1925) recognised that social inequality and urban planning

practices influence each other. Recent studies illustrate that both factors continue to be important for the housing of today with the municipal level exerting key influence on planning, construction and thereby affordability and healthy housing conditions (Heeg, 2013; Burckhardt, 2017; Helbrecht & Weber-Newth, 2017; Köckler & Fehr, 2018). Accordingly, the municipal level is said to have an unrivalled influence on gentrification processes via urban planning instruments, real estate policies and the management practices of public housing companies. However, a high share of private owners reduces the public sector's possibilities to exert influence, as municipalities cannot freely dispose of built infrastructure (Schipper & Latocha, 2018) and the willingness to negotiate vacant housing at the individual level is usually not widespread for reasons of privacy.

At the same time, housing is considered a ticket to social life. Indeed, housing is crucial for social inclusion and a key factor for health (WHO, 2010). Like most scarce resources, housing is linked to social inequality, unequal distribution of threats and opportunities and associated risks of social exclusion. Housing risks are dependent on access to the housing market, housing quality, housing stability (Swope & Hernández, 2019), housing costs and the clustering of vulnerable groups in certain neighbourhoods (FRA, 2007; Hinz & Auspurg, 2017). Consequently, unequal housing conditions can place an additional burden on socio-economically worse off citizens and affect social inclusion. In turn, social inclusion is seen as having the potential to cushion income inequality (Wilkinson, 1999).

Furthermore, there are studies showing that social inclusion in peri-urban communities is hindered by social inequalities related to the urban-rural nexus, which are evident in housing. In formerly more rural communities, people with rural and urban orientations live together. There are high barriers for people who are seen as outsiders. This results in tensions that are evident in regional discourses, social norms and values, cultural practices and spatial concentrations of residents (Mießner & Naumann, 2021). Especially in rural communities, people tend to form close relationships. COVID-19 made it even more difficult for those who moved to a rural community to establish new contacts and participate in community life (Van Beek c Patulny, 2022).

Housing research shows for the tight housing markets in Germany that different social groups are disadvantaged in terms of housing opportunities such as single-parents, female-headed households, people with a migrant background (Atkinson, 2000; FRA, 2007; Beran & Nuissl, 2019) as well as younger, urban and tenant households (Dewilde, 2022, p. 374) or those members of the community who are simply socio-economically worse off. Recent developments such as rising investment cost, escalating property prices, rising rents, restrictions on housing options and rising housing costs leading to a tightening of housing markets also affect suburban regions (Meuth & Reutlinger, 2021).

This is contrasted by the housing surplus, which is reflected in high-income households taking advantage of larger and higher-quality housing (Lebuhn et al., 2017, p. 44). Housing consumption is particularly problematic in metropolitan areas, where there are more single households, which have been shown to consume more living space per capita (Lebuhn et al., 2017). Many single households result

from demographic processes and remanence effects (Hensold, 2013, p. 82). Consequently, one person remains in the large family household after other family members have moved out or died. It is often women, as they have on average a higher life expectancy (Kolland et al., 2018).

In Germany, there is potential for a housing transformation. Studies show that older people complain about too much living space, while younger people feel constricted in flats that are too small (IfD, 2019, p. 12). On the one hand, researchers are now noting a new appeal of shared housing that could reduce, for example, the negative health effects of loneliness and isolation associated with living alone (WHO, 2007, p. 20). On the other hand, multi-generational family living is no longer considered up-to-date in society (Spellerberg et al., 2018, p. 2), which points to a need for more social inclusion.

Consequently, there is social inequality in the distribution of housing risks and opportunities with corresponding effects on social inclusion. The municipal level is seen as responsible for dealing with this situation. However, at the same time, the ownership structure poses a challenge for interventions accompanying this. Therefore, it is worth considering the motives and backgrounds of the owners of vacant housing.

Reflecting on the research situation, possible connections to inclusion concerns are to be expected

- In the area of spatial inclusion, through affordable housing and access to basic infrastructure and social services for all.
- In the area of social inclusion, it is about equity and participation for different groups of the population.
- With regard to economic inclusion, the equitable opportunities to participate in the general welfare and the appropriate environmental factors related to daily needs, such as the corresponding services and networks, are under review.

The inclusion dimensions are considered in more detail based on the Dachau case study.

3   WohL: A Field Study in the Dachau District

In view of the fact that housing is a sensitive field of research. Numerous actors, stakeholders and institutions are involved in housing markets. In the WohL study, a participatory research study using various survey methods was conducted at the suggestion of the municipalities in the Dachau district. In addition to a fact-based description of the initial situation in a panoramic view and the regional expertise gained in a Delphi study, qualitative interviews were also conducted. These have been used to ask the owners of vacant housing why they were not letting. Through communication, negotiation and cooperation with different stakeholders in the district's communities, appropriate solutions for dealing with vacant housing will finally be developed.

The conceptual starting point of the WohL study is the idea that vacant housing can be used again. According to the theoretical perspective of communicative constructivism, the research activities are continuously part of communication in the research field. The researchers 'always experience the field processes themselves' (Knoblauch, 2012, p. 7). In the interaction, contrary opinions and objectifications emerge, such as ideas for the re-use of vacant housing.

The objective of the WohL study is to create an understanding about appealing possibilities for the re-use of vacant housing. Potential forms of re-use include renting or shared housing, which contribute to higher levels of community well-being due to shared costs, additional household income and reduced feelings of loneliness.

In the WohL study, vacant housing was defined in the participation process as formerly unused housing space that is re-used for residential purposes through renting out or creating new housing. Unused space includes detached buildings and residential units that are not permanently used by at least one person as a space of living, working, storage or otherwise. The definition is based on the official definition of vacant space as permanently vacant buildings or residential units that can be made usable as living space (inter alia Klebsch, 1997, p. 536). Stipulated by the WohL study, permanent non-use requires that the housing unit has been vacant for at least 6 months.

For the project partners' ideas, it was important that the definition includes the official understanding of housing. According to the laws of the German Federal States, there is a minimum requirement for housing, based on a history of case law on housing, passed by the German Federal Administrative Court (BVerwG) in January 1990 and stated in Sect. 40 (1) of the Housing Act, which was repealed in 1985. There must be a functional house letterbox, a bathroom with washbasin and tub or shower, a toilet, a connection for radio or television, an extractor fan and a smoke detector.

The WohL study follows a concept of CBPR with different research components reported according to Smith et al. (2010).

3.1 Community-based Participatory Research: Being Part of and Taking Part in

CBPR combines a case study, initiated and conducted in close cooperation with practice partners, with an experimental approach and aetiological considerations. Like other forms of participatory research, CBPR thus offers a tool for designing an inclusive and diversity-sensitive process of collective learning that begins with the joint identification of challenges, enables sustainable problem solving and opens up new ways of dealing with inconsistencies. This leads to a mindset of community-based inclusion (CBI) and provides a conceptual framework for developing future-oriented strategies to change current consciousness in communities. Therefore, CBPR design of WohL is supported by elements of CBI.

In CBPR, not only the researchers but also the community play an active role in deciding on the research topics and conducting the research. The research topics are

developed in a participatory manner, which enables a common growth of knowledge that strengthens community cohesion through shared learning processes and creates a collective awareness and identification (Zuber-Skerritt, 2015). The development of research topics within the framework of CBPR enables an extensive gain of knowledge. In this way, community stakeholders are given a voice, and sustainable results are achieved. In doing so, the CBPR research process aims to develop mutual trust and a sense of belonging in the communities through productive and collaborative exchange and to strengthen the constructive management of diversity of interests, resources and access.

The shared resources strengthen the ability to deal constructively with the aforementioned diversity (Tung et al., 2021). In doing so, the participants expect knowledge and structures to emerge from both the research process and the field itself (bidirectional empowerment) that persists in the communities even after the field study has been completed.

A fundamental concern of CBPR is to include marginalised and established groups in the common learning process, which can facilitate the search for solutions that are acceptable to all stakeholders. Moreover, involving marginalised and established groups in a shared learning process can lead to solutions acceptable to all stakeholders. Thus, participatory research brings people together who would otherwise hardly meet to exchange ideas by stimulating and organising discussions.

However, the challenges of CBPR are that its processes are time-consuming. Information sharing and assessments are repetitive. Often, sensitive groups are difficult to reach. Typically, the processes bring together many different perspectives with varying levels of expertise, requiring facilitation skills from the research team. Another fundamental challenge is the selection of participants (Israel et al., 1998, p. 185). The subsequent challenge is the form of participation, to which there is also no standard answer (von Unger, 2012, p. 8).

There is a certain constellation of established and marginalised groups when it comes to housing provision. There are groups that have particular difficulties in accessing affordable housing. These people are more likely to face risks such as displacement pressures, and they may not have access to community-based research activities. At the same time, there are groups who own vacant flats and houses. Even those owners who are familiar with issues of housing shortage and abundance often do not understand why they should talk about their obligations as property owners or about the required changes in the use of their own property.

In the light of the preconditions, researchers and municipal partners have jointly considered the WohL study's research design. The municipal partners are actively involved in the research process itself. Representatives of one municipality representing the other 16 municipalities and the researchers meet monthly to talk to each other, coordinate the research steps and exchange information about project issues on an ongoing basis. In addition, there is a Council of Municipalities where the mayors participate as 'approved' members (Israel et al., 1998) of the municipalities they represent. There, they contribute action knowledge and provide an explanatory authority (von Unger, 2012), support access to municipal authorities and to
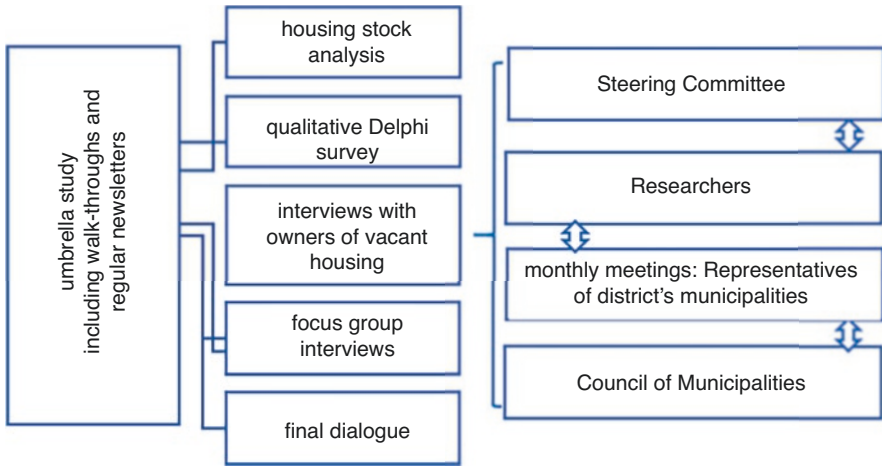
Fig. 1 The research design of the WohL study; source: the authors

subjective perspectives on vacant housing. In addition, a Steering Committee composed of local stakeholders meets twice a year to advise the research team (see Fig. 1).

3.2   Methods of Data Collection

The research components of the WohL study are designed to focus on different participation opportunities. The research started with an umbrella study that included desktop research on the district and its municipalities. A profile (McAdam & Schaffer Boudet, 2012) of the district was created by analysing census data and collecting data about the municipalities from various documents such as official homepages and newspaper reports. A survey of the municipal administrations collected information on a municipal analysis of the housing stock. The statistical information was supplemented by findings gained from walking for fact finding in the municipalities of the district.

At the same time, a qualitative two-stage Delphi survey was carried out with experts to assess the local housing market and possibilities for re-using vacant housing. In the monthly meetings, 15 Delphi experts were selected corresponding to the facets of the district's housing market (Hasse, 2012) and its context. After the first stage, the written feedback was analysed with a summary content analysis (Mayring, 2000). The results were published in a fact sheet (Fettke & Wacker, submitted).

The qualitative interviews with the owners of vacant housing were not completed by the time of publishing. In order to contact the owners while maintaining data protection, the municipal administrations send two letters to the owners they have identified in the analysis of the housing stock. In one letter, the mayor addresses the owners personally and explains the vacancy potential of the housing units. In

another letter, the researchers ask for support with the survey, provide their contact details and inform them about the survey and its framework conditions. If the owners agree to an interview, the researchers call to arrange a personal meeting (problem-centred interviews; Witzel & Reiter, 2012).

Focus group interviews and a final dialogue follow. In the focus group interviews, different groups will discuss with owners about solutions for vacant housing that are acceptable to them. The final dialogue includes a presentation and discussion of the results of the WohL study with the community. By involving all communities in a participatory reflection process related to the diversity of local groups in housing, the WohL study captures different perspectives in order to find approaches for transforming vacant housing to benefit the quality of life as well as social diversity and inclusion in the community. The Dachau case study will now be used to establish the handling of different and contradictory stakes in the municipalities.

4 Social Diversity and Inclusion Using the Dachau Case as an Example

The Dachau district is a formerly rural part of the Munich metropolitan region. The district is characterised by its good public transport link, motorway access and connections to the City of Munich and other Bavarian towns. There are several important local junctions. In the south-east, where the district borders on Munich, the Capital of Bavaria with its municipal government and its administration, the infrastructural density is particularly high (see Fig. 2). Across the region, municipalities and local housing experts note increasing tensions regarding the housing situation.

The issues of social inclusion and diversity are important to Dachau's municipalities, not only because they are responsible for providing public services but also because they are committed to creating a vibrant community. Their responsibilities include not only the supply of public service professionals, such as police and medical staff, and the provision of essential public (care) facilities like hospitals or kindergartens, but also the accommodation of persons on social welfare or refugees with unclear residence status.

Based on the considerations of re-using vacant housing and building inclusive communities, spatial, social and economic dimensions are taken into account when analysing the inclusion concerns.

Rising rents in the Dachau district tend to homogenise the residents. In a tight housing market, rising housing prices tend to benefit those with more financial resources per capita. Those who are socio-economically worse off have a hard time finding a place to live. Only households with higher incomes, such as dual-income households, households without children or with a few children and with a high level of education, can afford to settle down and live there, according to a report by the housing experts of the WohL Delphi study. In access to housing, the better-off groups have advantages compared to the economically weaker groups, as they are favoured by landlords. In this context, municipalities report the appearance of 'loser
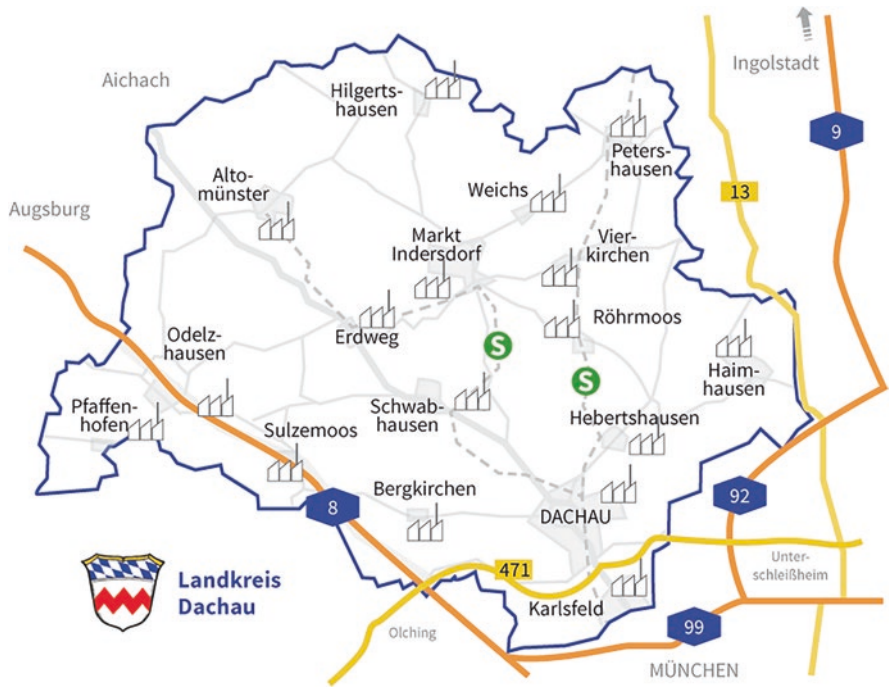
Fig. 2 Infrastructure in the Dachau district; Source: Dachau District, https://www.dachauer-land.com/de/, accessed 15 Sept 2022

groups' in the housing markets who are desperately looking for flats and housing. Many of them search without success, including those who are lower-paid public sector employees. Families and other larger households, including those born and raised in the district, are also looking for new housing due to changes in their lives. Meanwhile, in the Dachau district, the confluence of vacant housing, housing shortages and the associated effects lead to less social diversity in the communities.

The mayors are concerned about the decreasing housing opportunities for some social groups, as well as related low population turnover and an ageing population.

At the same time, the 'winners on the housing market' expect municipal services—but the provision of public services requires population diversity. This creates another form of supply gap that must be bridged by the municipalities.

Municipalities thus have to deal with

- Significant housing shortages, which even make it difficult to accommodate locals, but at the same time with
- Housing that is not fully used and, finally, with limited possibilities to expand the housing supply.

In the meantime, there are streets characterised by vacant housing. In the neighbourhoods of the so-called widow's streets (Witwenstraßen), people have been

living in family homes for many decades, after the departure or death of other family members and mostly alone.

At the same time, the construction of new housing, for which plots of land need to be developed, is being critically discussed. The municipalities try to refrain from land sealing, which is criticized for accelerating climate change. The mayors in the WohL study also report that additionally developed housing is seeping away due to increasing land consumption. All these circumstances demand attention to be paid to encouraging a more efficient use of the existing housing stock.

The experts of the WohL Delphi survey reiterate the challenges for community life, for example, for municipal funding of infrastructures such as public care facilities. From the experts' points of view, the challenges described arise from the emergence of 'loser groups' in the housing market, from the larger number of wealthier newcomers and from bottlenecks in housing supply. Newcomers are regarded as people who find it difficult to settle into community life. The experts explain that newcomers' perceptions of community life differ from those of long-established citizens. While the long-time residents are socially rooted in the local communities through family ties and close contacts, the newcomers tend to be more city-oriented. Many of them commute to the city (especially Munich). They also spend their free time there and maintain close contacts. As a result, newcomers and long-established citizens meet less frequently. The common denominators in the social networks are thus decreasing. Involvement in local organisations and citizens' initiatives is declining. Consequently, there are few opportunities for face-to-face encounters that would promote mutual exchange, community relations and social inclusion.

In general, the described discrepancies in housing present an increasing challenge for social inclusiveness at the municipal level in the Dachau district. Thus, the Dachau case shows that housing is also a pressing issue in addressing social diversity and inclusion agendas.

5   Discussion: Can Inclusion Orientation and Housing Inequalities Be Put Under the Same Roof?

Social conditions, lifestyles, self-perceptions, perceptions by others and much more shape communities as much as homogenising structures, procedures and arrangements. Many factors intersect and overlap in everyday life. Community life is demanding and, at the same time, has the potential to promote social cohesion and provides an important base for social inclusion and well-being. Research results point in this direction (Löw, 2014, p. 1). In order to draw conclusions from the Dachau case for a transformation of vacant housing, the advantages and limitations of the Dachau case are considered.

The Dachau case provides more detailed knowledge about the social, economic and spatial dimension of inclusion. When questions arise of how to deal successfully with inequality and social cohesion in society, it is not a matter of romantic fantasies, but of tangible tasks of organisation and action. Communities are an important foundation for this. The WohL study highlights that the way to a future in

which the well-being of people should be at the centre leads through community cohesion. It is not sufficient to shift all duties to the municipalities without thinking about citizen participation. What is the reasoning behind this approach? Bearing the finding in mind that social inclusion in the Dachau district is hampered by the emergence of new housing loser groups, the increase of wealthier newcomers and the limitation of housing supply, the Dachau case highlights the need to transform existing vacant housing to benefit social inclusion taking spatial and economic dimensions into consideration.

When it comes to strengthening inclusion, there are basic economic and spatial questions regarding the existing housing stock under spatial and building planning law that need to be addressed. The urban planning practice of providing for new construction in an area where people in comparable life stages mostly move into adjacent single-family houses contributes to a municipal culture of social homogeneity. Considering the higher life expectancy of women and those remaining family members after others have moved out, this leads to a spatial concentration of vacancies in the long run. Furthermore, living alone is a major risk for loneliness and has a negative impact on health, both of which jeopardise social inclusion. Additional risks to inclusion in the housing market arise from infill strategies favoured by urban planners. These set impulses to make residential areas compact, high-priced and investor-oriented, thus excluding users who do not have the economic resources. Since the new allocation of building plots and the associated sealing of land often contradict the political goals of sustainability, ecology and the retention of the townspace, the unequal distribution of housing space among the population results in the impetus for a change in the use of the built infrastructure—especially in metropolitan regions with tight housing markets. Rethinking the use of built infrastructure also makes sense because the construction of buildings consumes enormous natural resources and generates large amounts of used materials (Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Nuclear Safety and Consumer Protection, 2022).

As far as social inclusion is concerned, housing studies confirm the risk of disadvantages for certain groups of the population, that is, discrimination, social exclusion and displacement. Accordingly, a culture of high housing consumption reflects social inequalities. Fewer and fewer people now occupy large housing that was originally built for more people, mostly families (Brokow-Loga & Neßler, 2020, p. 185; Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2021). New buildings and flats built according to new concepts are also indicators that the size and quality of housing is seen as a status symbol. In accordance with the concerns of the mayors in the Dachau case, constant new construction is also criticised because it does not relieve the housing situation of people in precarious situations on the housing market (Heeg, 2013). At the same time, more and more people, especially households of older people, are affected by rising housing costs (Romeu Gordo et al., 2019). Thus, there is a potential new group of housing losers who may see advantages in modifying their housing situation, with implications for social inclusion.

Like in the Dachau case, recent studies also show gentrification in formerly rural communities and the associated challenges of social exclusion. The studies make it

clear that due to tight housing markets, many households are moving to the periphery of cities and into surrounding communities. There, in turn, the demand for housing and infrastructure increases (Beran & Nuissl, 2019; Voglmann et al., 2021), and gentrification progresses. The urbanisation of rural regions takes place through the increasing influx of people from urban areas and the corresponding expansion of infrastructure. The inflow changes the local social structure (Cloke & Thrift, 1987, p. 327; Savage et al., 2005; Mamonova & Sutherland, 2015) and ultimately leads to the risks of displacement of the socio-economically worse off (Beran & Nuissl, 2019).

If further homogenisation with its problematic effects on municipal responsibilities is not to be pushed forward, thought must be given to increasing competence in dealing with diversity and differences in the population. Without the participation of the population, municipalities are likely to fail in their economic capacity to solve all the tasks at hand. Therefore, it is also a question of economic inclusion. Investments in this direction will pay off.

The associated conflicts between people with urban and rural orientations (Mießner & Naumann, 2021) are documented in traditional sociological literature. Elias and Scotson's (1965) analysis of Winston Parva and its residential segregation, a famous documentation of the clashes between long-established groups and newcomers to the city, analysed the social exclusion evident in housing. The Dachau case shows corresponding lines of conflict. There, the influx also affects social inclusion when looking at urban lifestyles in rural areas, a connection that is also described in the more recent literature (Dirksmeier, 2009); in the WohL study, the experts of the Delphi survey, who were also selected because of their closeness to the communities, also expressed concerns about the community orientation of long-established citizens and newcomers. Those classified as long-established confirmed many areas of conflict. For successful concepts for more cohesion, the perspectives of the newcomers must also be taken into account. According to the literature, the new lifestyles and individualised networks decouple the place of residence and the community living there. The groups with new lifestyles distance themselves from their place of residence, are less interested in local processes and seek social relationships that are important to them elsewhere (Hogestijn et al., 2008, p. 153). According to Savage et al. (2005), this can also lead to withdrawal and disengagement of long-established groups. This creates indifference or erases long-established cultures of cohesion. For the Dachau case, it can be concluded that the pressure on municipalities as intermediary mediators and responsible institutions is growing enormously. The situation may become even more tense.

If solutions are not found, an attitude may increase whereby citizens withdraw from community responsibility and call for solutions without contributing, while at the same time residents have evolved into a group that expects a high level of services. Such tendencies contradict the idea of inclusive communities as well as the concern to make better use of existing resources, such as unused housing. Therefore, the question of how to bring inclusion orientation and equal opportunities in housing under one roof seems to be pressing for the near future.

The challenges known for participatory research, such as the selection of context appropriate forms of involvement, the selection of participants and time-consuming

procedures, were also identified for the WohL study. Together with the municipal contacts, time, personnel and participation issues were discussed for each research step in order to find solutions that would suit all partners. Overall, the effort of joint coordination is worthwhile. However, this is probably only practicable if the motivation to solve the issues is also high on the ground.

Although the Dachau case focuses on one district, for all parties concerned it illustrates that a thriving community is a matter of social inclusion and social diversity and shows corresponding dynamics. Living in a community means living in contexts. Communities are more than aggregates of houses in a space. Without committed citizens and a diversity of professional groups, there is no community life. However, municipalities also need resources, which are then to be brought to fruition. Therefore, the essential question is with which goals and activities the necessary transformations can succeed. The WohL study contributes to some of these aspects.

6   Conclusion: Joint Undertaking to Multiply Performance (JUMP)

Promoting social inclusion by re-using vacant housing implies creating opportunities fora diverse, cohesive and vibrant community. But how to transform vacant housing for the sake of social inclusion? The Dachau case exemplifies how a lively community is a matter of social inclusion and social diversity and social inclusion in housing is a municipal issue.

Inclusive housing may be achieved through a transformation in participation and inclusion by new community cultures of cohesion.

The WohL project was based on the idea of creating a community during the research process, which can release forces. The overriding advantage was that all participants started with the will to solve an identified task. The approach of trying to do this in a participatory way was negotiated with each other and understood by all. Within the framework set by data protection, there were also no limits to accessing the knowledge gained. Sharing knowledge and also thinking together about the transformation of knowledge does not correspond to a linear research process, but requires getting involved in participatory cycles.

- How were the different roles distributed and what had to be taken into account?

For the researchers, it was a special modus operandi not only to deliver results but to work them out together, always translating steps and procedures for the reference groups. This is how new knowledge was enriched. In concrete terms, this means that nothing works without dialogue.

In the communities, it was a matter of translating the project components into the usual processes in order to achieve co-productivity. In addition, the individual municipalities have very different knowledge about their own housing stock and its use. At the same time, they also have very different routines and resources,

measured by the respective size and administrative scope of the municipalities. Nevertheless, it was possible to rely on municipal 'routines' for exchange with the community members, that is, community newsletters, citizens' meetings, telephone contacts to the city halls, which also offered themselves as places of encounter. All were open to dialogue and participation. This was particularly remarkable because at the same time—during the Corona pandemic—there were very strict access restrictions everywhere.

The municipalities also exchanged information on the project (peer learning). This is a solid basis for the sustainable implementation of the initiatives launched. It is to be expected that municipal housing bridge working groups can now be established, which will follow a jointly developed work plan.

- What hurdles had to be overcome?

The researchers abandoned any kind of ivory tower behaviour, they were approachable and thus also at risk of jeopardising their academic independence and distance. Yet 'not doing politics' requires distance through much self-reflection and ongoing self-monitoring.

Likewise, it was clear that whilst social change must be implemented in the municipalities, this must also be a declared goal (transformation as a guiding idea). In this respect, on the one hand, epistemic interests were revealed and agreed upon from the beginning. However, the action tasks are interwoven in all directions. Thus, the WohL project is about research and development—as is always the case in action research.

To act in this complex field without participation and openness would have meant that there are high risks of overlooking essential aspects. Especially with regard to those groups that, for various reasons, tend to shy away from the public sphere.

The challenges have been solved by communicating them openly and by not speaking ex cathedra, but by allowing scientists to gain knowledge from expert groups from the field, from citizens as well as from the data and studies available in their own scientific community.

- What happens next?

It is assumed that the advantages of this approach outweigh the disadvantages. That is why a roadmap or action plan will eventually be courageously presented, in all the tentativeness inherent in action research (see Table 1).
- With thanks, wishes and prospects
What cannot be taken for granted is the patience, readiness to understand and open-mindedness that succeeded with everyone. For this, thanks go to all those involved, as all actors in the field were pro bono.

We are also grateful to the media, which constructively (without raising dust in the field associated with much privacy, but in an inviting way) assisted the undertaking and proved to be reliable and fair partners.

Table 1 Roadmap for JUMP; source: the authors

Roadmap/action plan, no panacea	Topics for JUMP	Stakeholders/actors/players
☐ Want to work together in a targeted way	☐ A common local history of inclusion	☐ The municipalities and their administrations
☐ Identify focal points, define tasks, promote knowledge exchange	☐ Good examples to promote inclusive economic growth	☐ All local authorities
☐ Learn from each other	☐ Connecting communities and municipalities	☐ Proven experts in the field
☐ Pamper yourself with good project management	☐ Building and including inclusive public services	☐ Voluntary organisations
☐ Support change with local leadership	☐ Promoting citizen participation and representation	☐ Actors in social, economic and civil life
☐ Inclusion is a shared responsibility that is exercised in partnership	☐ Developing a programme as a facilitator for change	☐ Other partnerships and initiatives
☐ Use available data and evidence to set targets		☐ Newcomers and established residents
☐ Monitor impacts and update strategies		

We are especially grateful to the interviewees who allowed us a look into their private lives, even though possibly socially unwelcome topics were not left out.

The hope is that long-lasting relationships and mutual understanding will now grow and develop further, which can bridge gaps.

Bavarian politics has not only permitted this project, but also financed it, entirely in the appropriate format, the Free State together with the district. For us, this is a signal for a new beginning in a dialogue about the socially necessary transformation process.

What we hope is that impulses will also be given to other researchers and actors. We hope that the case study, which invites people to come together to think about housing vacancy and inclusion orientation and in their interconnectedness, will find followers.

May politics also use its initial knowledge gained without getting caught up in the roundabout of macro (be it state or federal)—meso (be it district or municipality) and micro levels (be it people and their living cultures).

Apart from that, practice, practice, practice…, then Joint Undertaking to Multiply Performance (JUMP) will succeed.

With WohL, the fact that inclusion orientation is also self-help can be brought to awareness and wider attention. Inclusion succeeds when residents feel responsible for the development of their surroundings and contribute to the sustainable development of the quality of life in their communities.

Living in a community implies living in contexts. In order to change situations successfully, goals have to be balanced and conflicts have to be negotiated. This also

applies for a transformation of vacant housing. Building differently, new forms of living together and renovating require a joint effort of rethinking, not only on the individual level, but also beyond. Households and communities may benefit from a transformation of vacant housing, if societal goals are balanced.

Trust in the municipal level is the basis for problem solving in communities. A starting point for gaining trust is to take living in contexts into account, to make housing accessible to all and to transform housing vacancies as a driving concept for inclusive cities. According to CBPR, successful inclusion strategies are generated in a process including the recipients of solutions. The very first step for solutions to issues of housing and social inclusion is the process of looking for solutions, for which there has to be municipal action, diversity awareness (Fine et al., 2021, p. 346) and inclusive thinking (Eckhardt et al., 2020; Böhm et al., 2020; Garcia-Lamarca et al., 2021, p. 94; Short, 2021, p. 3). Doing so, there are opportunities inherent in conflicts. A smart road map creates spaces of opportunity for linking the search for solutions to the stimulation of community collaboration and cohesion. Action research can be used as a driver of a sustainable transformation—at least, if conflicts are named, taken seriously, and not heated up. In this way, diversity dealt with sensibility faces together as a community paves the way towards inclusive cities.

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Adaptive Planning for the Hospitable City: The Experiences of Temporary Housing in Grenoble, Rennes and Villeurbanne

Adriana Diaconu

1   Analysing the Impact of Reception Policies on Planning

Increasingly since the beginning of the 2000s, the management of immigrant reception has become a challenging task for European local governments. In France, the national welfare system, under pressure, has failed to provide dignified 'material reception conditions'[1] and in particular housing for all asylum seekers and migrants (Abbé Pierre Foundation, 2022). Confronted with increasing homelessness problems, local governments and citizen organisations have therefore stepped in to organise the accommodation of poor populations arriving without resources. Cities found themselves de facto at the forefront of reception policies, while the French state is the actor responsible for migration, asylum and emergency relief policies. By exploring the notion of 'collective hospitality', this chapter addresses the practices of local governments, citizen and third sector organisations in their efforts to provide housing for the homeless who are excluded from the standard social welfare system available to legal residents.

To do this, the chapter focuses on the creation of temporary housing using vacant properties and buildings. Such temporary dwellings have long been advocated as a legitimate solution by the 'right to the city' social movements and activist groups opening squats. However, local and national authorities, along with property

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[1] Directive 2013/33/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 laying down standards for the reception of applicants for international protection, which designates the responsibility of member states concerning reception conditions.

A. Diaconu (✉)
University Grenoble Alpes, CNRS, Sciences Po Grenoble School of Political Studies, Pacte, Grenoble, France
e-mail: adriana.diaconu@univ-grenoble-alpes.fr

owners, have condemned these illegal abodes, which they consider a threat to private property prerogatives.

Nevertheless, in the context of social and housing crises, such ideas originating from social movements have entered the political arena in cities that advocate defending the rights of migrants and the right to decent housing for all. At international level, networks such as 'Cities for Decent Housing'[2] and 'Cities of Refuge' movements promote new practices and governance arrangements including ideas and actors originating from activist groups and civil society, together with public institutions (Furri, 2017). Such actions include institutionalised temporary occupancies of vacant premises to house homeless migrants, such as the ones presented in this chapter.

Temporary housing in European cities dates back to the 1970s and has developed both as non-profit and commodified loaning, primarily in buildings awaiting demolition (Debrunner & Gerber, 2021). In this way, housing solutions at below-market prices have been offered to low-income populations desiring to live in central locations that they are unable to afford, but without the protection that regular tenants enjoy (ibid.). Cities have also integrated temporary occupancies for housing, in addition to other activities, as part of 'tactical urbanism' strategies (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). In this case, temporary uses are not only a pragmatic and commodified opportunity to take advantage of vacancy, but also a way of preparing for the creation or the regeneration of a neighbourhood.

Temporary housing for the homeless has not received as much attention as other types of temporary urbanism projects. This chapter should contribute to filling this gap and add to the existing literature through an institutionalist and actor-centred perspective that discusses the interrelations of participants from the activist and social welfare sector with the established actors of urban development. It therefore questions the transformative impact that such local answers to the issue of migrant homelessness have on urban planning practices. This chapter focuses on the long-term impact that these experiences of putting collective hospitality in practice might have on the practices of planners and on the urban governance.

In the framework of this chapter, 'collective hospitality' should be understood as a value of local public policy promoted by local authorities, which aim to have a welcoming attitude towards migrants. This principle implies guaranteeing basic human rights to newcomers without resources, such as access to housing, food, medical care and education for children. In order to make this goal effective, local governments coordinate and support different institutions and organisations involved in solidarity actions and welfare, be they public, private or from civil society. In addition to discussing these political aspects of hospitality, this chapter builds on sociological scholarship on social relations and spatial qualities that the notion of hospitality underpins (Gotman, 1997, 2001, 2013).

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[2] This network, supported by the United Nations, adopted the "Municipalist Declaration of Local Governments for the Right to Housing and the Right to the City" on 16 July 2018 in New York. The UN's Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, Leilani Farha, initiated the #Maketheshift campaign in 2016.

The second main theoretical grounding lies in the institutionalist perspective in spatial planning research, following on from the founding work of Patsy Healey on relations of social innovation to governance in urban planning (Healey, 1997; González & Healey, 2005).

The three case studies—the cities of Grenoble, Rennes and Villeurbanne—were selected because of the commitment of their elected representatives to adopt migrant reception measures and for their strong housing policies giving an increasing role to public actors and to the local administrations. In the 2020 local elections, the three cities witnessed the re-election of green or left-wing mayors. At that time, the metropolitan government of Lyon, in which Villeurbanne is included, had changed its political positioning from right to left-wing and since then has promoted ambitious housing policies and announced a hospitality policy for combatting homelessness and *bidonvilles* (improvised settlements).

The city of Rennes is a member of the international network Cities for Decent Housing, and the city of Grenoble was a founding member of the National Association of Welcoming Cities and Territories (ANVITA), created in 2018, that the two other cities have since also joined. As part of ANVITA's mission to support local governments in developing reception policies that are 'unconditional, inclusive and based on solidarity',[3] the network joint forces with a specialised Association in the 'integration through housing' in the Paris region (AFFIL), to promote the model of *habitat intercalaire*, studied in this chapter.

Both this model and concrete experiences in the three cities are analysed in this study, based on fieldwork carried out in Grenoble from 2018 to 2022, including participant observation in meetings and around 40 formal interviews with employees and volunteers of solidarity organisations and representatives of local public institutions.[4] In 2021 and 2022, additional interviews with six participants in temporary housing projects in Rennes and Villeurbanne have been carried out, along with observations in meetings organised by ANVITA on the 'in-between homes' model, seminars and visits of such housing projects in the three cities.[5]

Following the presentation of theoretical inputs on the transformation of planning and on the hospitable city, the chapter will address the present migratory context and political actions from cities that put collective hospitality on their political agendas such as the three selected French cities. The final section presents an analysis of temporary housing projects in Grenoble, Rennes and Villeurbanne. Based on Patsy Healey's model for analysing social innovations in planning (Healey, 1997; González & Healey, 2005), the analysis focuses on three particular aspects. Firstly, it shows how the construction of discourses that aim to promote the *habitat intercalaire* model bring together diverging interests and values from the fields of

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[3] Excerpt from the presentation of ANVITA on the network's website: https://www.anvita.fr

[4] This fieldwork was carried out as part of the POPSU Métropoles national research programme on the Grenoble metropolis. Contributors include: the Master's students Anaëlle Glandut-Mingeau and Maël Colas and researchers Cristina Del Biaggio and Karine Gatelier.

[5] This second research work was conducted together with Master's student Margaux Duran y Gonin and with the support of ANVITA.

urban development and social welfare. The other two aspects under scrutiny include the regulatory frameworks and the specification of laws and, finally, the actors involved and 'the key arenas for institutional innovation' (ibid.).

2   Theoretical Insights and Discourses on Hospitality and Planning

2.1   Spatial Planning and Social Crises: The Theories of Adaptive Planning

In France, as in other European countries, housing solutions for the homeless have been created in a separate manner from standard housing production policies, disconnected even from the production of social housing (Ballain & Maurel, 2002; Tosi, 2005). As such, in research, emergency housing, on the one hand, and social and market housing, on the other hand, are generally treated by different specialised parts of the academic literature. The objective of seeing housing as a continuum, promoted by European level organisations (Fig. 1) has very rarely been addressed critically in the academic literature.

In addition, very few authors have examined the way planning practices are challenged by migration and reception actions (Boonstra, 2020) insofar as such arrangements often consist of *ad hoc*, unplanned emergency solutions, which fall under the self-organisation category and are therefore 'at odds' with spatial planning's methodical and long-term approach (ibid.). This is due to fundamental differences in aims and scope, as well as between social values such as solidarity and inclusion and urban development's general objectives of enhancing the economic and symbolic values of urban areas. Therefore, the question of the housing system's ability to recognise and integrate innovative solutions designed by actors who are exterior to the housing and planning realm—such as NGOs and solidarity citizen organisations—has received little attention.

Scholars who have studied the way in which planning deals with self-organisation (Allen, 1998) and *ad hoc* initiatives have characterised them as mostly endogenous, made up of a sum of local actions and interactions, of relations between environments and places which constitute their resources for action. The terms 'adaptive

Fig. 1 Temporary housing in the housing continuum. Source: Author. Inspired by the 'housing continuum' schematisation of the Urban Agenda for the EU (The Housing Partnership Action Plan, December 2018, p 12: https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/final_action_plan_euua_housing_partnership_december_2018_1.pdf)

planning' or 'adaptive governance' have been used to name the processes of incorporating private or citizen initiatives into the planning system (Rauws, 2017), especially when confronted with crises or unforeseen challenges (Folke et al., 2005; Boonstra, 2020).

Following Rauws and De Roo's analysis (2016), it can be observed that an open system that allows for self-organised responses to emerge can be either an ultra-liberal one, or a system guided by political values established collectively. Such collective priorities and goals can be more socially focused and represent 'social innovations'. In this case, they bring non-traditional actors into 'institutional sites beyond traditional elite arenas' with a potential to challenge and displace dominant discourses and practices in urban development and have an impact on the system in the long run (González & Healey, 2005).

The different scholars exploring 'adaptive governance' (Rauws & De Roo, 2016; Rauws, 2017) or 'the governance capacity of socially innovative actions' (González & Healey, 2005) have discussed the conditions of such institutional transformations. One of them is the compatibility between practices, agendas and rationales of the different participants from public, private and civil society organisations allowing them to build long-standing collaborations and to find a common ground between their values, interests and professional cultures. However, specific actors called 'bridging organizations' (Folke et al., 2005) can facilitate these processes by supporting mutual learning processes and adaptations in the interactions of different actors involved in such actions.

2.2   Theories of Hospitality

According to the theoretical work on hospitality as a social process by the sociologist Anne Gotman (1997, 2001, 2013), it is important to distinguish private and public hospitality and to identify its social and spatial characteristics. Firstly, the private dimension of hospitality is understood as a moral or religious duty to host the traveller and help the poor. Public or political hospitality is different in that it introduces normative public values that should guide both public and private action. Public hospitality thus includes rights for which the public authorities act as guarantors, such as the right to housing, free movement, access to health care, etc. In addition, concerning the current migration issue, Michel Agier notes the move of these rights of migrants from the realm of rights to that of ethics (Agier et al., 2019). This means that public hospitality is increasingly being replaced by private hospitality, which relies on the compensatory initiatives of solidarity organisations and citizens when states do not enforce those rights.

According to Filippo Furri's theoretical model of 'refuge city', civil society can be considered a source of '*diffuse* reception or private hospitality' that is not disconnected from more institutional actions and social policies. Furri conceptualises such a reception system as a 'local community of multiple configurations' subject to contradictions and constant tensions (Furri, 2017). The third part of this chapter follows this theoretical framework to analyse how such local systems bring together

civil society organisations, informal citizens' groups, as well as landowners and municipal and metropolitan administrations in the production of temporary housing for homeless migrants.

In the study of hospitality, sociologists have highlighted the importance of social practices and of spatial characteristics, since 'social relations between host and guest are inscribed in space' and space has 'an immanent capacity to produce hospitality' or rejection (Gotman, 1997). Therefore, when focusing on temporary housing solutions for homeless migrants, collective hospitality can be identified also in the social-spatial structures that facilitate social integration and ultimately trigger access to permanent adequate housing for people who have obtained a residency permit. Such a perspective allows 'normalised integration into social processes', equivalent to giving access to the city (Belmessous & Roche, 2018). However, at the other end of the spectrum to hospitable spaces, are the still more common situations that hinder social integration—such as living in marginal areas that do not only keep migrants apart from their host community but that also hamper appropriate access to urban services, transportation and education facilities. Such unhospitable spaces highlight the problematic component of 'undesirability' of migrant populations (Agier, 2008; Fontaine et al., 2016).

2.3   The 'Unconditional Reception' Practices on the Local Political Agendas of the Three Selected French Cities

The arrival of approximately 1 million immigrants to Europe in 2015 brought into the spotlight the role of the arrival cities and local communities in the reception of this population.[6] Since most of these people engage in long asylum application procedures, they experience exclusion from the host society, do not have convenient housing solutions (Baptista et al., 2016) and cannot access many basic services for long periods of time. In France, the Abbé Pierre Foundation estimates that only half of asylum seekers are offered specific accommodation during their asylum application procedure, while many others sleep rough in public spaces, including a significant number of children, with or without their families (Abbé Pierre Foundation, 2022). Among them, 'young migrants and unaccompanied minors, adolescents (…) arriving in Europe without family, are particularly vulnerable with regard to housing exclusion and deprivation' (European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless and Abbé Pierre Foundation, 2021).

Faced with long administrative procedures for obtaining residence rights, activist organisations advocate for a preventive approach. They point out that even if the living conditions have no effect on the outcome of the asylum procedure, people's health and future social integration can be hampered by years of homelessness or precarious housing. Realising the higher cost to society of reintegrating these adults

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[6] Europe – Mixed Migration Flows to Europe, Yearly Overview (2015) https://migration.iom.int/reports/europe-—-mixed-migration-flows-europe-yearly-overview-2015 and https://migration.iom.int/europe/arrivals

and children when their situation is regularised, in the three selected cities, some local welfare organisations and local authorities extend their actions to undocumented migrants, even though most welfare state benefits exclude them.

On the political arena, the mayors of Rennes and Lyon have publicly committed to combat homelessness, particularly among families with children, by announcing 'zero child homelessness' plans in their cities. This reception approach based on vulnerability criteria comes closer to the principle of unconditional reception defended by social welfare organisations and to their preventive approach. Since the 2020 elections, the new green and left-wing metropolitan administration of Lyon has started to employ the term 'hospitality policy' to refer to its commitment to provide accommodation to all homeless migrants. In addition, the context of the COVID-19 pandemic brought to the forefront concerns about how to shelter the entire homeless population, as demanded by the French government at that time.

The cities chosen for this research are situated in 3 of the 22 larger French urban areas (marked out in Fig. 2). They are characterised by tense housing markets, along with a shortage of affordable housing, which makes access both to private rental and to social housing extremely difficult for the low-income population. In order to tackle the housing shortage, the three metropolitan administrations have developed planning and land management tools for the construction and retrofit of social and
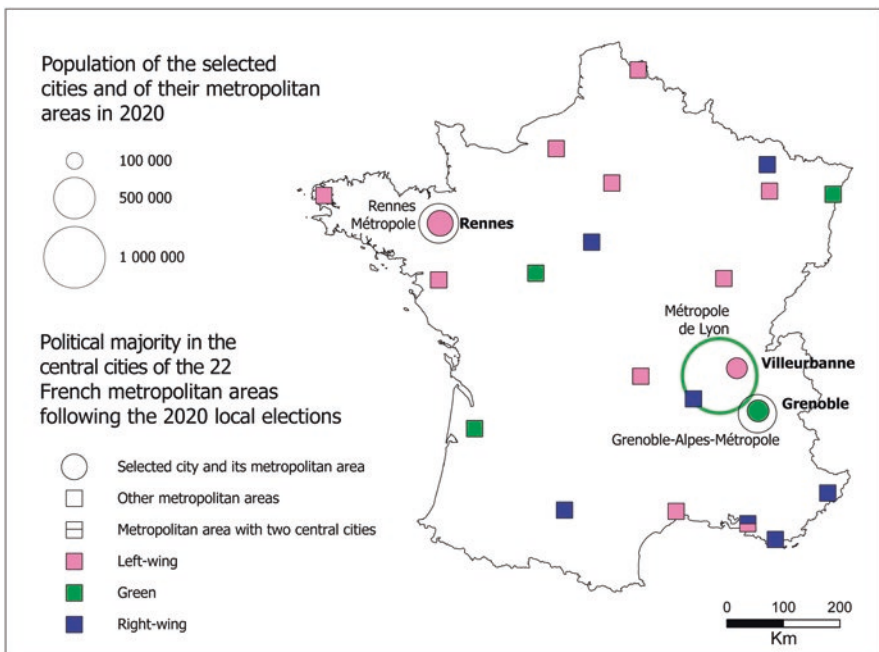
Fig. 2 Population size and political orientation and of the three selected case studies among the 22 French metropolises (largest urban areas), following the 2020 local elections. Lyon metropolis is the only directly elected metropolitan authority. Source: Author. Background map: ADMIN EXPRESS, IGN-F open access

affordable housing. In addition, their local housing policies aim to combat vacancy in the existing housing stock and to facilitate the retrofitting of private properties that can be reintegrated on the housing market.

3   Analysing Collective Hospitality in Practice in Grenoble, Rennes and Villeurbanne

Third section of this chapter focuses firstly on the analysis of the emergence of the *habitat intercalaire* model promoted by the ANVITA city network at the national level, in relation to concrete practices described by actors interviewed in the three selected cities. Using the sociological institutionalist approach developed by Patsy Healey (Healey, 1997; González & Healey, 2005), three main aspects have been observed in the processes of temporary housing creation: the production of a new unified discourse, the legal framework and the specific alliances and arenas that allow for new practices to appear.

The discourse production is understood here as the construction of a new 'frame of reference and system of meaning' that functions as a 'common ground between meaning systems' (Healey, 1997, p. 23). The Paris-based association AFIIL had a leading role in structuring a common definition of the *habitat intercalaire* model that ANVITA disseminated further through a working group of the network. Even if representatives of the three selected cities participated in these activities, not all the interviewees were familiar with the term *habitat intercalaire*. Some of them used it, while others named their actions 'loaning', 'use lending' or 'precarious lease'.

A second aspect under scrutiny in this section is the specification of laws that allow the formalisation of different informal occupancies coordinated by activist groups. They open the way for the creation of agreements between property owners and activist or social welfare organisations.

These alliances to which local authorities contribute greatly represent the third element of the analysis. They involve stakeholders of urban development and property management, as well as those concerned by the social aspects of housing migrants and social exclusion. In different contexts, the creation of 'arenas' for their collaborations (ibid.) can have possible longer-term effects.

3.1   Towards a Common Discourse on Temporary Housing Based on Contradictory Values and Cultures

Since 2019, AFFIL associations' guides have been promoting the *habitat intercalaire* model as an integral part of urban development. They draw public attention to the ubiquitous waiting periods when urban properties awaiting urban transformations or renewal are unused. These interstitial vacancies before demolition or renovation are foreseen but can be extended by delays in the delivery of building permits or in the planning of future developments. In order to disseminate the model, its

promoters present it to landlords as a profitable way to cope with the degradation and insecurity of empty properties.

This vision is shared by local officials in the three cities of the survey, as, for example, in Villeurbanne:

> [We have to] show them [*i.e.* landlords] that it's an interesting alternative to guarding an empty building, that it allows them to control their property and eliminate any risk of it being squatted, and therefore losing control of their property. We have to show them that we have the tools for that and that it works well. (Local administration representative, Villeurbanne, 16/03/2022)

In addition, the common discourse of *habitat intercalaire* incorporates the fundamental values of actors from the social welfare sector such as the unconditional right to housing for all distressed people and the continuity of care services.[7] These principles are put to the test when a person is denied asylum, loses the state aid for asylum seekers and starts an appeal procedure.

In addition to these basic principles, the notion of 'home' refers to the qualities of a hospitable living space that should facilitate access to the city and the relations with the host society. From this perspective, promoters of the model acknowledge the importance of adequate housing for good health, education and social relations that can further facilitate successful integration in society. Therefore, temporary housing should be an alternative to standard emergency shelters for the homeless (as shown in Fig. 1). Such housing should offer the qualities of a home, which are most often absent from institutional shelters where dormitories and sanitary facilities are shared, where people cannot cook or receive friends and where accommodation is provided for only a few nights. Both housing conditions and social support should be tailored to the specific needs of the inhabitants, thus facilitating the transition to independent social or private rental housing once they have obtained a residence permit.

However, the outcome of this temporary housing period depends purely on the asylum procedure. As such, actors from the social welfare field deplore the major limitation of this model:

> It is not a housing policy since people's autonomy in terms of housing, although it is the objective, does not depend on our support, but on migration policies. (Solidarity organization, Rennes, 02/03/2022)

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[7] These principles are enshrined in the 'Code of Social Action and Families', a fundamental text which guides the activity of social welfare professionals.

3.2   Specifications of Loaning Laws and Legalisation of Activist Squats

The afterwar legislation of 1945 and a more recent law of 1998[8] made possible the 'requisitions' of unused premises by public authorities in order to respond to an emergency situation or housing crisis. For this reason, activist organisations use this term when they open squats to house homeless people to emphasise the public interest of their action. In recent years, municipal requisitions with the purpose of creating emergency shelters have only concerned gyms and other public facilities, which have been used for short periods of time. In addition, agreements between the municipalities included in the study and activist groups have allowed for the formalisation of informal 'requisitions' carried out by activists without the initial consent of the authorities.

For public properties, the legal framework of these agreements was given by a more recent law on 'temporary occupation of public properties',[9] whereas for private properties, two legal forms of 'loaning' properties exist. The first one, from the Civil Code, stipulates that the 'borrower' does not have to pay any rent or fee for the use of the premises. The second one, adopted in 2014,[10] offers landlords an alternative to regular tenancy in case of short-term loaning of housing in particular circumstances, such as buildings awaiting demolition. In this case, a small fee can be charged.

Even if activist 'requisitions' are the starting point of temporary housing in France, once local governments start to institutionalise it through loaning contracts, they also aim to prevent squatting. In order to convince owners of the security brought by this model, the local administrations of Lyon metropolis and of the city of Rennes carry out squat prevention measures by drawing up inventories of vacant premises and setting up partnerships with activist groups. This strategy sometimes transforms the practices of activist organisations, which switch their activities from illegal to institutional occupancies, as in Rennes:

> We don't do squatting or requisitions anymore to protect our image with partners, with private developers. If landlords or the council find out that [name of the organisation] opens squats, they will no longer be inclined to temporarily lend us their properties. (solidarity organisation, Rennes, 2 March 2022)

Part of the advocacy for temporary housing are the principles of securing a good image of a neighbourhood through proper maintenance and security. In addition, such an in-between use can also give a good image to property developers who carry out socially minded actions, even if only temporarily.

Despite these advantages, in reality, private property is quite rarely used in the three cities of the study. Temporary housing is primarily created on properties

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[8] Orientation Law on combating exclusion of 29 July 1998.

[9] Mobilisation for Housing and the Fight against Exclusion (MOLLE) Law of 25 March 2009.

[10] Pinel Law of 2014 on adapting commercial tenancy contracts.

belonging to the local authorities and their related agencies and organisations, such as local land banking offices, development agencies, social or medical institutions, social housing organisations, etc. Unlike in other European countries, where temporary housing has also developed as a commodified practice increasingly involving private landowners (Baloche, 2016; Debrunner & Gerber, 2021), in Grenoble, Rennes and Villeurbanne, they are regulated by the local governments as non-profit occupancies with a social purpose.

3.3   Mediators of the Institutionalisation of Temporary Housing

The last part of this analysis focuses on the processes and arrangements that bring together actors from three main areas of intervention who together contribute to the creation of temporary housing projects: owners of land and buildings, housing managers (concerned with repair, furnishing, maintenance, insurance and use costs) and, finally, professionals and volunteers in charge of social welfare support and assistance with asylum procedures. These collaborations bringing in exterior actors in the planning field can enable the development of innovative planning practices.

The impact of bottom-up actions on the dominant planning system depends on the size of the projects and on the support given by local authorities. The effects are limited in the case of individual housing units for which loaning arrangements

Fig. 3 Temporary housing in the Abbaye urban renovation scheme, Grenoble. Source: Author, 23 April 2023

generally link the owner and a managing association in charge of maintenance and functioning of the building. The latter sets up the financial provisions with the local authorities and financing third parties, as well as partnerships with civic or third sector organisations that offer specialised social support.

On another level, a greater impact can be expected when temporary housing is part of larger urban development schemes, allowing for established urban development actors to come in contact with those outside the planning field. The renovation of urban estates such as social housing from the 1920s in the Abbaye district in Grenoble (Fig. 3), or the workers' housing in l'Autre-Soie, in Villeurbanne, dating from the same period, are examples of this type of urban renovation carried out under the patronage of local authorities.

By using a 'transitional urbanism' approach, planners are concerned not only with the future of a neighbourhood but also with the intermediate stages of its transformation. Such a tactical approach also leaves room for temporary housing, with the aim to mix different categories of occupants and to integrate it with other functions open to the public such as workshops, cultural spaces and municipal services. An example of this type is the Abbaye district in Grenoble, where three emergency housing projects have been integrated temporarily in a 'transition urbanism' scheme, in reaction to the previous illegal occupancy of one of the buildings by an activist group:

> There was the Youth Shelter project that could open more quickly than expected because the Metropolis and the municipality took up on what the [activist organisation] was saying to assert: 'We have counter-projects. We can agree on the substance [of your claims] but we can't agree on the form of coming to occupy a piece of land, a building that doesn't belong to you [...] there have been a lot of negotiations [...]. In return, now there are three official emergency housing projects—two and a half buildings—we have 2200 - 2300 m^2 of emergency accommodation. (Local administration, Grenoble, 14 June 2021).

The analysis of encounters of actors from different fields has led to the identification of mediators who bridge the gap between the realms of property, building management and social welfare (Fig. 4). The first type of mediator is solidarity activist organisations, which develop new competences in order to cover different areas from social support to building management. They have started with opening squats, as in Rennes, or had former partnerships with the local authorities on other support activities for migrants, as in the case of Grenoble's association which opened the 'Youth Shelter' in the Abbaye district.

However, in the process of scaling up, such organisations face difficulties due to their limited size, financial capacity and know-how:

> There was a big turning point following an experiment with two social landlords in an urban renewal project where two towers were vacated. It lasted for six months […], alternating on these apartment buildings with 20 apartments each. The project required a lot of logistics: 20 water contracts, 20 electricity contracts, 20 insurance contracts, 20 gas contracts and in parallel every three months moving 20 homes. The experiment was a huge amount of effort and a big financial risk for the association (solidarity organisation, Rennes, 2 March 2022)
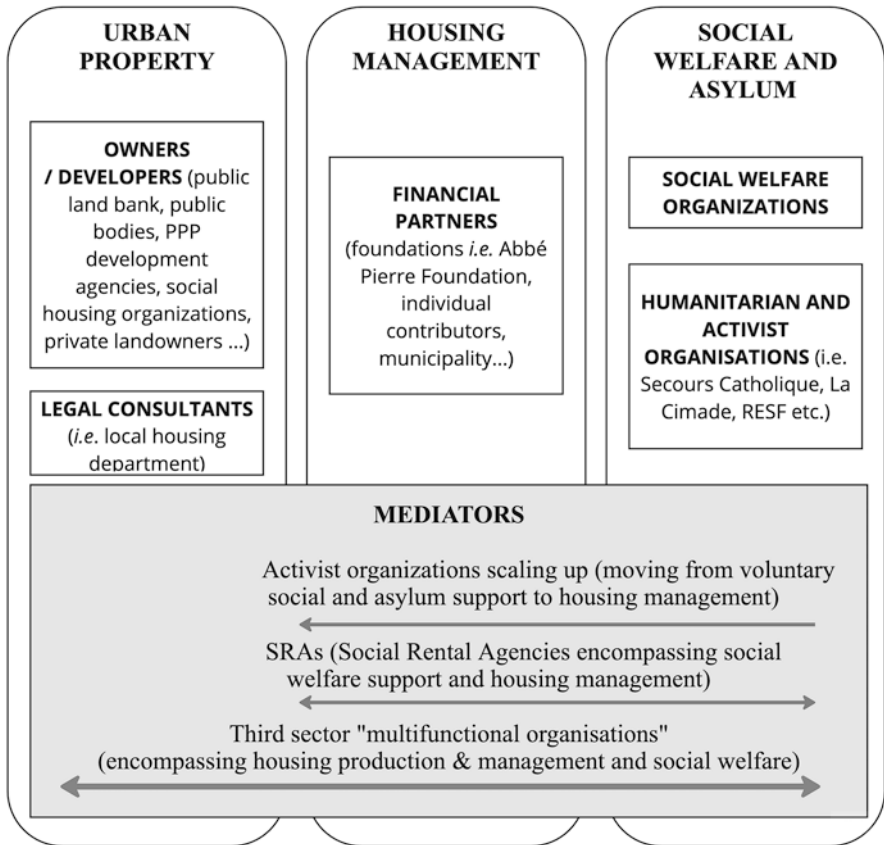
Fig. 4 The roles of mediators, bridging the three realms of temporary housing. A comparative approach of Rennes, Grenoble and Villeurbanne. Source: Author

The second and third types of mediators are professional organisations from the third sector. In the case of Rennes, most loans for temporary housing with municipal support are set up with Social Rental Agencies (SRAs) that combine competencies of housing management and social welfare assistance. They have developed expertise in partnerships with local authorities and with private and public owners, since their main activity is the renovation, retrofit and management of affordable private rental housing for low-income tenants, benefitting from public subsidies. Temporary housing represents for them an extension of their activity and a possibility of increased collaboration with activist groups, as in the case of the SRA *Un Toit pour Tous* (A Roof for All) in Grenoble.

Finally, the third type of mediators are large organisations from the third sector that cover all three areas of competence. An example is *La Ville autrement* (The City Differently), a consortium of companies from the third sector, originally based in Villeurbanne and in the metropolitan area of eastern Lyon, including two

metropolitan social housing organisations, two social welfare organisations and a cooperative housing developer. Such a 'multifunctional' organisation covers all the different forms of tenancies in the housing continuum (Fig. 1), from access to housing for the homeless to access to homeownership for the middle classes. It has a strong capacity to use different types of resources: land, buildings and funding from local, national and European sources. In addition, together with its traditional local planning partners, it can initiate a forward-looking approach allowing them to take into consideration all buildings which are pre-empted before development takes place and all areas undergoing renovation processes that are awaiting the actual implementation of programmes. This process was initiated in the context of the pandemic in the Lyon metropolis:

> The COVID crisis had a booster effect, because we were asked by the Metropolis of Lyon to coordinate a platform that brought together land owners and associations of social support that deal with accommodation and housing issues, and in fact the idea was to meet the joint objective of the State and the Metropolis of 'zero homelessness'. So, in the urgency of the moment, this platform on transitional urbanism was set up and allowed us to provide solutions quite quickly because we already had the tools in hand and we were able to mobilise the inter-landlords' association—the three OPH [social housing organisations] of the Lyon metropolis to provide land. Following the responses provided for the 'zero homelessness' action, the platform on transitional urbanism was maintained [...] this enabled us to set up a real dynamic between the different actors. (Third sector organisation, Lyon Metropolis, 14 September 2021)

4   Towards a New Reference Frame in Spatial Planning

In this chapter, it has been observed how collective hospitality put in practice thorough the creation of temporary housing in three cities can have an impact both on rethinking what hospitable places are and how urban planning can make their creation possible. The impacts of these experiences are manifold. Firstly, they introduce in planning discussions a new repertoire of values originating from social movements and fundamental principles from social welfare practices. However, in order to create hospitable places in the existing city, civil society initiatives have limited power. Their development can take advantage of opportunities brought about by a favourable political context or a crisis situation, such as political commitments during the COVID-19 pandemic.

However, as other authors have shown (González & Healey, 2005), only alliances with established planning actors can allow such civil society initiatives to grow, be sustained and spread. In the three case studies, these alliances involve municipalities and their social welfare services, metropolitan housing services, social housing organisations, local land development offices and to a lesser extent private developers. These alliances allow activists who were formerly by-passing formal structures when opening squats to formalise such occupancies through *ad hoc* institutional arrangements using the existing legislative framework and make them financially sustainable.

Perhaps the most important long-term impact of such actions lies in the new frame of reference that these experiments offer to professionals from the planning field and housing sector who engage with housing exclusion and homelessness. In the processes described in this chapter, action initiators from civil society tend to make way to professional organisations in the management of larger and more complex projects. 'Multifunctional organisations', consortiums and partnerships such as those observed in Lyon have a strong capacity to develop new models at a large scale, but in the process, the link with activists from the civil society is weaker or lost. Using González and Healey's terminology (2005), this process can be described in terms of incorporation, rather than the transformation of existing governance structures.

However, impacts of innovation do not only concern 'future governance forms and material/mental outcomes' but can also be found in 'the generative power of the internal learning capacity of dominant actors' (ibid., p. 2066). Such learning can incorporate new action models and new frames of reference in key actors' practices. Moreover, the learning and adaptation process depends on the presence of mediators, who also play a key role in setting up partnerships and mobilising different types of resources. Such actors cover several competences from the three realms—property, building maintenance and social support—and therefore contribute to mutual understanding and building a shared discourse between actors from these different fields. Consequently, they play the role of 'bridging organisations', which can facilitate the transition in the practices of other actors, create arenas for learning, collaboration and for crafting new responses to the crises (Folke et al., 2005). Social rental agencies and third sector 'multifunctional organisations' can play this role. They integrate the values defended by activists, the vocabulary and rationales of public policies and finance, as well as the know-how and principles of players on the property markets. Even if they do not challenge formal institutions and dominant practices as activist movements do, they can facilitate longer-term adaptation in local governance.

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An Integrated Framework for Transforming Cultural Landscapes Through Innovative and Inclusive Strategies

Evinç Doğan, Constantinos Antonopoulos, Federico Cuomo, and Luca Battisti

1 Introduction

The built environment can be read as a narrative produced by experiences, events and transformations. This chapter aims to develop a holistic and integrated approach towards addressing the regeneration of cultural landscapes by positioning inclusive and innovative place reactivation strategies as agents in establishing and guiding the outcomes of the transformation process. The building blocks of this transformation process are threefold—inclusive, innovative and circular, with the latter capturing transformation and sustainability (see Table 1).

Inclusion is focused on participation and co-creation models for capturing collective patterns of transforming cultural landscapes. Although several experiences of urban regeneration have been described in the literature, the potential of new collaborative governance tools in stimulating strategies for social inclusion and environmental valorisation is still poorly investigated and problematised. The use of participatory models based on community and multi-stakeholder engagement has been shown to be effective in promoting heritage revitalisation (de Luca et al., 2021;

E. Doğan (✉)
Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey
e-mail: evinc.dogan@boun.edu.tr

C. Antonopoulos
University of Patras, Patras, Greece
e-mail: antonopc@upatras.gr

F. Cuomo
Polytechnic of Milan, Milan, Italy
e-mail: federico.cuomo@polimi.it

L. Battisti
University of Turin, Turin, Italy
e-mail: luca.battisti@unito.it

Table 1 Building blocks of research

Topics (what)	Goals (why)	Means (how)
Inclusion	Participatory governance and decision-making Promotion of cultural diversity	Co-creation Promoting dialogue among actors
Innovation	Interaction Enriching user experience	Real-time prototyping/testing step by step Maker spaces and fab labs DIY
Transformation and sustainability	Culture-led urban transformation Sustainable urban development	Circular economy Adaptive reuse plans

Pappalardo, 2020). Stakeholders can integrate their historical information and weave a compelling story around their assets of interest. By effectively turning the users into stakeholders, a community can provide higher-quality services to all participants at lower cost levels and scale to larger numbers of assets and points of interest.

Urban innovation is linked to smart technologies and accessible platforms, which offer additional tools for transforming cultural landscapes and promoting innovative and inclusive strategies for environmentally, socially and economically sustainable revitalisation. Integrated management of services, infrastructures and communication networks is vital in the protection, promotion and enhancement of cultural landscapes in a dynamic and polycentric context. Innovation can also be found in the process of transformation of a cultural landscape: in the ways and tropes of intervention; in the means, methods and techniques employed; or in the scale and logic of the intervention.

Circularity is becoming an important component of cultural landscape management. More in general circular economy principles can inform the interventions, facilitate the reconceptualisation of spaces, enable new activities and valorisation of existing heritage assets and lead to the adaptive reuse of urban land (Rufí-Salís et al., 2021; Ikiz Kaya et al., 2021) for both greenfield sites and built environment (Leising et al., 2018). Additionally, the adaptive reuse of abandoned and underutilised cultural heritage and extant landscapes can play a critical role in promoting new economic growth, social well-being and environmental preservation, contributing to the sustainable development of cities and regions (Garcia, 2004). Approaches combining the ecosystem with the urban social tissue are currently spreading, especially in Europe, where concepts and applications of nature-based solutions (NBS) have been promoted as a tool for achieving locally adapted, resource-efficient and systemic interventions in cities and landscapes (Faivre et al., 2017; Pineda-Martos & Calheiros, 2021).

In this framework, emerging creative sectors, social innovation based on creativity and co-creation and the sharing and circular economy are scrutinised by providing implications for transforming cultural landscapes through innovative and inclusive strategies. Our methodological approach combines a case study of heritage landscape management through participatory interventions in the urban area of

Turin (Italy) accompanied by a survey of relevant literature on participatory planning, urban innovation and circularity. Turin represents a suitable case study because, since 2016, it has embraced Urban Living Labs (ULLs) to regenerate post-industrial districts and high-polluted areas with a robust cultural heritage, such as Campidoglio and Falchera. The case studies are drawn from two Horizon projects funded by the European Union (*FUSILLI* and *ProGireg*), which demonstrate current implementations and their implications. Data was collected through desk research, including reports and documents related to the case studies. The research was based on a review of literature available from public sources, which included project documents from FUSILLI and ProGireg (deliverables, public reports, MOOC content, scientific articles, etc.), news articles and testimonies of participant actors in the transformation process, namely, local officials, practitioners, academic experts and citizens from Mirafiori Sud. The reviewed documents were coded according to the main research themes of shared spaces, shared knowledge, sharing economy and the topics of innovation, inclusion and resource efficiency/circular economy.

In order to deliver a sound contribution to the emerging literature on shared re-utilisation of urban heritage landscapes, our work aims at dealing with the following research questions based on the three pillars—shared spaces, shared knowledge and sharing economy:

- How is an innovative pattern of space sharing created in the case of (peri)urban farming in the Turin Metropolitan Area?
- How are multi-directional dynamics of knowledge exchange managed in the case of (peri)urban farming in the Turin Metropolitan Area?
- How is the sharing economy applied in the case of (peri)urban farming in the Turin Metropolitan Area?

Subsequently, secondary findings were validated through on-site visits and discussions with stakeholders during 2022. Finally, the findings from the data analysis were compared and contrasted between the two case studies to identify the similarities and differences in the implementation and outcomes of urban sustainability and participatory initiatives. Thus, the qualitative case of the Turin metropolitan area is utilised for answering complex, real-world questions in line with the functions of ULLs. The case studies provide directions for knowledge transfer in methods and tools, which can be re-used and replicated as good practices for inclusive and innovative strategies.

2   Transformations of Cultural Landscapes: An Integrated Framework

Over the past decades, abandonment and decay of urban, industrial and rural heritage have occurred in many cities around the world due to the reduction of economic activities, industrial and population decline and closure of production sites.

During early rounds of response in Europe and North America, the regeneration processes (Evans & Jones, 2008; Degen & García, 2012; Rodwell, 2008) were mainly implemented through top-down decision-making with a limited engagement of the local population (Swyngedouw, 2000). Thus, they frequently resulted in the breaking up of traditional social structures, gentrification, over-reliance on large projects and volatile sectors such as tourism. Often in opposition to top-down and capital-intensive urban change, resident-generated small-scale urban interventions brought about tactical urbanism practices, such as 'do-it-yourself' (DIY) urbanism (Talen, 2015). Yet, due to its low-budget and temporary effect, a greater long-term investment is needed to exploit opportunities generated by the actions of short-term investors (Aquilué et al., 2021), despite the difficulty in predicting the long-term effects due to the 'vulnerabilities related to organisational, agency and alignment issues' (Warren, 2014, p. 1).

One example of a socially enabled dynamic search process for solutions on the urban scale is ULLs set up by means of collaborative governance patterns between urban governments, academies, private companies and citizens. ULLs are born from the participatory nature of collective actions based on real-life solutions in which innovation and co-creation play a major role (Blezer & Abujidi, 2021). According to the European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL, n.d.), Living Lab (LL) is an 'open innovation ecosystem based on a systematic user co-creation approach that integrates public and private research and innovation activities in communities, placing citizens at the centre of innovation'. Although ULLs have become strategic instruments for innovation and experimentation for urban governments, Marvin et al. (2018) argue that their primary purpose and organisation form vary. In this framework, civic ULLs are formed by partnerships of local actors focusing on developmental aspects in the contingent and historically produced urban context. Whereas organic ULLs are often examples of grassroots innovation formed by members of civil society, NGOs and residents with the investment of voluntary time and resources.

Cultural industries have the capacity to take over abandoned areas through adaptive reuse projects aimed at extending the life cycle to turn under-exploited landscapes from a social cost into a resource for sustainable development. Adapting historic urban landscapes for contemporary uses offers opportunities for ensuring their survival while retaining material values and preserving immaterial significance. Moreover, adaptive reuse could be integrated to resolve further economic and environmental concerns, such as creating more environmentally conscious landscapes while keeping costs down and safeguarding cultural and historical values (Armstrong et al., 2021).

The conceptual framework is based on three dimensions acting interdependently (see Fig. 1). Neighbourhood-based collaborative processes contribute to more resilient urban developments through sharing and space-commoning practices within ULLs. Shared spaces are formed by urban initiatives and citizens leading innovative and community-based actions as collaborative practices through which spatial resources and knowledge of space are co-produced, exchanged and enacted without being commodified while pursuing transformative goals in urban spaces (Petrescu
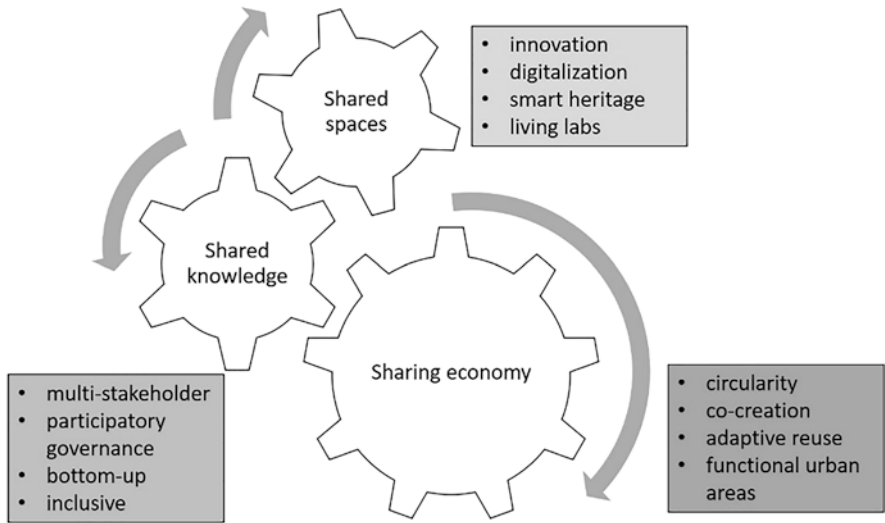
**Fig. 1** Conceptual framework (Source: Authors)

et al., 2022). Smart technology bears a transformative power for expanding the limitations of spatial consumption by making urban spaces part of a broader cultural landscape (Micheler et al., 2019). Iaione and Cannavò (2015) argue that sharing and space-commoning necessitate complex forms of urban governance through the involvement of participants from local communities, practitioners, academics and local non-profit organisations. Self-assessment, co-designing and prototyping might be realised in digital spaces for collaboration or through new stakeholders' networks.

Digitalization has radically changed how images circulate, stories are shared and meanings are produced collectively through the accessibility of content, raising awareness and opening doors for learning opportunities. Moreover, digital tools provide access to a large network of users, who are more 'kinetic' than ever, through the abundance of mobile devices such as smartphones and tablets enabled by context-dependent and multimedia-rich information apps. Digitalisation and social networks enabled end-users to be active agents of innovation. Accordingly, forms of 'new public governance' and 'open government' emerged through the collaboration between public entities, the private sector, non-governmental organisations and citizens (Mačiulienė, 2018). Pfeffer et al. (2013) give the example of digital mapping tools that facilitate participatory processes and integrate different forms of knowledge through open digital platforms. Smart and digital technologies suggest new perspectives growing parallel to the social trends on the basis of new consumption and business models emerging with the increased application of digital doubles, smart specialisations and eco-design and energy efficiency. The negative impacts of the linear economic model exacerbate climate change, vulnerability and social inequalities. Parallel to post-industrial conditions, there has been a shift from a linear economy to a circular economy model (Jørgensen & Pedersen, 2018), which

also required institutional change as a collective process. In this context, industrial heritage and adaptive reuse can play a vital role in the achievement of a circular city region. Accordingly, regenerative approaches have been employed in community gardens, allotment collectives, NBS and urban green infrastructures.

3   Case: (Peri)urban Farming in Turin Metropolitan Area

In the urban environment, (peri-urban) agriculture is the cultivation of crops and rearing of animals for food and other uses, both within and surrounding the boundaries of cities. In this context, agriculture plays a crucial role in managing the peri-urban landscape and the social, aesthetic and environmental functions of urban metropolitan areas, providing several benefits to humans, namely, ecosystem services (Hassan et al., 2005). In particular, the maintenance of agricultural landscapes in urban and peri-urban areas represents a desire to maintain and affirm a cultural landscape (La Rosa et al., 2014; Soulard et al., 2018), characterising the Anthropocene (Willemen et al., 2017). The management of such agricultural landscapes should ensure multifunctionality (see Fig. 2), understood as the integration of different functions in order to produce benefits from an economic, environmental and social point of view (Selman, 2009; O'Farrell & Anderson, 2010; Gullino et al., 2018).
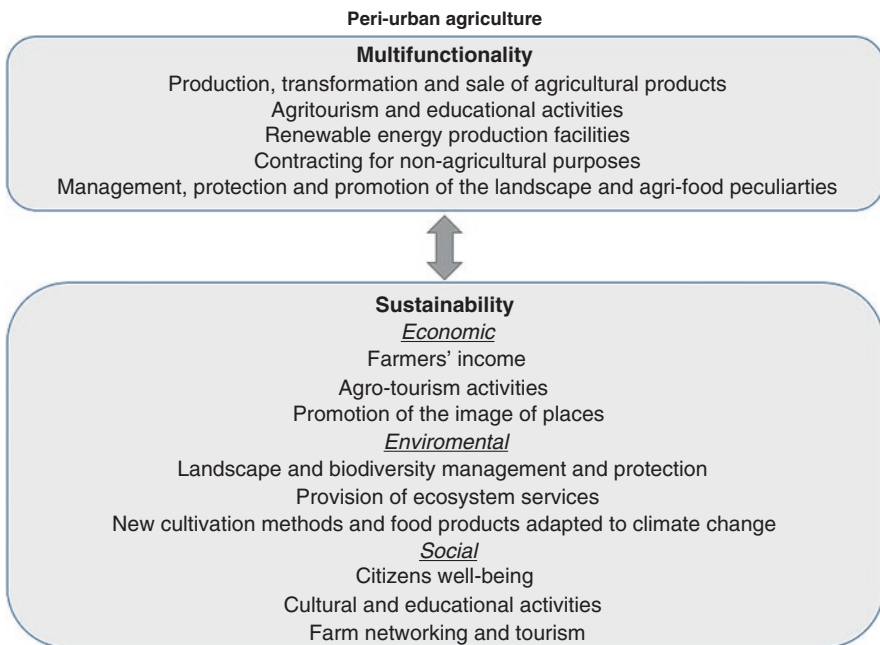
Fig. 2 Linking sustainability and multifunctionality in peri-urban farming (Adapted from Gullino et al., 2018)

The application of the Turin case study helps to understand the above concepts better. It is realised with a specific focus on a district with a strong industrial past, located on the edge of three municipalities (Turin, Moncalieri and Nichelino). As in many other realities in northern Italy, in Turin since the 1970s, in response to the phenomena of growing urbanisation and immigration caused by industrial development, urban agriculture has gradually taken on a multiplicity of functions: productive (for self-consumption and family subsistence), fruitive and recreational.

3.1 Turin City's Historical Context

Turin was called 'one-company town' for many decades. The economy and society were deeply dependent on FIAT, the most important automobile manufacturer in Italy. Since the 1980s, however, the crisis in the automotive sector and the decision to move many manufacturing plants abroad had severe impacts. Entire industrial sites on the city's borders closed their doors, creating a huge vacuum in terms of employment, social integrity and space. Due to the changed economic equilibria, the local government had to find a new development model and propose alternative strategies to enhance and regenerate former industrial areas (Ravazzi & Belligni, 2016). This policy approach did not plan to totally erase the industrial past but aimed to valorise the cultural heritage of the territory by combining it with new innovative policy fields. By means of a vast array of partnerships between public, private and civil society, the municipality of Turin gradually started to look at its peripheries as open-air laboratories for companies interested in experimenting with innovative products and services in the fields of smart technologies, sustainability, circular economy and social innovation. Launching several LLs via European and national funding, such as the *Campidoglio Living Lab* or the *Living Lab on Sharing and Circular Economy*, the municipality has begun providing streets, squares or entire neighbourhoods to co-test innovative solutions through the direct engagement of local communities.

In the last 5 years, the municipality decided to launch two different LLs aimed at regenerating Mirafiori Sud, a post-industrial neighbourhood situated along the south administrative borders of the city (see Fig. 3). From a historical viewpoint, this district was born and grew in the aftermath of the Second World War, when thousands of workers moved on to Turin from the surrounding countryside and southern Italian regions to look for employment opportunities in the industrial sector.

Starting from the 1980s, this area has been suffering in terms of employment opportunities and social cohesion due to the gradual downturn of the automotive company FIAT. In the 1990s and 2000s, the municipality started to launch urban regeneration projects aimed at turning Mirafiori Sud into a creative laboratory for alternative environmental and social policies. More specifically, Project 'Periferie' improved some of the local mobility infrastructures, such as the bridge over the Sangone river and the main bus lines connecting the city centre and proposed the first pilots of social inclusion with disadvantaged categories of citizens. From 2010 onwards, new urban regeneration projects focused on recovering and readapting
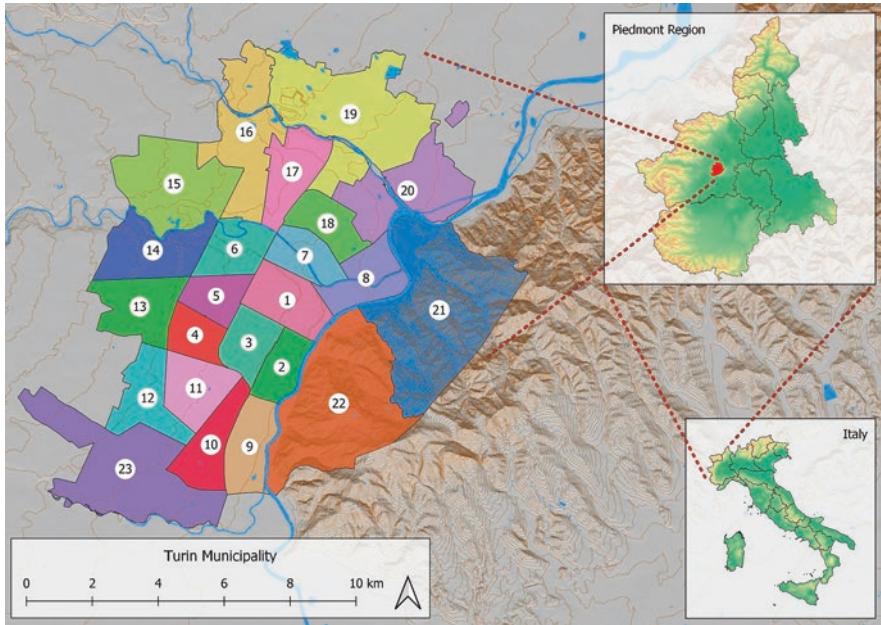
Fig. 3 Map of Turin Metropolitan area (Source: Massimiliano Moraca)

post-industrial spaces. With the Miraorti project, a new pattern of management of public green spaces for urban horticulture began to be tested along the Sangone River. Miraorti gave 6 hectares of public green space back to the district while maintaining their agricultural vocation through a participatory process involving squatters and volunteers in the creation of a large park of urban gardens. Consequently, new forms of urban agriculture and social inclusion occurred. In the meantime, Miraorti promoted a first comprehensive soil analysis to check for possible pollution problems and the evaluation of different management models.

Nowadays, by means of two European-funded LLs, namely FUSILLI and proGIreg, the municipality of Turin is promoting a collaborative governance approach to urban regeneration, engaging all of the local stakeholders in a step-by-step dialogue to experiment with innovative, sustainable and circular solutions.

3.2   Urban Horticulture

Various forms of urban agriculture, such as community gardens, allotments, rooftop gardens and urban farms, contribute to the availability of fresh food, create educational and recreational opportunities and flourish green cities. Such activities succeed well in urban realities, despite the intensive land use in such contexts, as consumers increasingly prefer regional production, especially for high-quality products, and the urban population prefers the scenic attractions resulting from a

heterogeneous, small-scale agricultural structure punctuated by natural elements (Zasada, 2011). From a production point of view, urban gardens present interesting potential. A study conducted in the city of Bologna in 2014 concerning the potential production of vegetables on the city's flat roofs underlined the possibility of producing more than 12,000 vegetables per year on an area of 82 hectares, meeting 77% of urban vegetable needs (Orsini et al., 2014).

Focusing on Turin, metropolitan authorities have been involved in various projects to improve the quantity and quality of local food production and promote conscious consumption by citizens. Of particular interest was the '*Torino città da coltivare*' project (Tecco et al., 2017), which promotes the idea that urban agriculture could provide food and simultaneously reduce the costs of managing urban greenery and introduce alternative forms of public space management. In the following 5 years, the area of the city allocated to urban gardens grew significantly, exceeding 100 hectares (5 m^2/inhabitant), and in 2017 the first report for the urban food strategy was launched. In 2020, the City of Turin drew up the 'Strategic Green Infrastructure Plan', an analysis and planning tool to direct investments and management policies for Turin's urban public green system in the coming decades, supplementing urban planning tools. Moreover, there are ongoing European research projects, which are important means of transforming the city and promoting economic, social and environmental well-being. Specifically, ProGIreg and FUSILLI are characterised by ULLs in the Mirafiori Sud district.

Case of FUSILLI Project

'FUSILLI' (Fostering Urban Food System Transformation through Living Labs Implementation) aims to formulate shared urban food strategies to complete the transition towards a quality, sustainable, safe and inclusive food system in 12 European cities.[1] FUSILLI is aligned to European Commission's food strategy 'Food 2030' and based on the experimentation of innovative policies along five axes of the food chain: production, distribution, consumption, waste management and governance. Participating cities chose to support their interventions to the territory and food system of reference through LL approach, a method of intervention and applied research based on the involvement of citizenship in designing, formulating, testing and evaluating innovative actions in real-life contexts.

Parallel to open-air experimentation, FUSILLI intends to build a community of knowledge on the food system by acting locally and internationally. Local partners develop solutions in a shared and participatory manner through an open and ongoing dialogue between public administrations, research organisations, territorial associations and enterprises. The 12 cities involved were called upon to confront each other through a monitoring methodology called Dynamic Learning Agenda (DLA). It serves to identify particularly thorny policy issues or research questions (the Learning Questions) through the exchange of good practices. In doing so, each

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[1] Athens, Castelo Branco, Differdange, Kharkiv, Kolding, Oslo, Rijeka, Rome, San Sebastian, Tampere, Turin

city learns from others' experiences, inspires and generates synergies to transform the urban food system.

FUSILLI's LL in Mirafiori Sud promoted innovations through practical pilots of distribution and production, but also with a new pattern of governance for the management of local food policies. At a practical level, FUSILLI started the transformation of a kiosk and a restaurant in a circular perspective. This initiative was accompanied by the creation of a diffuse hub for the distribution of unsold food and the activation of workshops to disseminate and raise awareness in favour of healthy and conscious eating.

FUSILLI promoted the creation of a new governance body within the administration capable of coordinating the city's food policy and transforming the urban food system, expanding and enriching what has been achieved in Mirafiori Sud. In the long term, with the support of the Food Atlas and EStà, the city aims to establish a Food Council that is enlarged and open to grassroots organisations and trade associations. For this activity, the City of Turin was supported by the ESTà Association, which has consolidated experience in accompanying and promoting processes towards local food policies through the FUSILLI partnership. Consequently, the City of Turin established an interdepartmental and inter-sectoral governance structure for the management of food policies and the definition of a 'Food Policy Plan' with objectives to be achieved by 2030 within the Single Programming Document (DUP). On 20 June 2022, the working group was officially launched by the Department of the Environment with the support of EStà and the Atlas of Food, bringing together 30 technicians and officials from various municipal sectors (from social policies to school cafeteria services and the management of public green spaces) for an initial cognitive interview.

Case of proGIreg Project

ProGIreg is a 5 years (2018–2023) project financed by the European Commission under the Societal Challenges—Climate action, Environment, Resource Efficiency and Raw Materials Programme of Horizon 2020.[2] With a budget of 11 million Euros and the Coordination provided by the Rheinisch-Westfaelische Technische Hochschule of Aachen in Germany, the project aims to implement NBS, which are citizen-owned and co-developed by municipalities, market and civil society stakeholders. A specific area in each partner city[3] has been selected to be redeveloped and revitalised as LL to demonstrate benefits ensured by the NBS. The NBS to be tested include: regenerating industrial soils biotic compounds, creating community-based urban agriculture and aquaponics and making renatured river corridors accessible for local residents.

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[2] Funded under the Societal Challenges – Climate action, Environment, Resource Efficiency and Raw Materials Programme: Productive Green Infrastructure for post-industrial urban regeneration. https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/776528

[3] Dortmund, Ningbo, Turin, Zagreb, named frontrunner city and Cascais, Cluj Napoca and Pyreus as follower cities.

Specifically, seven types of NBS have been implemented and are being tested in the LL of Mirafiori Sud. During the design phase, each NBS in the city has seen an important and continuous dialogue with numerous stakeholders from different professional categories. This participatory approach turned out to play a key role in co-designing solutions and matching the environmental quality and social inclusion objectives. Detailed work on the NBS of proGIreg was published by Battisti et al. in 2021. Table 2 provides a summary of the main NBS implemented in Turin.

4   Discussion

The following part summarises and analyses the outcomes of the three research questions.

4.1   Shared Spaces

The two European projects implemented in Mirafiori Sud, led to two pilot initiatives to rethink spaces through a multifunctional and inclusive perspective. Specifically, both initiatives fall within Orti Generali, conceived in proGIreg as NBS and FUSILLI as an innovative LL experimentation. Since 2018, proGIreg has initiated the transformation of a piece of land used for commercial agricultural purposes into a multifunctional urban horticultural reality with multiple purposes. This transformation has allowed citizens from the neighbourhood and surrounding areas to use the space and participate in agricultural, cultural and recreational activities. Today, Orti Generali covers an area of 30,000 m^2 divided into 170 plots of various sizes (50, 75, 100 m^2), assigned through the volunteer application, with pre-emption rights and ad hoc facilities for disadvantaged categories.

In addition to the individual plots, the collective vegetable garden covering 1000 square meters with beehives is used for educational-pedagogical purposes. The collective garden has been a catalyst in strengthening the community of vegetable gardeners in an area with a strong industrial past while making efficient use of land. Furthermore, since 2020, close to the community garden, a new sharing space has been created with the launch of the Fusilli project: Orti Generali kiosk. In and around the kiosk, the community has strengthened its bond and sense of belonging, sharing and jointly managing the furniture (dining table, sink for washing vegetables and the play and relaxation area).

The two living labs have enabled the post-industrial spaces to become a place of aggregation and sharing that is particularly appreciated not only by the neighbourhood community but also by neighbouring urban areas (mainly Moncalieri, Nichelino and Borgaretto). According to an estimate of the Orti Generali managers, about 500 people habitually frequent the shared garden and/or the kiosk.

Table 2 Types of NBS implemented in Mirafiori Sud Living Lab (Battisti et al., 2021, pp. 58, 70)

Name of NBS	Type of NBS	Content of NBS approach	Type of social participation
NBS 2—NEW SOIL	New green area on new regenerated soil	Placed in the park of the Sangone river, the project tests a regenerated soil obtained by mixing deep excavation material from urban construction sites, compost, zeolite and a biotic compound to stimulate the growth of mycorrhizae. The initial idea stems from the City's need for fertile soil for the construction of parks and green areas, without consuming agricultural land and jeopardising biodiversity in the surrounding countryside. On the other hand, there are always huge quantities of excavated soil and rocks that have to be removed from construction sites. A dialogue was conducted by Envipark, a science and technology park dedicated to the environment, with DUAL s.r.l., a company operating in the excavation soil sector, Acea Pinerolese, which produces quality compost, and CCS Aosta, which produces specific mycorrhizal inoculum formulations. The University of Turin, with the Departments of Agricultural, Forestry and Food Sciences and the Department of Chemistry, acts as a scientific advisor in the selection and care of plants, conducting multi-year monitoring on the complex system tested	Dialogue, scientific input
NBS 3	Urban horticulture (see Fig. 4)	The creation of both in-ground and in-box vegetable gardens involves many actions spread throughout the neighbourhood, involving schools, vulnerable groups and interested citizens. This activity is carried out by neighbourhood associations: Orti Generali Fondazione Mirafiori. The most extensive case of urban horticulture concerns the Foundation of Orti Generali, which, having leased an area in the city, manages both rented vegetable gardens for citizens and community areas with activities carried out with vulnerable groups and schools. This experience is explored below as a case study.	Leadership by neighbourhood associations; Participation of schools and vulnerable groups
NBS 4 AQUAPONICS	Aquaponics (see Fig. 5)	The city selected two experiments by means of a call for tenders for dissemination purposes, both aimed at testing new techniques based on fish farming combined with vegetable production by engaging local communities	City-led, community participation

Table 2 (continued)

Name of NBS	Type of NBS	Content of NBS approach	Type of social participation
NBS 5 GREEN ROOFS AND WALLS	Green roofs and green walls (see Fig. 6)	A green roof has been created by one of the project partners, Orti Alti, in Via Onorato Vigliani, to cover a disused public building with a flowering meadow populated by honey bees maintained by local beekeepers. The area also includes a garden for pollinators (Spazio WOW). This infrastructure complements the existing green roof of the House in the Park. In addition, green walls are being experimented in the First Night Home in Corso Tazzoli and the Cairoli School in Via Torrazza. In this case, the implementation is being led by the City and the company Verde Profilo, but all interaction with the work is being shared with the school, the Turin Polytechnic and the cooperative that manages the dormitory. Arpa Piemonte, the City's third party in the proGIreg project, is conducting some environmental monitoring, while the University of Bari will assess the children's perception of nature before and after the installation of the wall	Private sector, university involvement
NBS 6 GREEN CORRIDORS	Accessible green corridors	Interventions are planned to enhance the mobility network of Mirafiori Sud and to connect the Sangone river area to the district by means of green corridors. Those corridors are supposed to settle a good habitat for pollinator insects and make walking more pleasant for the inhabitants	Accessibility by general public

4.2   Shared Knowledge

Among the many dynamics of shared knowledge that more or less spontaneously take place in the Mirafiori Sud area, such as the exchange of cultivation tips and the exchange of seeds, proGIreg project includes specific citizen involvement activities. Specifically, citizens are involved in creating and monitoring pollinator-friendly spaces, promoting pollinator awareness. In particular, the 'Butterflies in Tour' project is based on citizen science, which takes a socially inclusive approach to scientific design. This is realised by the collaboration of researchers and citizens with doctors and patients of mental health centres for the promotion and management of pollinator-friendly green areas.

This project is conducted in different areas of the neighbourhood and in particular in the Orti Generali area, as well as in the Spazio WOW area. Spazio WOW is a green space created by recovering the courtyard of an abandoned complex,

Fig. 4 Orti Generali (Source: Evinç Doğan)

Fig. 5 Mitte Garten—
Aquaponics (Source: Evinç
Doğan)

Fig. 6 Spazio WOW (Source: Evinç Doğan)

consisting of a box garden, an extensive green roof and an apiary. Several associations, signatories of a cooperation pact with the city, collaborate in the space. The caissons were designed with the collaboration of a group of experienced researchers. They included species attractive to pollinating insects and horticultural species, while the roof was planted with wildflowers that are sources of nectar and pollen. Since May 2021, workshops open to citizens have been held in this area, organised by all proGIreg partners together with the 'Centro Scienza' association project. The workshops are also an opportunity for social inclusion, thanks to the active involvement of the neighbourhood Mental Health Centres and users and educators as citizen scientists. These works and activities have led the administration to initiate a procedure for the concession of the entire building, now abandoned, giving it a new vocation that includes the existing activities. Within the spaces, different categories of citizens were trained by academic experts to collect data on the presence of pollinating insects, ensuring long-term monitoring. The citizens who took part in these training activities became trainers and vectors of knowledge, ensuring a continuous flow of shared knowledge.

4.3   Sharing Economy

The two LLs under investigation have triggered sharing economy dynamics within the Orti Generali space. Specifically, the community of gardeners share working tools, furniture and infrastructures from a collaborative perspective, optimising management costs and reducing environmental impacts. Six specific items represent clear examples of shared resources and resources that gardeners can access by paying a symbolic fee. First, gardeners have agreed to share a tiller to prepare the soil, ploughing the ground at the beginning of the season in preparation for planting. Second, the community can make use of a weather station that collects and analyses temperature and humidity data, indicating suitable times to distribute pesticides to treat fungal pathogens. Third, the community collaboratively manages a greenhouse for the in-house production and sale of seedlings. Fourth, in their daily activities, the gardeners exchange seeds and vegetables to optimise the management of their plot in terms of economic and environmental sustainability. Fifth, thanks to the FUSILLI project, the community gardeners have started to deliver discarded vegetables that are still edible to the kiosk managers to prepare dishes to be eaten at the Orti Generali spaces. At the same time, the surplus of vegetables from the gardens is also distributed at 'Locanda nel Parco', a community-based hub of food retailing placed close to Fondazione della Comunità di Mirafiori.[4]

Besides the five items shared in Orti Generali, a further example of a sharing economy launched by means of the two LLs takes place in 'Casa di Ospitalità Tazzoli'.[5] The shelter has an outdoor green wall, realised and conceived as one of the proGIreg NBS. This green solution provides multiple ecosystem services to the

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[4] an NGO devoted to social inclusion and environmental regeneration in the district.
[5] a night shelter for homeless people.

users, such as the retention of air pollutants, aesthetic pleasantness and psychological-spiritual benefits. In addition, economic value can be attributed to these ecosystem services. The same can also be said for the care that users take of the green wall, understood as the economic value of the time and energy and matter (e.g. water) invested in enabling the NBS to continue to provide ecosystem services. It is, therefore, a question of mutual care and the human-nature relationship, which could be interpreted as a form of sharing economy between man and nature, or between nature itself (if the human is considered part of nature).

5   Conclusion

Urban regeneration and revitalisation policies have been executed to transform cities in both socio-economic and environmental terms focusing especially on derelict and brownfield sites. Current societal trends have furthered the emergence of new approaches to the management of urban spaces, taking place along the following paths: (a) from top-down authoritarian to participative-inclusive culture of place governance; (b) the spread of smart technologies, digitalisation tools and strategies; and (c) innovations in place management and activities mix. In the long term, this shift towards more sustainable and co-created urban spaces is likely to become a key priority for communities and urban authorities. It is expected that cities will endorse the shift from upscaling to co-creation by stressing the role of ULLs in the green and digital transition towards living and sharing locally. As cities and communities continue to evolve, they will be faced with increasing challenges in promoting sustainable landscape management. This will involve the adaptive reuse of urban assets, including the transformation of urban heritage sites into maker and farming spaces and using digital and smart technologies to facilitate the process. The trend towards more sustainable and liveable urban spaces is also expected to drive the growth of local and alternative food networks and promote bioeconomy solutions and regenerative art practices, which can contribute to employment and fighting depopulation.

The peri-urban regeneration in Turin illustrates the role of ULLs in urban farming as a transformative process. First, participatory-inclusive processes shifted the discourse into sustainable agriculture, short-local supply chains for fresh produce and localised networks of farms. This facilitated the participatory processes through community engagement and co-creation while introducing innovation through NBS to create circular urban food systems. Second, faced with the dominant concern of resource and energy efficiency, the transformation of urban heritage sites into maker and farming spaces is gaining ground. Related to the land use dimension, it demonstrates positive outcomes of adaptive reuse oriented towards production and revival of declining areas by ensuing benefits for the local economy. Third, digital and smart tools have facilitated the process of transformation by enabling communications, the design and planning tools for the interventions and the ongoing management of the project. The collaboration between institutions or individuals for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources enabled the acquisition

of gardening skills and ecological knowledge. Therefore, the support for urban agriculture initiatives could improve the ability of cities to provide alternative food (and cultural) networks in the short term, using an inclusive approach and promoting biophilia in the younger generations. Community is the key for living labs to be successful. In this context, combating unemployment and depopulation through/by using regenerative art for community engagement can be given as examples of good practices.

Technological developments have influenced the realisation of NBS, particularly green walls or aquaponics systems. Yet their impact on cultural aspects is uncertain and less understood. This necessitates research focusing on the transition areas from analogue to digital, the shift from traditional hierarchies of cultural landscapes to more fluid, decentred practices and digital and smart technologies becoming a force in the new urban tourism as a model of co-creation.

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Part III

The Role of Culture and Heritage in the Diversification of Urban Identities

A Reflection on Culture-Led Urban Development: From Symbol-Oriented Consumption Toward the City for All

Nebojša Čamprag

1 Introduction

During the past few decades, a complex set of rapid and competitive transformative processes took over development dynamics in cities all over the world. As a phenomenon behind the global socio-economic restructuring, it is also reflected in urban spaces and images, with the most dramatic changes occurring in the new centers of economic power. Downtown districts of some progressive cities, such as Shanghai or Dubai, underwent comprehensive expansions and redevelopments in only a couple of decades. To fully understand these development dynamics and their outcomes, it is essential to reflect on the background of the associated phenomena that enabled instant shifts and upgrades of the former cities on the "periphery" into the epicenter of the global arena.

The origins of these transformations should be found in the last decades of the twentieth century when the industrial city of production started to shift toward the entrepreneurial city of consumption under the auspices of the neo-liberal, entrepreneurial economy. Free-market capitalism was later associated with policies of economic liberalization—including privatization, deregulation, globalization, free trade, austerity, and reductions in government spending—all aiming to increase the role of the private sector in the economy and society. In addition, the atmosphere of the rising intercity competition fueled the "economy of attention" that required cities to find new ways of socio-spatial and economic development to stand out from the crowd (Franck, 2019). Urban governance has thus had to detach from the passive implementation of welfare-state policies and shift toward innovative, competitive, and locally oriented development strategies and solutions to attract new investments, residents, tourists, and visitors. The rising technological

N. Čamprag (✉)
Fachbereich Architektur, Technische Universität Darmstadt, Darmstadt, Germany
e-mail: nebojsa.camprag@tu-darmstadt.de

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advancements, increasing mobility of people, goods, and ideas and rising quests for new (urban) experiences additionally highlighted the challenge of local governance under such conditions. This resulted in a diversity of strategic solutions, ranging from the ones that relied on the promotion of authenticity as "the new consumer sensibility" (Pine II & Gilmore, 2011) to the so-called creative city concept.

While the creative city was seen as an alternative that promoted innovation, creativity, and uniqueness to attract new investments and highly educated and trained creative professionals, a vast majority of the strategies were developed to address the requirements of the booming tourism industry. Considering that this industry became one of the largest sectors in the global economy and urban tourism the fastest-growing travel segment, cities required activities and businesses to orchestrate memorable events. This filled the local budgets but, on the other hand, often initiated commodification of city experiences into marketable items. Urban myths, symbols, and cultures were transformed into a product, sanitized, and packed into the overall urban experience and, as such, ready to be consumed. Under such conditions that promoted not only the transformation of urban symbols and images but also socio-economic, political, and spatial restructuring, local economic development, and tourism agents gained prominence over cultural ones in a relatively short time.

Scholars generally underlined many benefits and potentials of relying on culture and consumption in urban development; however, they also highlighted some fewer positive outcomes of this trend. These range from the voluntary rewriting of meanings attached to urban environments, to some damaging environmental, socio-spatial, and economic issues. The reliance on culture and consumption for promoting economic growth was, therefore, questioned regarding its genuine contribution to creating more just, inclusive, and sustainable cities, along with a rising trend aimed at improving them in this regard. Before a more thorough analysis of the phenomena is brought into focus, the following section of this chapter provides brief features of the reliance on culture, authenticity, and city image in urban development.

2   Culture and Urban Imagineering

Although heavily exploited in recent years, the role of culture in strategies for urban development can be considered neither an entirely new concept nor the product of neo-liberal society. Looking back in history, the example of the nation-states of the nineteenth century was already profoundly using culture to build up homogeneous national identities and new citizenships in cities. However, the focus in urban theory has been traditionally set on socio-economic changes, so there was little room for culture. However, the situation radically changed with the major shift to a service and knowledge-based economy, making culture a key element in strategic urban planning and, therefore, one of the prime topics in urban studies.

The background of the shift to culture lies in three major causes. The first involves the industrial and economic crisis in the Western world in the mid-1970s and 1980s, followed by the increasing economic and social significance of consumption as a

driver of urban development, as opposed to industrial production. Lastly, there was the rising intercity competition for capital and people in the context of the globalized economy. Starting from the 1980s, intensified intercity competition and the growth of urban tourism increased pressures on individual city governments, causing shifts in the patterns of urban governance and policies toward the so-called entrepreneurial model (Harvey, 1989a). Thereby, the motivation for using culture shifted away from the ideal of attaining social justice and equality, to becoming an important economic resource. This led the way for the emergence of place-marketing policies and culture- and consumption-led urban development models, which favored the objectives of economic and tourism development—rather than social integration or the promotion of intrinsic cultural values.

At the same time, this was the period of the rise of place-marketing as a tool for achieving goals of neo-liberal urban development, operated through reliance on cultural resources in the creation and dissemination of attractive place images. Although deindustrialization equally affected many urban regions—such as Britain, France, and elsewhere—US cities were the first to develop strategic approaches based on place-marketing policies. The reason for them to become pioneers in this matter was that US cities were already more dependent on their local tax base and local economies, which was not the case with Western-European cities that still relied on state policies. To illustrate, Boston and Baltimore led the way in developing strategies for changing into consumption places, while the "I ♥ New York" campaign (Fig. 1) became the first famous example of "city boosting" (Greenberg, 2008).

Fig. 1 The slogan, logo, and song "I ♥ New York" are the basis of an advertising campaign used since 1977 to promote tourism in the state of New York, including New York City. The trademarked logo, designed by graphic designer Milton Glaser in 1976, has become a pop-culture icon imitated in every corner of the globe. Photo: Andre Carrotflower, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license, https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en

The reliance on the economic potential of city images and the phenomenon of urban Imagineering has also been conceived in the United States. The name itself comes from the entertainment industry—particularly from the "Walt Disney Imagineering," a part of the Disney Company that develops theme parks, resorts, and real estate. Urban Imagineering generally denotes a "combination of creative imagination and technological engineering in the 'theming' of goods, services and places, so that visitors develop memorable experiences of their visit" (Salazar, 2014: 93). The verb *to Imagineer* describes the act of "combining imagination with engineering to create the reality of dreams" (Paul in Yeoh, 2005: 42). The Disney Company translated its experience with the creation of entertainment parks and imagined spaces to city planning and design with the construction of a utopian town of Celebration in Florida during the 1990s that later inspired similar transformative place-making elsewhere.

The formulas from US cities relying on cultural resources for urban development mobilized place branding and marketing for advertisement and placement of their city products on the global market. Their overall aim was to boost the urban experience and promote consumption in cities, which proved to be highly influential in the development of entrepreneurial strategies elsewhere (Ward, 1998). Such policies were particularly influential in the so-called Global South, where they later proved to be more transforming and far-reaching than in the West (Broudehoux, 2000; Freeman, 2016). However, considering that the core of the Imagineering trend relied on cultural resources to transform urban environments, there were many other ways of mobilizing culture emerging in strategies for urban development. Contrary to their popularity and success, urban scholars explained these phenomena as the creation of a modern city through the imaginary and branding of places, including materialization of its aspects in the built environment—some of which jeopardized, others promoted the concept of an inclusive urban society.

3   The Role of Culture and Consumption in Urban Development Strategies

According to Cronin and Hetherington, "how cities are constituted as places is increasingly shaped by a combination of service sector industries, municipal authorities, and the lifestyle promotion of an image-conscious consumer-oriented culture industry associated with the arts, music, film, sports, and entertainment complexes, as well as retailing, tourism, and eating and drinking" (Cronin & Hetherington, 2008: 3). This largely supports Scott's (2000) argument that culture could be considered fundamental in the post-Fordist economy, which placed cultural policy as a central element in the restructuring of the economic basis for many cities (Bianchini, 1993).

The potential of culture as an economic driving force originates in the shift in the perspective on traditional industry and industrial development, which were during the late twentieth century increasingly seen to fail as a basis for prosperity and growth (Harvey, 1989a; Hall & Hubbard, 1998). Culture-led urban development

strategies thus inspired perceptions of them being a feasible alternative. Subsequently, economies in cities became strongly interwoven with culture through its economization through the so-called symbol-oriented consumption (Zukin, 2008; Lysgård, 2012). The growing relationship between economy and culture later became characterized by two processes that developed simultaneously. The "economization of culture" includes the process of turning culture into commodities, while the "culturalization of the economy" involves the incorporation of aesthetic and symbolic dimensions into most aspects of commodity production and consumption (Basset, 2005). This repositioning in the production of material goods toward symbolic and cultural ones remains the key element in the new urban economies (Miles, 2020). However, in this shift from industry and commerce to service and entertainment, culture was not only apprehended as a central element to attract tourists, citizens, and highly competent labor but also as a solution to other post-industrial issues, such as social division and the regeneration of former industrial sites (Sassen, 2000).

The vast majority of culture-led urban development policies and tools were undoubtedly inspired, supported, and promoted by the tourism industry. Feinstein argued that "virtually every city today sees a tourism possibility and has taken steps to encourage it" (Fainstein et al., 2003: 8). From its marginal position in the urban economy in the 1980s, tourism has developed to become a key concern of local policymakers. Besides becoming one of the world's largest industries, it was also recognized as a key driver of contemporary urban change in both developed and less developed geographical contexts. Especially during the last few decades, tourism gained its role to such an extent that the distinctions between tourism and other forms of migration, leisure, or place consumption became increasingly blurred (Maitland & Newman, 2009: 3). It has become so pervasive that it took over much of today's everyday life. However, the conceptions that isolate tourism from other forms of consumption or mobility interpreted tourism as one dimension of temporary mobility, "being both shaped by and shaping it within contemporary practices of consumption, production and lifestyle" (Hall & Jenkins, 2004: 104).

Depending on the objectives, Griffiths (1995) identified three main categories of culture-led urban development models in early post-industrial economies. The first involves the creation of rapid and substantial growth through making a city more attractive—the so-called city boosterism. In this model, culture performs as a medium for attracting tourists, investors, entrepreneurs, and highly trained workforces. The second model emphasizes internal sociocultural processes in a city, in which culture is used to revitalize a city's public social life, and even to create a sense of coherence, pride, and a common identity among its citizens. Finally, the third culture-led urban development model involves the production and circulation of commercial cultural products in the form of symbolic cultural artifacts. In contrast to the previous two, this model mostly focuses on the issues of urban economy and employment but less on a city's spatial and sociocultural forms.

Considering that in the symbolic economy, culture demonstrated the power "to create an image, to frame a vision" (Zukin, 1995: 3), cities gained importance as places "where cultural images are made, marketed and most visibly consumed"

(Zukin, 2008: xi). Consequently, two new fields of knowledge mostly contributed to the shift to culture in urban development. The first refers to the understanding of the potential of culture as an economic driving force, which reflects the ideas of the American professor of geography and public policy (Allen J. Scott, 2000). The second influential field of knowledge refers to the attention to the importance of competence and creativity, which has been stressed by the American "guru" of social and economic aspects in urban development (Richard Florida, 2002). The policies based on culture therefore aimed at promoting cities either as global cultural icons or as creative environments. Kavaratzis (2004) elaborated on this by highlighting the approaches to the city as a product that needs to be marketed and sold or the city being a place of production and consumption of culture.

4   City as a (Cultural) Product

The shift from an administrative to a more managerial urban governance approach involved the mobilization of working methods and techniques, until then specific to the private sector. Places became "regarded as commodities to be consumed and as commodities that can be rendered attractive, advertised and marketed" (Kearns & Philo, 1993:18). As a consequence, city marketing became particularly useful in new urban management strategies. To illustrate, the corporate marketing endeavor instantly created and promoted a different image for post-industrial Rotterdam, cleaned from the working-class and masculine mythology that was thought to mitigate innovations in the city's post-industrial economy.

Marketing the city product should be understood as more than just a mere promotion of a place; it "(…) entails the various ways in which public and private agencies, often working collaboratively, strive to 'sell' the image of a town or city, to make it attractive to economic enterprises, to tourists and even to inhabitants of that place" (Kearns & Philo, 1993: 3). As a background to reimaging Rotterdam, Van den Berg (2012) argued that the aspired new economy was anticipated to replace the lost jobs in the harbor and industry by creating new ones in tourism, healthcare, and creative industries. The images that were once compatible parts of the working-class and "masculine" mythology needed to be rearranged and juxtaposed in an extensive urban rebranding process. During this campaign, the "working city" of Rotterdam has been repacked into a "daring city" product that moved beyond the harbor and ultimately through these powerful campaigns even "changed its gender" to make itself more attractive for the city's new economic objectives.

According to Bianchini (1993) and Kennell (2010), the rapid rise in popularity of these development tools during the 2000s rendered the age of city marketing and branding we still experience today. These strategies rapidly evolved even to become specialized, depending on the intentions behind their mobilization. Therefore, through its power to reduce the urban to single trademarks (Hubbard, 2006), *city branding* assigns desired meanings to places through carefully planned branding campaigns. Furthermore, *imaging the city* constructs and advertises "spectacular urban landscapes" through images that fit with "perceptions of urban success"

(Cochrane, 2007: 112). Finally, *selling the city* assumes "the complex and often contested processes, whereby the managers of large urban areas manipulate cultural resources for capital gain whether by converting them into 'commodities' or by using them as a lure to inward investment from industrialists, tourists and shoppers" (Kearns & Philo, 1993: ix).

Regardless of their form, all marketing strategies are a "necessary cultural strategy in our age of image inflation" (Zukin, 2008, xii). The role of culture in such activities has been regarded either as a source of employment and income generation—for example, tourism—or as a catalyst for a change of image, for example, the impact of prestige cultural activities, flagship developments and mega-events. Furthermore, according to Hall "there is probably no greater advert for cities than their own landscape" (Hall & Hubbard, 1998: 29). Initiatives in urban space often implied demolition of squatter neighborhoods, beautification of sidewalks, and sanitization of touristy public places. Such major urban restructuring endeavors could also be considered as a part of the making of imagery for the city, as much as being a part of other entrepreneurial strategies.

Particularly popular was the reliance on urban megaprojects, considered to be "emblematic examples of neoliberal forms of governance" that propel socio-economic restructuring (Swyngedouw et al., 2002: 548). Bianchini defined these large-scale urban initiatives as "significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property development which plays an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration" (Bianchini et al., 1992: 252). Often intertwined with culture, urban megaprojects were normally associated with high-profile flagship developments, aiming to "mark out 'change' for a city" (Bianchini et al., 1990: 11). The effects of culture-based megaprojects that promoted cities as cultural products also extended beyond the physical boundaries of the project itself. They hold the capacity not only to reshape urban space but also the way cities and institutions represent themselves, through providing widely circulated images.

One of the best-known examples of such large-scale culture-based initiatives was implemented during the late 1990s, in the city of Bilbao in Spain. It relied on the combination of a cultural building and its iconic architecture, as a powerful strategy for triggering successful urban regeneration of a formerly declining industrial city. By placing the iconic Guggenheim Museum building designed by American star architect Frank Gehry in the city's dilapidated port area, the Basque government marked out a new chapter for the city and its region. This flagship project further initiated anticipated economic restructuring and major infrastructure improvements, which associated culture with such gains. Although the opinions on the success of this project were mixed and even contradictory, Guggenheim-Bilbao is still considered the first contemporary art house that has re-imaged an entire region, thus remaining one of the most transformative symbols of culture-based place-making of the last century.

5   City as a Place of Production and Consumption of Culture

As previously explained, culture and creativity have appeared almost like a mantra in urban development during the last two decades (Stevenson, 2004; Peck, 2005). The increasing role of cultural industries in national and local economies particularly highlighted the importance of a place, which resulted in some major spatial clustering in cities. Local decision-makers thus strongly encouraged the emergence of the so-called creative milieux and creative clusters (Scott, 2000), hoping that they will contribute to the urban economy and revitalization. Additionally, cities needed to make themselves attractive to a specific social group regarding the types of employment opportunities available and not least their image as cultural arenas and living environments (Florida, 2005). These arguments are at the core of the hypothesis on the creative class, developed by Richard Florida (2002).

According to Florida, the new "creative class" seeks open, multicultural, and tolerant urban environments, which gave new meanings to urban development strategies (Florida, 2002). Consequently, the cosmopolitan, cultural life is seen as an important element in the marketing and internationalization of cities, while an active cultural life is a quality in itself, which can contribute to wealth and welfare in cities. Considering that this particular "class" of people is also characterized by a creative ethos, openness, and tolerance, they require culture and are its large consumers. The increasing scope of the cultural offer will further enhance a city's attractiveness, enabling culture and economy to combine in a new form of consumer culture.

Besides a particularly problematic sociological basis for the concept of a class, scholars criticized Florida's creative class theory due to a lack of clarity in connection with the creative concept, as well as the missing evidence to the assumption of the large economic changes upon, which the theory is founded (Peck, 2005). Although there is no empirical evidence to support the theory of "urban social development" effects of arts and culture in practice, more recent arguments for culture-led development by Lysgård (2012) still assume that creative persons could save cities from industrial failure and contribute to their innovation, growth, and increased employment. Considering that culture has a strong industrial aspect, Lysgård argued that investing in cultural industries should be seen as "the answer to urban development strategies in the future" (2012: 1287).

Another aspect regarding the city as a place of production and consumption of culture refers to urban cultural events. According to Häußermann and Siebel (1993), cities at the turn of centuries entered the era of "urban festivals," urban spectacle, and "festivalisation of urban politics," which all fall under the notion of urban mega-events. They include "large-scale cultural [including commercial and sporting] events with a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance" (Roche, 2000: 1). Brent Ritchie (1984: 2) stated that "such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention." The promoted narratives are designed not only to enhance attractiveness to outsiders (Richards & Wilson, 2004) but also to create cohesion in

otherwise often fragmented cities (Burgers, 2002). However, the primary function of these events was allegedly to provide the host community with an opportunity to secure high prominence in the tourism marketplace (Hall, 1989: 263). They are also used as an instrument for economic growth and the development of cultural industries (Gold & Gold, 2008). In some cases, these events even demonstrated a political role—they enabled local and national elites to "project and disseminate old and new hegemonic and 'official' ideologies to 'the masses'" (Roche, 2000: 9).

Probably, the most iconic example of transformative urban mega-events was the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, which were not only proclaimed "the best Olympic Games in history," but was also entitled the first "games-related urban regeneration" (Gold & Gold, 2008: 307). This large-scale event represented an elaborate urban development strategy that instantly turned Barcelona into an internationally recognizable urban brand and tourist destination, marking the beginning of a new model that later inspired other cities across the globe.

In the European framework, among the most prominent examples of culture-based mega-events is the European Capital of Culture. This initiative by the European Commission primarily aims at highlighting the political idea of Europeanness by propagating the richness and diversity of its cultures. At the same time, it promotes urban regeneration and tourism development in the host cities through the versatile use of culture and art. Along with supporting the cultural, social, and economic development of cities, these mega-events are also improving the quality of life, strengthening the sense of community, attracting visitors and, finally, helping the cities to (re)gain international recognition. The initiative was, therefore, particularly interesting as an opportunity for urban governments in formerly marginalized or disadvantaged contexts in need of effective restructurings—such as among the former industrial centers, or cities from the former Eastern Bloc.

Despite its immense potential for socio-economic development, culture is inherently contested. This means that culture-led urban development can accentuate differences and provoke dissent—a feature that, when combined with a neo-liberal agenda, threatens rather than fosters the concept of an inclusive urban society, as shown in the following section.

6   Some Harmful Effects of Mobilizing Culture for Development in Cities

In the arena of increasing intercity competition, the neo-liberal global economy often required cities to stand out from the crowd. Consequently, in their search for effective and quick solutions, local urban governments often looked upon strategies that worked someplace else. Many cities organized cultural festivals, participated in bids for sporting events or international summits and developed new urban landmarks. In this way, strategies that were calling for uniqueness paradoxically often resulted in the promotion of overly similar city images and cultural offers. This was particularly evident in the remarkably alike marketing slogans and brands that similarly highlighted cities' infrastructures, population, and exciting urban life. The

trend was also evident in similar slogans that often included "empty" signifiers, such as associations with "cosmopolitan" or "world" cities to promote themselves as cultural and entertainment icons (Short & Kim, 1998).

Another major issue with urban branding implies the aestheticizing process it was based on, particularly criticized for being highly artificial, and for promoting remaking, engineering, or even rewriting urban mythologies and images (Hubbard, 2006: 86). This process reflected the ambitions of urban marketers, elites, and administrators—rather than real urban dynamics, city characteristics, or urban social problems. Therefore, Zukin argued that the symbolic economy "works its way into the city character by organizing its complexity into simple, but powerful, images which both evoke emotion and repress critical thought" (Zukin, 2008: xi). Harvey referred to this phenomenon as the production of a "carnival mask" (1989b: 35) that aims to cover up underlying economic problems and hide growing social and economic inequality in the post-industrial city (Harvey, 1989b). Imagineering of cities has similarly gone through scholarly criticism, particularly after Disney's town of Celebration, designed as an "ideal American city" and a fantasy to live in became labeled as a fantasy of community spirit and social control (Zukin, 1991; Kargon & Molella, 2008). Some urban scholars thus pointed out that imagineering and branding of places are not innocent and neutral processes, as they may seem at first—Johansson highlighted their political dimension (2012: 3611), while Bezdecny described city Imagineering as the manipulation of reality for the benefit of the already-privileged (2015: 325).

Regarding the reliance on urban megaprojects for creating a desired change, urban governments similarly looked upon successful examples, which later became known as the "Bilbao Effect." In other words, due to the quick and successful socio-economic repositioning of this Basque city, other cities suddenly wanted "their own Guggenheim." Crawford stated that the so-called Bilbao Miracle should not be taken as an instant recipe for success and rather called for creativity; "other cities will have to find their own projects, not copies of the Guggenheim" (Crawford, 2001). Some criticisms of the initiative in Bilbao even denounced the museum as a symbol of gentrification and cultural imperialism (del Cerro Santamaría, 2013). In this regard, Giddens argued for more respect for the local context and necessary inclusion of all urban stakeholders, stating that "money and originality of design are not enough... You need many ingredients for big, emblematic projects to work, and one of the keys is the active support of local communities" (Crawford, 2001).

Scholars generally criticized urban megaprojects mostly on democratic, economic, and social grounds (Olds, 2004; Orueta & Fainstein, 2008). These projects commonly showed to be prone to planning failures and were often marked by overspending and excessive delays (Flyvbjerg et al., 2003). An example of the reconstruction of the historical Altstadt in Frankfurt (Fig. 2) reveals the controversial sanitization of historical buildings and commodification of urban cultures and histories, generously supported by the local tourism organization and some civic organizations. Similarly to the megaproject HafenCity in Hamburg that evidences a relatively successful culture-led urban transformation, both initiatives were denounced due to their skyrocketing costs and schedule overruns. In addition to

Fig. 2 DomRömer project, with its historical reconstructions and creative replicas, resulted in the musealization of Frankfurt's Altstadt—as the idealized identification point for the locals and the new attraction for the tourists. Photo: Author, 2022

overspending and delays, the gains and benefits of such initiatives for the wider public became less clear and much debated (Plaza, 2000; Sandercock & Dovey, 2002).

While seemingly serving a broad range of interests, culture-led urban megaprojects often masked the underlying shift "from collective benefits to a more individualized form of public benefit" (Lehrer & Laidley, 2008: 786). Particularly notable was the lack of transparency in the development of these projects, often based on exceptional measures that in some cases served to circumvent democratic control. The example of the unfamous refurbishment initiative of the capital city of North Macedonia, "Skopje 2014," illustrated an over-pretentious, overly expensive, and nontransparent urban beautification for the alleged purpose of nation-building (Fig. 3). The background of this initiative was in the political elite intentionally looking upon Western European cultures and ideals in their fantasizing of a perfect "historic" capital for the newly born European nation. This project proved to be a costly endeavor that not only greatly surpassed the initial cost estimates but was also planned and built without any form of public participation, in the shadows of the money-laundering accusations. Reflecting on Evans, "culture-led regeneration projects have not benefited residents," and such initiatives have created negative physical impacts instead (2005). A rising civic engagement against particular urban megaprojects in the Western Europe gained much attention more recently,

Fig. 3 The new building of the Constitutional Court, the State Archives and the Archaeological Museum, featuring elements of architecture from the time of classical antiquity, represents one of the signature features of the controversial refurbishment of the capital city of North Macedonia "Skopje 2014." Photo: Author, 2013

contributing to their significant implementation delays (Novy & Peters, 2013; Lauermann, 2016).

The reliance on urban mega-events could be considered as even more problematic, as it is often linked to the marginalization of specific sub-cultures and local identities. Roche noted that "whether their impacts are positive or negative, urban mega-events are typically conceived and produced by powerful elite groups with little democratic input to the policy-making process by local citizens" (Roche, 2000: 126). Taking the Olympic Games as a case study, some radical scholars such as Lenskyj argued that their "legacy benefits accrue to the already privileged sectors of the population, while the disadvantaged bear a disproportionate share of the burden" (Lenskyj, 2002:131). There are many pieces of evidence of forceful evictions and displacements, so the Olympic Games became associated with the erosion of human rights, in addition to policing, surveillance, anti-terrorism measures, repression of dissent and hiding undesirables, and restricting freedom of movement of residents (Cashman, 2010).

The example of beautification attempts in Rio de Janeiro reveals strong reliance on mega-events, illustrating the scale of harmful effects of this trend. As the city struggled with the image of being one of the most divided and violent cities for

decades, the local administration embarked on a massive regeneration strategy and image campaign. It started with the 1992 UN Conference and continued during the preparations for the World Cup in 2014. However, "beautification" and "cleaning up" of the city and its waterfront emphasized the aesthetic dimension of the regeneration, leaving many of the underlying social problems untouched. Rio's poor were excluded from the city's image and actual public space (Broudehoux, 2000; Freeman, 2016) and were denied their right to the city, as authorities prioritized the security of the rich and the tourists. The strategy was repeated during the preparations for the 2016 Summer Olympics when funds were used for cosmetic interventions and beautification, rather than for social investments that could benefit the city's less privileged social groups. However, the example of Rio also serves to illustrate another important phenomenon. Although its' many favelas were long *invisibilized* by demolitions, evictions, walling, and manipulated representations in visual media, it was difficult to hide their physical presence. Their romanticized image eventually became a part of the international tourists' imagination, so the favelas were consequently subjected to the process of pacification, beautification, and touristic staging (Steinbrink, 2013). This abrupt shift testifies to the power of the tourism industry, commodifying even poverty and violence into exotic tours of favelas (Steinbrink, 2013).

Tourism as such already proved to be "a central element of some of the critical economic and political issues of the contemporary era: the internationalisation of capital, industrial and regional restructuring, urban development, and the growth of service economy" (Hall, 1994: 7). However, contrary to its rising power, "detailed tourism policy studies are few," while the existing ones mostly focus "on notions of prescription, efficiency, and economy rather than ideals of equality and social justice" (Hall, 1994: 7). Considering "(...) the economic, social and environmental effects of tourism, it is remarkable just how little attention is given to the way in which tourism is governed and directed" (Hall, 2006: 260). Uncontrolled development dynamics of this industry became evident in over-tourism affecting some cities, causing even more problematic socio-spatial phenomena, such as the rising *tourismophobia*. As an example, this phenomenon was initiated in Barcelona by the negative impacts of the tourist economy on the city neighborhoods, such as the proliferation of short-term rental apartments, problems of noise and antisocial behavior linked with "drunken tourism," or the occupation and commodification of public spaces by cafe terraces, rising gentrification, and other urban issues. The insights from Berlin further demonstrate the harmful effects of uncontrolled tourism development, where the residents and anti-tourism activists claimed that tourists are destroying what they seek by finding it, so the city seems to be in danger of falling victim to its success (Hollersen & Kurbjuweit, 2011).

Considering all the issues, neo-liberal culture-led urban development necessarily needed some substantial revisions and alternative approaches. An evidence of the emerging shifts is the rising public unease and contestation—such as the proliferation of urban conflicts, protests, and resistance, which Colomb and Novy (2017) described as "politization from below."

7   Toward the City for All

With the rise of urban development challenges, societal visions for sustainable urban futures kept on evolving. This trend includes the growing popularization of the political idea of a society in which social and ecological well-being is prioritized instead of corporate profits, overproduction, and excess consumption, setting forth de-growth and stabilization as a sustainable development alternative to constant and unsustainable growth. The new vision for a better urban future significantly impacted the ways of instrumenting cultural policies for urban restructuring. As an example, the new forms of community activism and urban social movements have increasingly turned public attention toward tourism-related issues. These issues got incorporated into agendas as part of broader claims about the defense of the quality of urban life and public space management, neighborhood restructuring, heritage protection, housing shortages, tenants' rights and rapid gentrification, the social impacts of mega-events, and many other issues resulting from the former strategies.

Mounting evidence of growing mobilization by the "creative class" in urban social movements, who are defending public spaces and influencing urban development, represent "the seeds of new types of coalitions with a wide-ranging agenda for urban change" (Novy & Colomb, 2013: 1816). This demonstrates that culture, creativity, and in particular cultural tourism—that previously reinforced power inequalities and all too often served particular interests—hold the potential to inspire and promote equitable and people-centered forms of urban and neighborhood development. The increasing emphasis of urban policy on social cohesion also discourages the former practice of place-marketing (Eisenschitz, 2010), which tended to aggravate social division. These tools are shifting toward non-planned, less elitist, and more inclusive processes, in which culture and creativity are used for the promotion of equality and social cohesion in cities.

The relatively recent removal of the famous letters "I amsterdam" from the Museum Square in Amsterdam highlights this shift. Installed in 2004 as a part of a city marketing campaign, the sign was initially intended to become a symbol of inclusion that will "celebrate Amsterdam's citizens in all their diversity" (Hitti, 2018). The sign by time attracted a lot of public attention, suggesting that visitors were more interested in taking a selfie outside the museum than appreciating the artworks inside. Due to it becoming a symbol of individualism and mass tourism, the letters were finally removed in 2018. City councilor Roosma justified this act by stating that the sign was causing overcrowding and was sending the wrong message about the city's values: "the message of 'I amsterdam' is that we are all individuals in the city. We want to show something different: diversity, tolerance, solidarity" (Hitti, 2018).

Similar examples further illustrate the idea of urban branding and marketing as inclusive tools, becoming a channel for city residents to identify with their living environment. Contrary to the previous campaign, New York City embraced a versatile and inclusive approach to urban branding that became a strong voice for the city, used across a range of city-wide initiatives. The new "NYC" brand became adaptable to promote diverse images of a range of cultures, professions, brands, and

activities, aiming to successfully represent the diversity that characterizes this multicultural city. In addition, the rebranding process of the artistic neighborhood of El Raval in Barcelona also emphasizes the integration of the local community and the promotion of local culture and creativity—instead of promoting urban tourism industry (Rius Ulldemolins, 2014).

Finally, the more recent example of a corporate, functional, and inclusive urban rebranding illustrates an innovative approach that already made a positive kick for the city and its residents. Currently, among the top five best city brandings, rebranding of Helsinki started with the aim to establish an inviting and cross-cultural platform of cohesive communications that could address a broader audience (Fig. 4). The new city identity created in 2017 as an adaptive, responsive, and versatile system stretches across all the services, events, and projects of the city. A shared vision relies upon images absent from any filters, to illustrate the diversity of people, emotions, and experiences as they truly are. By this way, the new identity of Helsinki managed to address everyone—from employees, current, and future residents, to all Finns, immigrants, tourists, and foreign dignitaries alike.

Fig. 4 Helsinki—a city that celebrates the diversity of people and places. Photo: A. Stupar

8   Conclusion

Reflecting on the UN Sustainable Development Goals (2015), cities require inclusive, equitable, and just development strategies and solutions. Furthermore, UNESCO's Global Report on Culture for Sustainable Urban Development (2016) highlights the power of culture for reaching more prosperous, safer, and sustainable cities. All of these objectives are becoming increasingly relevant in sustainable strategies that rely on culture for urban development, at the same time more closely reflecting goals that foster inclusive and diverse urban communities. However, there are still many elements for further research, of which the politicization of urban challenges from below is probably the most promising. This is particularly significant given that the power-related struggle stands behind the objectives of urban equality, governance and sustainability, and even more important regarding the implications of growing global challenges on future trends related to culture as a resource in urban development.

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Rethinking Dissonant Heritage: The Unabsorbed Modernisation of Novi Sad

Dragana Konstantinović and Miljana Zeković

1 Urban Identities and Dissonant Heritage

Culture is defined through adopted patterns of opinion, feelings and behaviour, and its values are inscribed in space through their construction and continuance. This is how an urban landscape, consisting of historical layers of the built environment, is created. This landscape is a complex kaleidoscope of history and a reflection of the continuity of human life, where the symbolic functions of human activities, beliefs and values are realised through construction, in addition to utilitarian function. The presence of symbols in a space renders it a place, an 'affective realm of experience and meaning' (Stevenson, 2013, p. 40). Thus, symbols connect people with place, through identification.

Contemporary cities represent the most complex form of the cultural landscape. They serve as a repository of architecture from which the architectural heritage that is crucial for the materialisation of collective identity is selected. At the local level, the selection of its symbols, or layers of the city that serve this purpose, reflects the national and local cultural policies. The architectural layer that is part of the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (Smith, 2006) creates the physical framework of the desired identity and its visual reference. It becomes the material basis for political constructs, as well as the visualisation of identity that was until that moment an abstract category. Just as the city is a society's mark in space, so is architecture a kind of litmus test of social conditions (Pušić, 2009, pp. 67–68), reflected in the programme and physical structure of individual buildings. Each building contains multiple meanings and can be considered a formation of functions of architecture, in a constant state of reconfiguration (Žugić, 2017, p. 58). Cultural narratives give ultimate meaning to buildings, complexes and neighbourhoods. These 'texts' are

D. Konstantinović (✉) · M. Zeković
Faculty of Technical Sciences, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Serbia
e-mail: konstan_d@uns.ac.rs; miljana_z@uns.ac.rs

closely related to the formation of collective memory, where architecture is the 'keeper' and 'container' of history.

Within the framework of cultural politics, collective memory is 'regulated' and focused on desirable narratives, which help build a desirable (national and/or local) identity, authorised 'from the top'. However, architecture and the built environment also 'preserve' the memory of less desirable periods of history or minority identities. As a result, the city develops the potential for fostering a pluralism of cultural identities, as in the concept of multiculturalism, but it also becomes a place of suppression of 'undesirable' identities that acquire the status of 'contested cultural heritage' (Silverman, 2011). The coexistence of authorised and contested identities in the domain of the built environment is called heritage dissonance (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1995; Kisić, 2016). Dissonant heritage is an integral part of the urban landscape, providing the basis for understanding culture and the city as layered and changing categories with multiple identities.

2   Urban Identities of Novi Sad

The city of Novi Sad relies heavily on the paradigm of the multicultural Central European city in its official cultural policy and identity. This platform is recognised as the generally accepted form of promoting European values, whose potential can be expressed on the territory of Novi Sad. At the level of the city, this platform signifies, at least declaratively, the promotion of multiple (but not all) identity layers and points that represent multiculturalism, as a reflection of the coexistence of different ethnic groups in this region, through the recognition of ethnic characteristics of marginalised minorities and not through a global and cosmopolitan dimension (Tomka & Kisić, 2018). However, even though Novi Sad is a relatively young city, it has witnessed multiple shifts in cultural paradigms, which have had their unequivocal impact on the city's urban planning and architecture. Since the current cultural policy relies on the multi-ethnic and multicultural principles that were most pronounced in the earlier stages of the city's development (Strategija kulturnog razvoja, 2016; CultTour, 2021), premodern buildings and neighbourhoods from this period have been selected by the policymakers and those in charge of the official promotional channels of the city [1,2] and to a certain extent 'romanticized' to the level of architectural heritage. This encompasses the city centre (more precisely the central square and the surrounding streets) and particularly the Petrovaradin Fortress and the adjacent *Podgrađe* neighbourhood. According to Pušić, the Petrovaradin Fortress is the most prominent artefact of the city (...) and the most common symbolic association among the citizens of Novi Sad, whose experience of this material artefact as a symbol comprises several layers—temporal, visual and aesthetic (Pušić, 2009,

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[1] The official website of City of Novi Sad: http://www.novisad.rs/eng/gallery

[2] Tourism organisation of the city of Novi Sad: https://novisad.travel/en/

p. 305). Other buildings of the nineteenth century have a similar status, [3] creating an image of belonging to the former territory of the progressive Austro-Hungarian Empire, albeit on its very periphery.

An urban analysis of modern Novi Sad, however, reveals completely different facts. The modernisation of the city had begun in the interwar period when Novi Sad became the regional capital and continued even more intensively after the Second World War. Statistical indicators unequivocally point to the great intensity and scope of construction activities, not only in terms of the floor area of buildings but also in respect of the increase in population from 40,000 after the war to almost 300,000 by the end of the 1980s[4] (Republički zavod za statistiku, n.d.). It was these activities that infrastructurally and urbanistically defined the city as it is known today: a city of boulevards, connected to the river, with large public buildings, residential districts and an industrial zone along the Danube–Tisa–Danube canal. Its dominant urban character was formed by a major remodelling that began in the second half of the twentieth century, which inscribed *modernist code* into its urban tissue. This was the period when Novi Sad became a city, according to urban criteria (Figs. 1, 2).[5]

If these are undeniable facts visible in space and expressed through statistical parameters, the question arises as to why the modernist layer of the development of Novi Sad is its contested identity and why it has not been 'absorbed' into contemporary cultural trends and urban policies.

3   In Search of a 'Modernist Code'

One of the reasons for the suppression of the modernist identity of Novi Sad is certainly the socialist past of the state during which this architectural oeuvre was realised. The consequences of this historical period,[6] which ended in the state's dissolution and traumatic transition, also define the historical narratives that are

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[3] Official presentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad: http://www.zzskgns.rs/kulturna-dobra-online/

[4] More on the topic of city growth in Jović S, Konstantinović D. and Peško I. (2022) Urbanisation as a tool for economic growth – Novi Sad the developmental city. Advances in Civil and Architectural Engineering. Vol. 13, Issue No. 25. pp. 1–13 https://doi.org/10.13167/2022.25.1

[5] Before extensive reconstruction and industrialisation in the second half of the twentieth century, Novi Sad could hardly be considered a city, in terms of its urban morphology and character. By the number of inhabitants, Novi Sad was categorised as a medium-sized town, but the urban density (less than 100 inhabitants/hm^2), number of workers employed in industrial sector and services (less than 15%), predominant housing type (single family housing) indicated the character of more rural environments. For more on the topic, consult RSO data, or the research *Urbanisation as a tool for economic growth – Novi Sad the developmental city*

[6] This specific period could be defined by 1950, the year of the first modern General Urban Plan and 1985, the year by which major investments in the city were completed. After 1985, the state gradually entered a period of political instability, which ultimately led to its dissolution and civil war.

Fig. 1 Novi Sad—the city on the left bank of the river Danube facing the Fortress © 2023 by Konstantinović & Zeković

Fig. 2 South section of the main city boulevard in the late 1970s (Liberation Boulevard, former Boulevard October 23rd) © 1980 Urban Centre—Urban Planning, Development and Research Centre, Novi Sad, Serbia

connected to this period and whose architecture is the material basis. As such, it takes on the quality of dissonant heritage that represents an 'undesirable' past. While in contemporary Western European cultural policies, diverse cultural landscape became clearly acknowledged, emphasising that 'heritage in all its forms must be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations' (UNESCO, 2001), in the current cultural policies of the Former Yugoslavia region, this is still not the case. The stigmatisation of the socialist past extends to the architecture of this period, despite its indisputable qualities—the modernising and humanist dimension, which undoubtedly improved people's living conditions in the past—and is still considered a reflection of high construction standards in the present.

Another reason for this status of the modernist heritage of Novi Sad is the broader phenomenon of 'unabsorbed modernisations' (Konstantinović & Jović, 2020), which is also characteristic of other post-Yugoslav cities. In opposition with the current traditionalism, the extremely intensive development process in the post-war period that was expressed through modern architecture could hardly be recognised as a value. In this respect, it is interesting to note that modernism in the past meant modernisation, but today it only implies socialism. A survey carried out as part of research accompanying the planning of the Mišeluk settlement (Karapešić et al., 1982, pp. 187–188) established a list of symbols of the city, the first being the City Hall, and the second the Post Office building. The latter was not chosen by citizens because of their understanding of the 'stereometric monumentalism' (Mitrović, 2010, p. 351) of Brašovan's[7] late modernist expression but because the Post Office tower is primarily a signifier of the social progress behind its construction—the telecommunications infrastructure that brought the telephone to the city. The failure to understand the importance of these buildings[8] is all but a negation of the entire process of modernisation in all spheres of life, which seeks its expression even today. This raises the question of whether the socialist past also defines our relationship to the modernist past and whether these relationships can be viewed independently of each other.

Modernism was recognised in the young socialist state as a system of architectural creation that manifested the state's determination to be modernised and hegemonised through the construction of Yugoslavism using a style without nationalist subtext, as well as 'differentiate' itself from the USSR and contextualise itself

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[7] Dragiša Brašovan (1887–1965) was a prominent Serbian architect and one of the leading figures of early modernism. In Novi Sad, he designed three building along the route of Mihajlo Pupin Boulevard (former Maršal Tito Boulevard): the Workers' Chamber in 1931, the Seat of the Government and Assembly of the Danube Banate (Ban's Palace) in 1939 and the Main Post Office in 1961. These building witness Brasovan's personal exploration of Modernism and its application in the design of public buildings.

[8] The listing of the protected heritage sites in the city: Official presentation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Novi Sad: http://www.zzskgns.rs/kulturna-dobra-online/

within the European cultural space (Konstantinović & Terzić, 2021, p. 307). Its programmatic basis was adapted to the developing socialist society and reflected its authentic values. This permanently linked modernist architecture and socialist ideology within the oeuvre of Yugoslav modernism, which also marked the urban fabric of Novi Sad. Therefore, this oeuvre can only be viewed within the defined framework, which makes it difficult to define a contemporary approach to its evaluation: separating the oeuvre from the ideological corpus strips it of its primary quality—social purpose, while its consideration within this framework distances it from contemporary acceptance in the complex conditions of post-Yugoslavism (Konstantinović, 2014, p. 233).

The abovementioned reasons are why the path to 'absorbing' the modernist identity of Novi Sad is challenging on several levels. It is part of a wider cultural discourse that must 'open itself up' to these parts of history, in order to form a comprehensive understanding of the 'truth about us'. At the local level, direct and indirect action is required in order to create new narratives through education, representation and promotion and present an oeuvre that must be understood beyond the 'authorised identities' of the desirable past and, through a new system of interpretation, be brought closer to its users and the public (Konstantinović & Jović, 2021, p. 29)—the citizens of Novi Sad. On this path, creative curatorial practices are facilitating the expansion of the social dialogue, as well as the recognition and understanding of the urban reality—one in which Novi Sad is a modern city.

4   Popularisation of Yugoslav Heritage Through Top-Down and Bottom-Up Curation

The complexity of the idea about the possibilities and necessity to separate the socio-political context of socialist Yugoslavia from the modernist heritage that arose from it, in order for the value immanent in this type of heritage to be absorbed, has made it impossible to adopt simple strategies and tactical solutions for presenting the spatial achievements of the modernisation of Yugoslavia. The justified current dilemma related to the acontextual consideration of this type has made the states of the former Yugoslav republics uninterested in radical interventions, especially in terms of promoting the built and spatial values inherited from the common state. On the other hand, during the past two decades, architects and artists have over time taken on the role of promoting the value of the region's modernist heritage. An understanding of the 'futuristic' narrative, as well as ideas of progress and the well-being of users embodied by the legacy of modernism—and explicitly readable in its spatial forms—has opened the possibility of selecting and editing content rich in modernist heritage. Certain conventional but also alternative curatorial practices were established with the idea of promoting segments of the unabsorbed legacy of modernism, including the historical and political narratives of the countries of the former Yugoslavia to a greater or lesser extent. As a result, two extreme approaches to curating the modernist content of this region can be noticed, both of which have,

without reservation, criticism and qualification, contributed to the visibility, education on and dissemination of the story of the neglected architectural heritage filled with potential.

One of these approaches is the favourite bottom-up curatorial practice, informal and uncontrollable, present dominantly on social networks, whose rules are dictated by popularity and 'likes'. The wide reach of the rediscovered socialist architecture of Yugoslavia and engagement with a broad, diverse and unexpected audience is based precisely on the popularisation of simple, fetishised images, most often Yugoslav war monuments and memorials. Although the feelings of the profession regarding this are ambivalent, this type of heritage promotion has undoubtedly influenced its popularity. Since the disdain of popular forces makes it impossible to mobilise popular energy in order to initiate social changes of any kind (Fiske, 1991, p. 215–216), it is undeniable that these forces are in the direct interest of promoting the contested legacy of Yugoslav modernism—when something becomes even superficially familiar to a wide audience, it simultaneously becomes recognisable, thus creating the basis for gaining further knowledge on even a peripheral topic. One of the more popular social media profiles, *Spomenik Database* (Spomenik Database, 2016), highlights in its Instagram bio that it 'explores the history & imagery of the abstract memorials (spomeniks) & modernist architecture of the former-Yugoslav region' (Spomenik Database, n.d.) describes the 'mystical' and 'enigmatic efforts' of the abstract symbols of the Yugoslav anti-fascist struggle and invites contributions on this topic from its wide circle of followers, which not only popularises the topic but also points to the specific historical and narrative layers of Yugoslav modernist heritage, opening it up to a completely unexpected audience.

Informal online archives of this kind, such as *Socialist Modernism* (Socialist Modernism, 2021) or *Belgrade Socialist Modernism* (Belgrade Socialist Modernism, n.d.), offer all the necessary archival information about modernist heritage, so they can be considered relevant data sources. Vladimir Kulić cites 'a social media-driven Brutalist revival that has afforded modernist buildings mislabelled as belonging to that school a new lease of life' (Eror, 2019), which, by analogy, includes the legacy of Yugoslav modernist heritage as well. And although it is possible to conclude that due to the multiplication of the material and superficiality of its dissemination, such practices have become tiresome (Wilkinson, 2019), they are undeniably continuing to spread, their achievements akin to those of highly aestheticised and theoretically established top-down curatorial practices, acting within official institutions.

The first official and widely announced global exhibition of Yugoslav modernist heritage was opened in New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in July 2018, opening the door to a new reception and understanding of the phenomenon. Vladimir Kulić, one of the curators of the exhibition *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980*, counted precisely on the influence and proven potential of the organising institution to change the perception of architecture (Kulić, 2018, p. 5), in the hope that an exhibition of this level would transform the public view of Yugoslav architectural heritage, formed through the prism of digital reproductions of individual fetishised modernist structures distributed through media channels

(Zeković et al., 2019, p. 55). As a well-coordinated curatorial team, Kulić and Stierli gathered a group of theoreticians of Yugoslav heritage, who used the opportunity to send a message through MoMA to the entire world, about the ideology of brotherhood and unity, the concepts of togetherness, federation and solidarity, from which the Yugoslav modernist spatial solution arose. Additionally, through the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue and interviews, Kulić continuously underlines the pragmatic nature of constructing a new society, pointing to specific typological achievements and presenting the cultural centres of Yugoslavia as instruments of spatial emancipation, thus forming the idea of modernism as an agent of modernisation (Kulić et al., 2012, p. 217). By presenting a notion that possibly would have remained unnoticed in other frameworks—despite representing an essential premise for understanding the value of Yugoslav modernist heritage—through the exhibition at MoMA, de facto changes the perception of the neutral observer/reader, translating the previously completed, partially absorbed process of one society's modernisation into a global phenomenon that can be applied to societies in general. On the MoMA website, curated segments related to the exhibition can be viewed: a 40-min conversation with the curators, a walk with the curators through the highlights of the exhibition and a meticulously curated gallery with 123 images of the main exhibition display. By reviewing this material, those interested receive enough information to form an idea about the phenomenon and the importance of modernist heritage in Yugoslavia. This enables the education of the public that did not attend the exhibition, which closed on 13 January 2019. The sustainability of such top-down curatorial practices is a clear indication of the aptness of the approach and is reflected in the still growing interest in the legacy of modernism.

Between the aforementioned extreme examples of practices directed by institutional authority and others, arising from sometimes superficial intentions, which are often obsolescent, there is a range of regional and local, usually interdisciplinary practices, focused on the research, presentation and representation of modernist heritage of individual or multiple cases. Non-governmental organisations, artist and creative collectives, platforms for heritage research and actors with similar goals, have succeeded in using the momentary interest in researching this phenomenon (which, again, is reflected in open access to the funds of various European and global institutions) to promote their projects, in most cases aimed at the general public, not professional circles, through exhibitions.

The curatorial practices established by these processes are primarily and deeply creative, because they arise from an often-informal approach to the subject, and encompass mostly hybrid practices that combine analogue and digital models of depicting artefacts and spaces. 'These transitional—liminal models affect changes in the audience's perception (…) In anticipating the development of the audience in this way, exhibitions, in any type of space using any type of curatorial practice, must remain a kind of laboratory, and not a static, hermetic entity' (Zeković & Konstantinović, 2022, p. 55).

5 Case Study: Novi Sad—Modern City

An example of one of the possible types of practices positioned between the afore-mentioned extremes that has, for now, shown positive outcomes and created interest among the audience, which can be further structured, is a hybrid practice based on the model of creative use and interpretation of heritage. In the production and organisation of the Spatial Praxis Platform—BAZA, a local agent in the cultural life of Novi Sad, the project *Novi Sad—Modern City* (Novi Sad—moderni grad) was realised in February 2021. Formatted as a multimedia exhibition, the project was focused on depicting the urban development of Novi Sad, in light of the industrialisation of the city, radical infrastructural changes, new spaces for living in the city and places for the social life of citizens in the second half of the twentieth century. The project researched and interpreted narratives about the modernisation of Novi Sad, with the aim of creating a complete picture of the spatial development of the city, from today's perspective. The exhibition was not led by nostalgic reflection, or idealisation of the past, but by an aspiration to shed light on the processes that shaped the city and to convey to the public the possible role of these processes in shaping future urban development (Fig. 3).

The theme of the project and its objectives raised the question of the place of the exhibition's realisation, as a key decision, on which the project's success potentially depended. The sustainability of the Sports and Business Centre of Vojvodina—Spens, an icon of the city's modernisation, has been the topic of discussion in recent

Fig. 3 Spens—the Sports and Business Centre of Vojvodina, exterior. Photo by Igor Đokić; © 2022 by BAZA—Spatial Praxis Platform

years, with decisions about its reconstruction or demolition seeming equally possible in regard to its future (Konstantinović, 2021, p. 155). Besides being a symbol of the culmination of the urban and social modernisation process, the Spens building is a reflection of the capacity of Novi Sad at the end of the 1970s to build a complex city sports centre, a 'city under one roof', a catalyser of the city's urbanisation. Claiming that Spens is the mark of the city, that is, a mirror of its urbanity—a demonstration, symbol or even monument to modernity, in the past, present and also in the future (Konstantinović et al., 2022, p. 9), the spaces of Spens were recommended for the *Novi Sad—Modern City* exhibition, a decision that underlined the very theme of the project on multiple levels. The public spaces within the building defined the final form of the exhibition, particularly those that were established by the Development Strategy of the Spens Building (Kolaković et al., 2021) as cultural spaces: the Street of Culture and its related programmes, which will be instituted by the future reconstruction project. In this way, the project simulated the potential of the building's current and future programme, highlighting the importance of its enclosed public spaces and the diversity of public functions that the Centre can accommodate.

The complex configuration of the space correlated not only with the multimedia character of the exhibition but also with its specific conceptual installation. A central pavilion was placed in the space of Hall 8, the main entrance to the first floor of the building from the direction of Radnička Street. Its base was dedicated to a spatial structure for the projection of the video installation 'Modernisation in Six Stories'. Each of the six films, composed of creatively curated and re-edited segments of previously unseen archival recordings of the construction of the city by 'Neoplanta Film', [9] navigates through the key processes of the modernisation of Novi Sad. Fragments of this valuable documentation of the intensive remodelling of Novi Sad in the 1960s and 1970s were structured into video collages—vertical diptychs—which illustrate the outlined topics. 'Birth of a Modern City' shows the creation of Novi Sad, which was 'destined' to be a city from its establishment; 'Long live the Industry!' deals with the large infrastructural endeavour of moving the production and railways to the north of the city and the expansion of the city towards the Danube; 'Novi Sad Boulevards: Life In-between' describes the changes the city underwent with the realisation of the concept of modern planning and the construction of boulevards; 'City on the Sand' gives an insight into the concepts behind the construction of large residential areas in the city; 'Life of the City' shows the improvement of living standards in the city, while 'Mišeluk: Epilogue of

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[9] The Neoplanta Film archive, which is being successively digitalised, is a unique film archive of the city's construction process, documented by a group of young filmmakers. Their amateur activities in the 1960s were formalised by the establishment of the production house 'Neoplanta Film' in 1966, whose work was dedicated to the production of documentary, cultural and educational films and video documentation of events from the economic, social, political and cultural life of Vojvodina. Upon its foundation, the cinematographic work of the group and external collaborators was aimed towards documenting modernisation efforts in the city and the province, which helped mould significant creators whose film careers continued in other contexts and formats (Bede, 2018, p. 154).

Yugoslav Optimism' is about planning and constructing the Mišeluk settlement as one of the last stories of Yugoslav urban planning.

The central pavilion also marks the new location of the recognisable 'Alfa' chandelier—a symbol of Spens, whose reconstruction is the permanent legacy of the entire project. In 1981, one of the largest chandeliers in Europe at the time was built as part of the original interior design for the Spens building: an 80-m-long modular hexagonal structure, with 2500 light bulbs. It was produced by the lighting manufacturer 'Dekor' from Zabok under the name 'Alfa', while employees unofficially called it the 'Svemirac' (*Cosmos*), inspired by the floating lighting structure contemporary in expression and materialisation. The chandelier was located in the North Hall of Spens, and due to high electricity consumption, it was only used on special occasions. When 'Svemirac' was alit, the people of Novi Sad knew with certainty that something important was happening in the city (Fig. 4).

Over time, the North Hall underwent numerous transformations, and the chandelier was fragmented and forgotten. As part of the project, its remaining segments were restored, fitted with energy-efficient bulbs and assembled into a new configuration in Hall 8, with the idea of 'signifying' new events in the life of Spens and the city. This act represents a permanent intervention in the exhibition space and announces the building's reconstruction, in which the elements of the building's identity are treated as key segments of the new identity of Spens for the upcoming decades (Fig. 5).

Fig. 4 Central pavilion in Hall 8 with the reconstructed 'Alfa' chandelier. Photo by Igor Đokić; © 2022 by BAZA—Spatial Praxis Platform
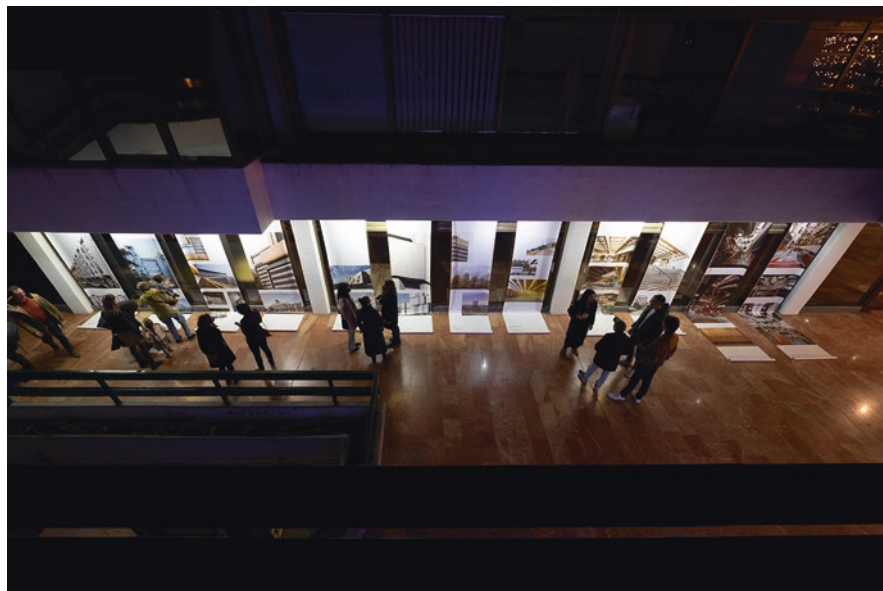
Fig. 5 The street of culture with accompanying programmes. Photo by Igor Đokić; © 2022 by BAZA—Spatial Praxis Platform

The exhibition was accompanied by additional programmes and segments, all with the aim of spreading interest primarily among citizens, in the hope that their increased interest could affect the actualisation of the need for the reconstruction of this valuable centre dedicated to sport and culture. An equally important motive for the organisers and authors of the exhibition is the ongoing need for the acceptance and absorption of valuable elements of the city's modernist heritage, its protection and further management. Without awareness of the value of this heritage, which, in the turbulent urban-architectural context of the countries created by the dissolution of Yugoslavia, must be accepted and continuously highlighted, it is arbitrary to expect organised responses from citizens (Fig. 6).

6   Towards an Inclusive City

The need for diversifying the elements and assemblies of urban identities with the intention of creating options for an inclusive city of the future implies the reconciliation, recognition and acceptance of all existing layers of architectural heritage in cities. This has a special significance in the context of the unabsorbed modernism of the countries formed by the dissolution of Yugoslavia. As the official policies of the region have, for now, shown insufficient interest in re-evaluating the architectural heritage of the second half of the twentieth century, the future of the valuable modernist oeuvre of this region directly depends on the establishment of new actors who
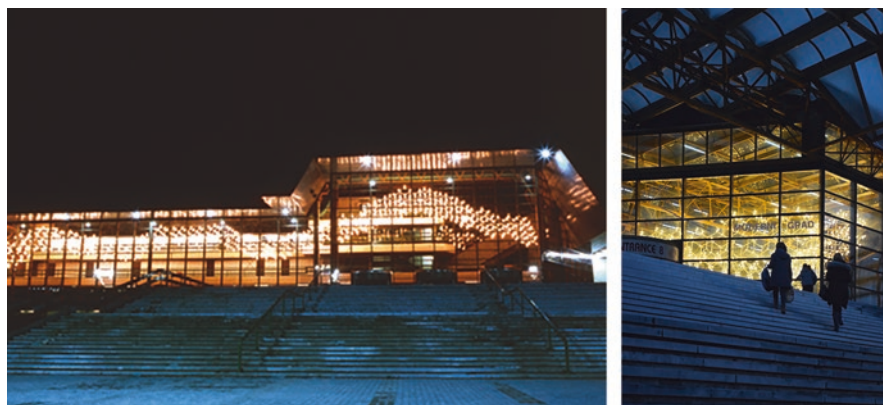
Fig. 6 North Hall in the late 1980s with illuminated chandelier (left). Archive photo © 2022 by BAZA—Spatial Praxis Platform. (Right) Hall 8 during the event *Novi Sad—Modern City*. Photo by Maja Momirov; © 2022 by BAZA—Spatial Praxis Platform

would take over this role. Without a clear position of the state, local cultural policies rely on unorganised and individual cases of promoting the modernist legacy, in order to demonstrate, within a broader framework, the existence of any kind of association to heritage. Actors on this unusual scene exist nevertheless, and through different methods, approaches and practices, they participate in the reactivation of the dissonant layers of the city's past.

Between the extremes of the rare institutional top-down activities of this type and the frequent vague and sometimes not fully informed bottom-up efforts, a noteworthy position is held by midlevel mediators. Characterised as neither of the offered extremes, but unifying for both, these actors are involved in various activities at the city level—from scholarly, interpretative and curatorial, to educational and promotional activities—with the aim of underlining the importance of modernist heritage. The *Novi Sad—Modern City* project is an example of precisely this kind of practice. Created by connecting an educational institution with a recreational and sports institution through a project supported by the European Union, the project showed that it is possible to sustainably turn the attention directed to the European Capital of Culture, towards the pressing issue of the protection of the heritage of the twentieth century and to the definitive acceptance of the value of the modernisation of the city. Although it might be said that the overall official ECoC support lacked the recognition and the additional promotion of the neglected modernist heritage of Novi Sad, their presence as co-funding organisation did leave a sustainable trace of the projects that happened. The space of Spens, for example, and particularly the Hall 8— the place promoted through the *Novi Sad—Modern City* project—was used multiple times again, most notably as a cultural point for the purposes of the Print Design Photography (PDP) Conference organised in 2022. Also, the reconstructed original chandelier positioned in Hall 8 gained the attention of media and the inhabitants of

the city, so it is set to be preserved during a complex process of the sports' centre reconstruction.

Inclusive cities imply a strong visibility of their layers, coming to terms with the past and learning from it. Also, these layers ensure the sustainability of collective memory, in which architecture is recognised as the most effective 'memory agent' (Radulović et al., 2022) and guardian of urban narratives. The development strategies of inclusive cities are based on precisely these determinations—the coexistence of formed identities that build the diversity and cultural geography of the city. In the architectural heritage of modernism, and especially in the incompletely accepted truth about the modernisation of cities in the former territory of Yugoslavia, there is a still unrealised potential for improving the skilfully established basis of development.

The principles of the *Agenda 21 for Culture* determine the framework for this type of action, while the local challenges of implementation are certainly significant. If 'cultural diversity is the main heritage of humanity' (UCLG, 2004), then connecting the fragments of Novi Sad's history into a complete picture of an authentic, multi-ethnic and multicultural contemporary city is the path towards the realisation of an urban environment based on social equality, coexistence and the sustainability of further urban transformations.

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2021/22 European Capital of Culture: Inclusive Culture-Led Branding of Novi Sad?

Aleksandra Stupar, Nebojša Čamprag, Evinç Doğan, and Darko Polić

1   Introduction

At the core of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) concept, promoted by the European Commission, is the objective of reaching, supporting and strengthening cultural diversity. This feature is, therefore, used as an instrument to engage citizens and boost civic pride through cultural events organised in one or several selected cities, demonstrating shared European identity (EC, 2018a). Many scholars also emphasise equally important objectives which tackle the relationship between culture and the long-term development of cities (EC, 2018a) directed towards reaching desired competitive advantages (Richards, 2000; García, 2004; Griffiths, 2006; Klaic, 2010; Boland, 2011). Therefore, it is not surprising that local governments across Europe have eagerly embraced the ECoC title as a tool for regenerating, rebranding and repositioning themselves in cultural and economic terms, especially after 1990 and the Glasgow experience (O'Callaghan, 2012). Since place branding incorporates different spatial levels, while simultaneously communicating a set of information symbolically associated with a city, it is considered to be both an

A. Stupar (✉)
Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia
e-mail: stupar@arh.bg.ac.rs

N. Čamprag
Fachbereich Architektur, Technische Universität Darmstadt, Darmstadt, Germany
e-mail: nebojsa.camprag@tu-darmstadt.de

E. Doğan
Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey
e-mail: evinc.dogan@boun.edu.tr

D. Polić
Urban Planning, Development and Research Centre-Urbanism, Novi Sad, Serbia
e-mail: darko.polic@nsurbanizam.rs

extensive governmental strategy for achieving economic development and a flexible tool of urban policy (Pasquinelli, 2010).

The attractiveness of a place, tied to a renewed and upgraded image, has often been considered as a key element of global/regional competitiveness (Kavaratzis, 2004; Anholt, 2007; Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2010; Ashworth, 2011; Hankinson, 2010). In particular, Mommaas (2004) links urban branding strategies to spatial identity and symbolic values created by creative clusters. He emphasises their role in stimulating artistic and cultural growth and renewal in the global context, shaped by the interaction between culture and economy. However, the purposes of spatial development often prevailed the initial goals of cultural and artistic production and expression (Zukin, 1991). Consequently, investing in cultural infrastructure projects became a common practice among the ECoCs, which also allowed them to improve the quality of public spaces by refurbishments and the restoration of facilities and monuments, as well as through new cultural buildings (e.g., Pécs in 2010, Guimarães in 2012 or Košice in 2013) (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004; EC, 2018b). Furthermore, the general objectives targeting the increased access and participation to culture, the capacity of the cultural sector and its links to other sectors (EC, 2018a) clearly define the ECoC initiative as a strategic instrument for both urban branding and development. As a result, all these steps should influence the remake of cities through culture, representing a tool for boosting urban image, attract tourism and investments (Richards & Wilson, 2004; Dogan & Sirkeci, 2013) while fostering both economic development and social inclusion through culture (García & Cox, 2013).

Although the ECoC title is generally perceived as a manifestation of creativity within urban governance, a number of scholars point out conflictual processes and problems related to social inclusion, revealing dissonances stemming from the policy framework, which might not be based on the principles of social, economic or environmental sustainability (Boland, 2011; Campbell, 2011; O'Callaghan, 2012). Therefore, the role of other stakeholders in urban/place branding is also important (Kavaratzis, 2012; Zenker & Beckmann 2013; Ye & Björner, 2018), especially regarding the role of cultural events as the instruments of participative governance and brand co-creation (Lucarelli, 2018, 2019). Consequently, the elaborated interaction between urban planning, branding and involved stakeholders (residents, the public and the private sector, grassroots initiatives etc.) is recognised as an important condition for the sustainability and success of the newly established urban brand (Braun et al., 2013; Vallaster et al., 2018). The sensitivity of this relationship was especially visible in the case of Maribor (2012), when the bottom-up initiatives challenged the regime and neoliberal system in the city (Žilič-Fišer & Erjavec, 2017). However, some authors criticise a possible politicisation of the ECoC-driven strategies (Richards, 2000; Boland, 2011; Žilič-Fišer & Erjavec, 2017), arguing that the relationship between relevant policy documents and their role in creative industries is sometimes difficult to prove (Campbell, 2011). This issue could be even more prominent in the disadvantaged urban contexts, which rely on the international outreach of the ECoC initiative in order to rebrand themselves, overcome

marginality and solve some inherited urban problems (Adams, 2008; Tölle, 2013, 2016).

The 'latecomer' cities of Central and East Europe, labelled as post-communist, post-socialist or transformation/transition cities, had to face greater challenges. In order to adapt to both the conditions of democratic market economy and the globalising world, they also used the ECoC programme to facilitate the transition to EU cultural and extra-cultural regulatory standards (Lähdesmäki, 2014). Furthermore, they had to deal with the adaptation of national planning systems to 'European' standards, often without actually integrating 'European' planning tools (Adams, 2008; Tölle, 2013).

The City of Novi Sad, which is the focus of this chapter as one of the 2022 ECoCs, represents a specific example as the only non-EU city winning the bid for the 2021 ECoC title (the other two from the EU—Elefsina and Timisoara—are postponed to 2023). However, due to the global pandemic, the process of implementation was prolonged causing new challenges and inconsistencies of planned transformations. Therefore, the case of Novi Sad reveals a specific transitioning context influenced by both local and global drawbacks. Generating opportunities by promoting inclusion and post-conflict reconciliation after the breakup of Yugoslavia and the civil wars in the region, the fragile local setting also provides an insight into the use of the ECoC title as a tool for culture-led urban (re)branding, identifying the modes of its integration into the local cultural strategy and urban development plans.

## 2   Materials and Methods

The methodological framework relies on the case study analysis. The primary data was collected through five structured and semi-structured interviews with representatives of the key bodies relevant for the ECoC initiative and other professionals from the cultural sector of Novi Sad—all conducted in March 2021 (Appendix). Additionally, valuable information was collected during the public panel discussions called *divan* (Novi Sad, 2022 on YouTube), organised by Novi Sad 2021 Foundation in order to foster the community-based participatory approach (22 August to 05 September 2018). The aim was to involve the citizens in open conversations on current topics and events during the event preparation through a two-way communication between the professionals and the general public regarding the cultural activities in Novi Sad (e.g., participatory arrangement of public areas, independent cultural centres, interpretation of cultural heritage etc.). Three sessions included up to 30–45 different stakeholders (tenants, artists, citizens, professionals etc.) who discussed the implementation and the possible effects of big-scale cultural infrastructure projects. As a result of *divans*, the mayor of Novi Sad issued a five-point statement, initiating the transformation of a specific ex-industrial area into the Creative District.

The secondary data were gathered from the Bid Book (Novi Sad, 2016, 2021), two annual reports of the ECoC Expert Panel (ECoC Expert Panel, 2018), the Monitoring panel (EC, 2017) and all available planning documents produced by the

City of Novi Sad related to cultural and urban development: the Strategy for Sustainable Development 2016–2020 (City of Novi Sad, 2016a), the Cultural Strategy of Novi Sad 2016–2026 (City of Novi Sad, 2016b) and the Action Plan 2017–2018 (City of Novi Sad, 2017).

3 Novi Sad: Becoming the ECoC 2021/2

Since its establishment in 1985, the ECoC programme had been exclusively focused on the EU member states until the importance of the initiative for 'strengthening local and regional identity and fostering European integration' (European Parliament & Council of the EU, 1999) was recognised. Consequently, the cities of the EU candidate countries and the potential candidates or members of the EFTA/EEA (European Free Trade Association/European Economic Area) gained the right to enter the competition every third year. This finally allowed the City of Novi Sad (Fig. 1) to submit its candidacy for the ECoC 2021. Characterised by the numerous contextual specificities generated by its post-industrial, post-socialist, post-conflict
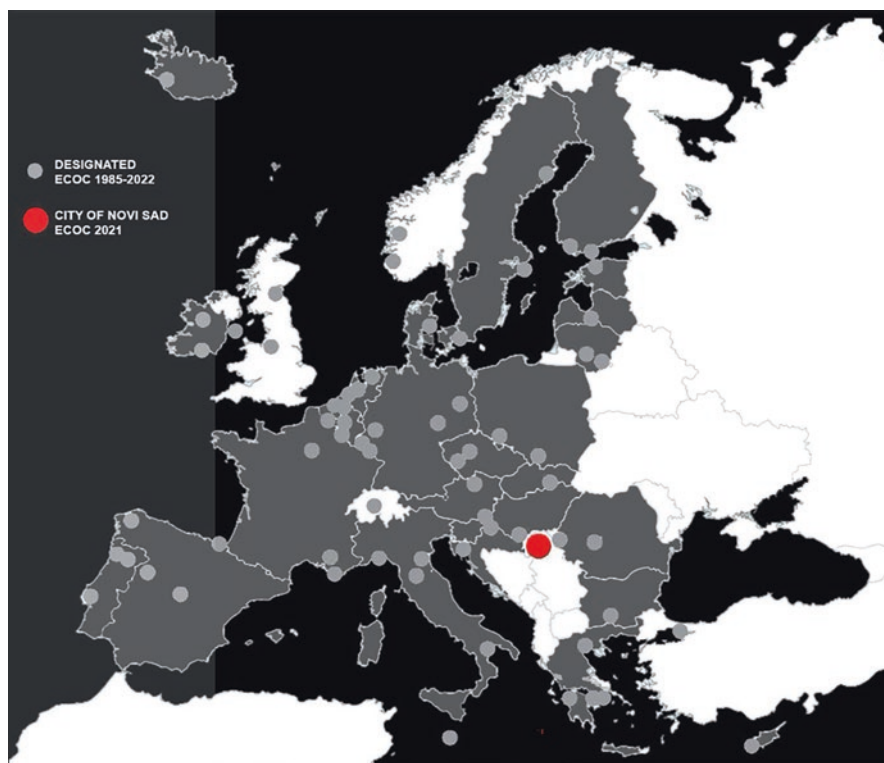
Fig. 1 The position of Novi Sad ECoC 2021/2 in the network of previous European Capitals of Culture. Author's representation

and long transitioning realities, the ECoC initiative has been seen as a convenient tool to regenerate, rebrand and reposition the second largest city in Serbia.

3.1   The Setting

During the bid process, Novi Sad used its administrative, cultural and historical features as the main advantages (Interview A1). This medium-size Central European city on the trans-European Danube River is also the capital of the Province of Vojvodina. It is the seat of several scientific and cultural institutions of both national and regional importance—including the second most important university in Serbia and the Serbian Society of Literature, Culture and Science 'Matica Srpska', which was moved from Budapest in 1864, when Novi Sad represented one of the most nationally diverse cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

After the Second World War, the city became a new regional capital in socialist Yugoslavia, and its cultural profile was further enriched by the professional cultural institutions of its minority groups. However, following the collapse of the federal state and its sociopolitical establishment during the early 1990s, the rapid neoliberal development triggered the city's comprehensive and often uncontrolled transformations threatening to jeopardise its historical identity (Polić & Stupar, 2015). Equally challenging were dynamic migratory patterns—especially after the Second World War and during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, resulting in rapid population increase and diversification. Resulting from transitioning requirements and challenges, it became necessary not only to establish new, comprehensive and effective development strategies and urban policies but also to refresh city's identity and newly interpret its cultural plurality. Consequently, the ECoC candidacy created an opportunity to reflect on and address some critical urban issues of ethnically diverse Novi Sad. Supported by the political will to facilitate the EU integration of Serbia, the decision for the candidacy was officially announced in 2011, followed by the establishment of the Organisational Board and the Artistic Council (City of Novi Sad, 2012).

After several revisions of the Bid Book submitted in 2015, the city won the prestigious ECoC title the following year.

3.2   The Strategic Approach

The ECoC application of Novi Sad was based on two important documents: the Strategy for Sustainable Development 2016–2020 (City of Novi Sad, 2016a) and the Cultural Strategy of Novi Sad 2016–2026 (City of Novi Sad, 2016b). Both strategic documents were adopted during the process of and in accordance with the bid preparation, simultaneously representing the first long-term cultural planning in national frameworks. The main idea behind the cultural programme proposed by the Bid Book was to motivate both cultural workers and citizens to define new goals towards democratic cultural development of the city, along with the establishment

of a modern urban identity, revitalisation of cultural heritage, (re)activation of public spaces and the development of civic cultural participation. The initial logo of the Foundation additionally illustrates the main objectives of the concept and its integration within the overall urban brand—it consisted of both Cyrillic and Latin letters in crosswords, showing the multi-ethnic and multicultural features of Novi Sad. However, with the subsequent replacement of the logo with the new visual identity, inclusion and diversity no longer played the central role in the overall concept (Fig. 2).

The Bid Book was at first designed around the symbolic theme of new bridges, creating many possibilities for effective urban (re)branding [Interview A1]. This concept included four sub-themes corresponding with different European values: the Rainbow Bridge dedicated to reconciliation and migration; the New Way Bridge symbolising heritage and hospitality, spanning the past and the present; the Freedom Bridge marking creative industries and the youth sector; and the Hope Bridge emphasising cultural capacities and public spaces. The proposed concept not only refers to the historic bridges over the Danube destroyed by the 1999 NATO bombing but also jointly aims at re-establishing broken links within the local community and its numerous groups, as well as with other cities in the region and Europe (The Selection Panel, 2016). Aside from the intangible cultural values, the Bid Book provided the list of cultural infrastructure and its tangible, spatial manifestations. They were classified according to their size and expected impacts as L (large scale), M (medium scale) and S (small scale) (Fig. 3) and were considered as the new elements/nodes in the urban space for the conceived (re)branding of the city.

One of the most important L projects is the new Musical and Ballet High School with a concert hall (Fig. 3: 1.2), already shortlisted in the Strategy of Sustainable Development. These two institutions lost their previous premises during the process of property restitution in the Republic of Serbia and needed an urgent solution. The idea of a joint building was formalised by the Strategy of Sustainable Development 2016–2026, as a high priority in the local political agenda. Its construction had strategically commenced in a residential area on the outskirts of the city centre before winning the ECoC title (Fig. 4). Although being a flagship project for redeveloping and rebranding a mono-functional residential urban neighbourhood through culture, the general lack of elements contributing to the economic, social or ecological sustainability of its imminent urban environment initiated wide criticism of this project.
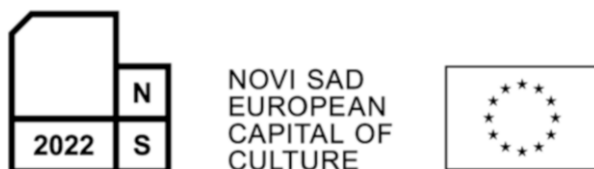
Fig. 2 The official logo of the Foundation. Source: https://novisad2021.rs/en

Fig. 3 The areas targeted by the ECoC programme. Authors' representation

Another L-size project is the transformation of an abandoned metal factory compound into the Creative District, marking the shift from industrial to cultural production. During the 1990s, this area was exposed to the effects of the general economic and industrial decline of the country. Consequently, some abandoned industrial buildings were rented as warehouses by Chinese merchants, and the whole area was locally known as the Chinese quarter. Consisting of more than 15 old halls and warehouses built from 1922 to the late 1960s (Fig. 3), it was in an extremely bad condition. However, due to its favourable position on the outskirts of the city centre, by the riverbank and in the vicinity of the university zone, the

Fig. 4 Musical and Ballet high school in Novi Sad. Author's photo, 2021

opportunity for rebranding the area as a creative district with a small-scale artistic community and original production was included in the Bid Book as the future Youth Creative Polis (Fig. 5). Beside the newly introduced features that marked the shift towards a creative neighbourhood (e.g. visual and performing arts studios, museum, theatre, concert venues and old crafts), the environmental dimension of the new brand was equally important. In addition, the project equally promoted sustainability as an integral element of the urban rebranding efforts, skilfully embedded in only a few spatial interventions that not only retained the old industrials halls but also included almost all already existing cultural production of the area.

The third example of the large-scale projects represented a new cycling and pedestrian bridge across the Danube River. Highlighting the elements of a 'green' design, the awarded competition project envisioned a structure on the natural and cross-cultural corridor of the Danube River. Previously mentioned in the Sustainable Development Strategy, the bridge was later included in the Bid Book, promoting environmental awareness and the traditional local modes of mobility—cycling and walking. However, it was excluded from the list of the announced projects in 2017, due to the procedural and management problems on the city level.

The most important initiative related to the M-size projects is the flagship concept of the so-called Cultural Stations. These new nodes are supposed to include various intangible features associated with the distinctive characteristics of local communities—for example, public awareness, cultural specificity or general motivation. The Stations were described in the Bid Book as important focal points, raising local cultural recognition by strengthening the existing creative capacities of local communities.

Fig. 5 The Youth Cultural Station in the Creative District. Author's photo, 2020

Within the S group, the Bid Book proposed the project New Places—46 Urban Pockets, particularly emphasising an inclusive component of the new urban brand. By fostering transformation of small public spaces as new urban and neighbourhood toponyms, it stimulated equal involvement of both citizens and artists simultaneously serving as an anticipated platform for participation. Consequently, three cycles of citizens' involvement were organised in 12 different neighbourhoods in the period between 2017 and 2019. This process resulted in the mapping of needs and values related to the residents' closest urban surroundings, providing an insight into the local expectations regarding the ECoC project.

Finally, the Bid Book also introduced an alternative approach to the rebranding of urban spaces, where the city was used as a stage for brand promotion. Several flagship programmes were proposed—for example, *Moba* and The Peace Chapel. The concept of *Moba* was based on the idea of a participatory programme, which highlights volunteering actions of solidarity focusing on the maintenance of public spaces and emphasising the issues of heritage and education. For example, *Moba* for Heritage introduces the idea of renovating old traditional houses (i.e. the active role of space), representing a German, a Hungarian, a Slovak, a Romanian and a Serbian house as an act of enhancing social cohesion and intercultural cooperation that should contribute to the future social and economic sustainability (Novi Sad 2021, 2016, part 2, 3). However, although this initiative has apparent strongholds in tolerance and inter-culturalism, some authors underline the lack of emphasis on

creating the platforms for dialogue and shared heritage (Tomka & Kisić, 2018). The project Peace Chapel similarly uses urban space as a convenient setting while aiming at establishing an active dialogue on the future of the EU. It represents a public event reaching out to an international audience, simultaneously targeting the general ECoC objective of raising the international profile of the city through culture and cultural production.

All the highlighted examples demonstrate the important role of urban spaces acting as a stage for a number of thematic events that the Bid Book envisaged. Additionally, these projects and events aim at fostering the intangible values of international exchange and cooperation, reconciliation, collective memory and (inter)cultural legacy. The Bid Book also emphasises the importance of inclusive and participative processes in bringing into focus identity features and local qualities. The proposed programmes therefore aim at (re)creating place identity through images and narratives based on European, national and local history, integrating place branding strategy, stakeholders (especially the local community) and urban policy.

3.3 Towards Inclusion Through Participation and Co-creation

The ECoC framework particularly stresses the importance of the 'City and Citizens' criterion, which promotes accessibility to all citizens while simultaneously acting as an important tool of co-creative branding process (Nemeth, 2009). Resulting from this, bottom-up initiatives and social involvement are encouraged, as a way of strengthening the notion of shared ownership and communality. An example of these activities is Novi Sad are the Cultural Stations, especially the one called *Svilara,* established in October 2018 in an old silk factory, and the Youth Cultural Station (Fig. 5), established in a hall of the Creative District.

The Creative District, as the main infrastructural project of the Novi Sad ECoC 2021/22 and a testimony to its industrial past, demonstrates the concept of co-creation (Lucarelli, 2018, 2019), which was applied during the process of preparation of the development plan in 2016 through the participation of main stakeholders. The public input was based on the reactions from the NGO sector, several groups of citizens and individuals, as well as on the several meetings and workshops conducted with local residents in 2017. Although the city-owned site is highly valued on the growing real estate market, both the Strategies and the Action plan 2017–2018 enabled its reuse by dedicating this area to creative industries, cultural economies and various types of cultural production. The projects related to Cultural Stations were similarly propelled by existing cultural grassroots initiatives and local cultural activism. The initial idea was to facilitate challenging social and environmental situations through culture and emerging community activism, which would re-profile local values and restore neglected built heritage, while at the same time boosting cultural exchanges with similar neighbourhoods in other European cities.

The intertwining processes of participation and co-creation are equally visible at the level of small projects, such as the New Places—46 Urban Pockets, focused on

open public spaces (Interview A3). The methodology of redesign included partici-pative work with local communities and focus groups, consisting of members of the local civil grassroots initiatives, cultural associations and local champions. The aim was to identify problems, types of intervention and the future contents of selected sites, followed by an open call for design without technical preconditions. A similar process had been implemented in various neighbourhoods earlier, but the original idea had to be modified due to a lack of funds. The project also demonstrated resil-ience and flexibility by shifting into another model of citizens' co-creation of public contents and spaces through the initiative New Places—Micro granting. It was launched in 2018 when the local government awarded ten proposals with small grants. With the assistance of the association of local architects, these proposals were later implemented to involve creative solutions that allowed citizens to 'decide what their environment or micro-sites will look like, making these spaces as new places for cultural content' (Interview A1).

4   Discussion

Already in the very early phase, the complexity of the initiative, in addition to the lack of capacities at the local governance level, exemplified highly challenging proj-ect implementation (Interview A4). The Selection Panel (The Selection Panel, 2016) thus underlined several initial problems ranging from the lack of interaction between creative industries and market-led opportunities, over insufficient international cooperation with other elected ECoCs, to the necessary integration of cultural strat-egy and urban development plans. The panel also emphasised weaknesses in the processes of public participation, decision-making and implementation, which had to be adjusted to the 'City and Citizens' criterion aiming to foster the involvement of the citizens and increase the long-term cultural and social development of the city (European Parliament & Council of the EU, 2006). The same problem was noticed by local experts. For example, the coordinator of the long-term cultural planning of Novi Sad concluded the following:

> In many projects (…) participation of both citizens and cultural professionals was, in my opinion, exemplary and beyond expected. In many others, their very consumerist spectacu-lar form disables any real participation. (Interview A3)

Furthermore, some projects, although labelled as participatory, did not include that element. For example, *Šajka*—the art installation by Yoko Ono—was not embraced by the local population being criticised as a 'a bunch of nothing' (Kljajić, 2019), failing to support and strengthen the local identity. Previously mentioned large-scale festival-like events are even more problematic, demonstrating a radically different logic from the initial ideas of inclusion and diversity, which is the approach that does not provide the sustainability of cultural events and cultural spaces in the long run.

These issues brought up further concerns regarding the lack of a strong connection between the city-level cultural institutions and citizens (Interview A4), which could jeopardise the socio-economic and cultural sustainability of the overall concept, as already seen in the cases of some Western cities, like Cork in 2005 (O'Callaghan, 2012) or Liverpool in 2008 (Boland, 2011; Campbell, 2011). It, therefore, remains an open question whether such initiatives contribute enough to addressing local issues while meeting the expectations of local communities whose needs are not taken into consideration. However, the CEO of the Novi Sad 2021 Foundation underlines the specificities of the transitional local environment (Interview A1), which certainly had a significant impact on the process of implementation. Consequently, the lack of clarity regarding the development vision also reflected on the legislative level.

Besides the two mentioned primary strategic documents enacted before the application, the implementation of the Novi Sad 2021 programme has been also based on other documents, such as the Action Plan of Cultural Development 2017–2018 (City of Novi Sad, 2017), adopted according to the Cultural Strategy. The long-term planning, along with a new legal framework for directing and governing the culture-driven urban development, was to be integrated into the new General Urban Development Plan (GUP) of Novi Sad, which was finally adopted in July 2022. This plan sets the directives towards balanced economic, social and spatial development by 2030, but its finalisation lasted 10 years due to the ongoing structural changes of national legislation on planning and building.

The financing was also challenging. The national government officially declared the project Novi Sad 2021 a high priority of national importance (Republic of Serbia, 2016). The Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, as the intermediate level of governance, was another important political and economic stakeholder. However, since 2016, its active financial support almost completely lacked, with only a few implemented projects. The private sector was active in the preparatory groundwork, supporting and (self)developing the sectors of the creative and cultural economy. For example, in the area of the Creative District, one of the investors is the Manual Forgotten Arts Museum. It is a multimillion private investment in the manual production of leather goods, with a show room and a museum of different crafts historically connected to Novi Sad. The other private investments in that area include a private IT educational centre and a museum of computing industry, as well as the headquarters and museum of the EXIT music festival. However, the major share of investments comes from the marginal city budget. In addition to recently brought up 'insufficient financial transparency of the project' (Interview A4), these issues could not only destabilise the envisaged urban rebranding concept but also provoke some negative associations with it, undermining its economic sustainability.

Apart from financial restrictions, the whole implementation process has been frequently threatened by the setbacks caused by the inherited administrative structure, unable to produce creative management solutions within the existing legal framework (Interview A3). Therefore, in January 2017, the city government established a non-profit foundation Novi Sad 2021 ECoC, in order to enable an optimal deliverance of all segments of the programme. Additionally, the Working Group for

Capital Infrastructure Projects, founded by the mayor, became active at the beginning of March 2017. Consisting of three members with strong political support, this body ensured the continuity of the process and was active in guiding and advising city departments in charge of planning, investments and property. Nevertheless, the lack of motivation and capacity of the city administration remained among the main implementation problems (Interviews A3, A4). For example, the Bid Book initially included the neighbouring municipalities of Sremski Karlovci, Beočin and Irig, symbolically named Zone 21 after the regional dealing code, which they share with Novi Sad. Although the main idea behind widening the area was to provide benefits for extended communities, the actual coordination between them showed many weaknesses.

In addition to the lack of effective management and the strategic prioritisation evident on the local administration level, the Working Group performed under the constant pressure of complex legal procedures, within strict time and budgetary limitations. The Foundation also faced problems related to the low level of elaboration of the projects of cultural infrastructure (Interview A3), insufficient inclusion of the professionals from the relevant city institutions and even misunderstandings regarding the actual objectives of the ECoC initiative (Interview A4). In response, the Steering Committee organised three bodies working closely with the Working Group: the Board of Architectural Experts (local and international) and The Council for the Creative District and the Council for Creative Stations, both consisting of the representatives of local residents and artists who are professionals in cultural management.

Finally, the most recent implementation challenge represented the impact of the global COVID-19 pandemic that resulted in postponing the event to 2022 (Interview A1). Since March 2020, the project of Cultural Stations has become the focus of all infrastructure and programme activities. The shift to digital platforms required developing and implementing a totally new approach, which implies that the 'professionals who work on the projects must be creative and think outside the box' (Interview A4). From the perspective of the Foundation, the situation was solved in a manner that introduced new cultural practices:

> The past year has encouraged us to think differently, use modern communication channels and significantly raise the capacity of the local scene. (Interview A1)

Consequently, the online event Doček (New Year's celebration 2021) was regarded as unique in Europe thereby promoting:

> … new spaces for culture—the first City Concert Hall, cultural stations and the facilities in the Creative District; thus, expanding the audience, which could follow the program around the world, it has also become a kind of a postcard from Novi Sad and an invitation to visit the city in 2022. (Interview A1)

While the Foundation does not emphasise the impact of the pandemic, postponing the event may have resulted in a somewhat decreased involvement of stakeholders and even less transparency in its operation, also complicating the overall

management (Interview A3). Consequently, the impact of the ongoing situation is yet to be fully evaluated.

5   Conclusions

In comparison to other cities where urban regeneration and revitalisation initiatives are often focused on historic city centres, the case of Novi Sad 2021/22 demonstrates a different approach, characterised by the dispersed network of projects, ranging from small to large scale. This approach is beneficial regarding the inclusion of different neighbourhoods, which could strengthen the overall urban identify and sense of belonging among the communities and foster their development through culture and cultural production. In addition, the overall urban rebranding concept uses all three types of the 'city image communication framework' as defined by Kavaratzis (2004). These involve primary types—including unintentional, given the historical and environmental circumstances of Novi Sad; secondary, with intentional circumstances based on marketing practices; and tertiary, created by media and social interactions. Additional features of the new urban brand imply that it initially reflected the intention to use creative processes for social inclusion, reconciliation and regional opening. It further indicates the potential of the ECoC in facilitating both the branding of the place(s) and the inclusion of activities and stakeholders. Finally, the urban (re)branding of Novi Sad, as an ECoC 2021/2, is firmly embedded in urban spaces, and consequently, it could contribute to the overall sustainability, even after the end of the cultural year.

On the other hand, there were certain discrepancies between the initial ideas and their implementation. The project Novi Sad 2021 was conceived upon the thesis of Hassen and Giovanardi, which claims that cultural/ethnical variety could be used both as a competitive advantage in attracting an international audience and an element of preferred urban creativity (Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018). Indeed, the initial (re)branding concept did directly include minority heritage and contemporary cultural production. However, in later phases, this aspect was diminished and exchanged for the overall creativity of Novi Sad, as a single community. This demonstrates the possibility of further conflicts, which is a feature often associated with the branding of multicultural communities (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018). Such multiple and possibly conflicting interpretations of urban identity and history could trigger hidden tensions and thus negatively manifest on the cooperation of the stakeholders, overall inclusion and the future social sustainability of the introduced projects.

One of the earliest indicators of the serious implementation challenges of the Novi Sad 2021 initiative occurred at the level of public participation and co-creative branding, which has been ambiguously manifested and interpreted within different scopes. These activities were initially praised but more recently criticised for their reliance on spectacular events, which promote consumption-oriented approaches and crave publicity. This abrupt conceptional shift confirms the widely recognised issue in numerous ECoC projects reflecting in severe contradictions between their

aims and implementation (Lähdesmäki, 2014). Moreover, the noticeable dissonance between the ambitious scale and the problematic project implementation highlights serious difficulties for urban governance in fragile transitioning contexts—particularly in following the ECoC agenda and covering the burdensome costs in the face of limited budgets and preparation deadlines. Therefore, the case of Novi Sad supports the broader claims that adaptation of local/national planning systems according to 'European' standards in marginal urban contexts does not necessarily lead to a genuine shift towards an active and integrated development tool.

The already compromised implementation dynamics of the project and the eroding cultural and branding concept were additionally confronted with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Along with the existing transitioning challenges, such circumstances require innovative approaches, new ways of thinking and efficient action, which definitely classifies Novi Sad 2021/22 as a specific ECoC case. However, contrary to the creative opportunities that the crisis provided, the local government demonstrated only a moderate level of adaptation to the set of new conditions. This additionally threatened to jeopardise the previously established rebranding concept—originally embedded in urban space but pivoted to a virtual one, without genuine consideration of its reciprocity as an advantage. All the above-stated challenges finally indicate that the large-scale culture-based initiatives in complex urban contexts should be considered not only as groundbreaking opportunities for an effective urban rebranding and redevelopment, but also as the initiatives of high risk that depend on the inclusion, innovation and flexibility for reaching the desired outcomes.

Appendix: List of Interviews

Interview 1: Mr. Nemanja Milenković, CEO of the 'Novi Sad 2021—European Capital of Culture' Foundation. Conducted in March, 2021

Interview 2: Ms. Tijana Palkovljević Bugarski, PhD, Head of the 'Novi Sad 2021—European Capital of Culture'. Conducted in March, 2021

Interview 3: Mr. Goran Tomka, PhD, Assistant Professor at UNESCO Chair in Cultural Policy and Management in Belgrade and Faculty of Sport and Tourism in Novi Sad, Serbia. Coordinator of long-term cultural planning of the city of the Novi Sad European Capital of Culture 2021. Conducted in March 2021

Interview 4: Ms. Biljana Mickov, responsible for creative industries at the Institute of Culture Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Serbia, and culture researcher at the University of Reims, Champagne—Ardenne, France. Conducted in March, 2021.

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Part IV

Inclusive and Intersectional City-Making Practices and Policies

Planning Gender-Inclusive Cities: Tactical and Strategic Support for the Reconciliation of Paid Work and Care Work

Henriette Bertram

1   Introduction

During the past 40 years, feminist researchers and practitioners have criticized urban planning for its orientation toward the spatial patterns of the (usually male) breadwinner commuting from his home in the suburbs to his workplace in the city. Few childcare facilities, inadequate public transport, and little employment in or near residential locations made it difficult for most women and especially for mothers to be economically active. As a result, gender-inclusive planning was introduced in many municipalities. Its intention is the "reconciliation of 'work and home'" and to create "enabling time-space patterns" for all (Tummers et al., 2019). Its promise was that improved and more flexible infrastructure, tailored to the needs of women as well as men and especially caregivers of all genders, would bring about more opportunities for all and—eventually—gender equality.

Gender-inclusive planning, however, was then in itself criticized due to its "tactic" character (Alisch, 1993; Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992; Tummers et al., 2019). It was argued that is has no "strategic" interest in being transformative to gender relations that its aim is not to challenge the distribution of paid work and care work within families or at increasing awareness among employers for the specific needs of caregivers. In other words, infrastructure and a built environment that are designed using criteria of gender inclusiveness may help to ease the "double burden" for caregivers (who are still mostly women) immediately and effectively but at the same time continue or even increase the exploitation of their workforce.

This chapter summarizes the feminist and gender-related critique of city space and urban planning since the "second wave" of feminism in the 1970s. It explains the concept of gender-inclusive planning and provides an overview of fields of

H. Bertram (✉)
TU Braunschweig, Braunschweig, Germany
e-mail: henriette.bertram@tu-braunschweig.de

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action and concrete urban planning measures. It concentrates particularly on measures that support the reconciliation of paid work and care work. Given that there is no such thing as an "approved" set of criteria for care-oriented planning, about 50 practice-related as well as reflexive publications on the topic were analyzed by means of a qualitative content analysis, and tactical and strategic measures of gender-inclusive and care-oriented planning were differentiated. Using the currently planned district of Hamburg-Oberbillwerder as a case study, the chapter complements the analysis with statements from expert interviews, showing that many demands of feminist/gender-inclusive planning nowadays seem to be an undisputed yet mostly implicit part of high-quality contemporary urban planning.

2   Changing Structures of Private and Public Spheres and the Need for More Gender-Inclusive Planning Approaches

2.1   Feminist and Gender-Related Critique and Planning Reactions

During industrialization and the establishment of Fordism, a strictly gendered separation of workplaces and task allocation became the norm in many countries. The public/productive sphere has since then been strongly associated with masculinity and the private/reproductive sphere with femininity (Fainstein & Servon, 2005; Klaus & Drüeke, 2010). "Work" became equated with the earning of wages, with fulfilling a task outside one's own home. Unpaid caregiving, most of it carried out by women, was not part of it (McDowell, 1999, p. 73; Oberhauser, 2017). Moreover, the spatial ideal of the Fordist city was the functional separation of living, working, leisure, and traffic, and this ideal was based on the separation of the genders and their respective tasks (van den Berg, 2017, pp. 17–20). Even though there has been a range of well-known and influential female planners and architects since the nineteenth century (cf. Frey & Perotti, 2019), women were underrepresented in the production and design of space so that a male perspective on uses and usability prevailed (Jarvis et al., 2009, p. 133). As a result, feminist scholars and activists increasingly expressed critique about urban planning and its underlying assumptions about family life and task allocation within the household (Bauriedl et al., 2010, p. 10).

Especially the spatial structures of housing and its surroundings were subject to critique and even described as a general "hindrance to emancipation" for women and especially mothers (Warhaftig, 1985; author's translation). This was most obvious in the monofunctional urban expansion areas that had been built in many countries since the end of the nineteenth century and were populated mostly by families (Danielzyk et al., 2012; Keil, 2017; Lütke & Wood, 2016). They were connected to the inner cities by streets and railway tracks that allowed for efficient commuting (Dörhöfer, 1990, p. 19; Frank, 2003; Strüver, 2018). Caregivers, however, whose everyday geographies and, accordingly, mobility needs were inherently different, had fewer mobility options. The monofunctionality of the residential areas led to

"complex space-time budgeting problems" (England, 1996, p. 5) due to their prioritization of private motorized traffic and commuter-orientated public transport (Flade, 2010; Mees, 2010). Mobility pattern associated with caregiving and the accompaniment of those cared for (like children and elderly family members) usually take the form of trip-chaining with multiple stops. In addition to that, workplaces and childcare within the neighborhoods were scarce so that adequate employment near the home was difficult to find; longer commutes were impossible due to the constraints imposed by care work and scarcity of full-time day care (Baumgart, 2004, p. 89; Frank, 2003, pp. 330–331; Rahn, 2011).

Many critical feminist scholars were therefore convinced that the inner cities with their shorter distances and better availability of transport and variety of urban amenities were "the most appropriate built environment for all women with children" (England, 1996, p. 141). There, mothers would have better access to childcare, a range of interesting work places, a functioning social network, and more tolerance toward their "unconventional" lifestyle, helping them to combine paid work, care work, and personal fulfilment (Bondi, 1999; Boterman & Karsten, 2014; Danielzyk et al., 2012; Karsten, 2003). Even though some aspects of daily life may indeed be easier to manage in the inner cities, Kern has recently shown that cities are still far from gender-inclusive or even care work-friendly (Kern, 2019). It seems that most cities, as Darke once famously put it, are indeed "patriarchy written in stone, brick, glass and concrete" (1996, p. 88).

It is striking that many of the complaints of the 1970s still seem relevant today, even though urban planning professionals have reacted to them by coming up with the concept of "women-oriented planning" (1980s and 1990s), later on renamed "gender-sensitive/inclusive planning" (BMRBS, 1996; Grüger & Zibell, 2004; Huning et al., 2019). It was supposed to explicitly include women's views into urban planning and even seen as a way to make the urban environment more "humane" (BMRBS, 1996). The term gender-inclusive planning has been increasingly used since the late 1990s and is explicitly not only about the specific needs of women but strives to include an intersectional perspective. Both concepts, however, were themselves criticized as merely aiming to ease the double burden of paid work and care work for women and for having no transformative agenda (Alisch, 1993). This notion is taken up by the more recent categorization of planning measures into "tactic" and "strategic." Tactical planning measures are relatively easily implementable and immediately help to manage the complex daily tasks of caregivers, whereas strategic ones unfold in the long run but with a view to transforming gender relations and supporting a more egalitarian task allocation within families (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992; Tummers et al., 2019, pp. 85–88).

2.2 Societal and Organizational Changes: The Need for a Conceptual Update and More Strategic Urbanism

There have been many and substantial changes in gender relations and work structures since the critique summarized above was first vocalized. This paragraph

illustrates these changes using facts and figures mostly for Germany, an industrialized, medium-sized Western country in the center of Europe that is sometimes praised and often criticized for its family-related legislation.

The percentage of women in tertiary education as well as their participation in the economic work force has been rising steadily since the 1970s. In 2021, women made up more than 50% of first-year students (Hüsch, 2022) and about 46% of wage earners in Germany (Destatis, 2020c). A quarter of new fathers nowadays take time off work to stay at home with their babies (Juncke et al., 2016; Wirtschaftswoche, 2019). Figures have constantly been on the rise since 2008 when a legislation that supported shared parental leave was introduced. Twenty-five percent is still not a very high number compared to almost 100% of mothers who claim parental leave (WSI, 2022)—but quite a substantial change in comparison to 3% of fathers going on leave before 2008 (Der Spiegel, 2019; Destatis, 2020b; Samtleben et al., 2019). According to the newest "Fathers' report" of the German Federal Government, an even higher number of fathers (about 45%) see an egalitarian allocation of productive and reproductive tasks within their partnership as an ideal (Juncke et al., 2016).

Regardless of the wishes and aspirations of today's young families, traditional structures are still effective in many parts of daily life. Family research speaks of a traditionalization effect occurring in young couples in the family formation phase, which is often not foreseen or desired (Schier, 2010; Terlinden, 2010). It is often attributed to the Gender Pay Gap and the anticipation of diminishing career prospects for fathers if they choose to prioritize their family (Ott, 2022). For mothers, however, this still seems to be the self-evident option so that many stay at home for at least one year after a child is born and reduce their hours in paid employment for several years (Destatis, 2020a). As a result, women less often reach leadership positions (Destatis, 2022). Women carry out significantly more unpaid care work than men in all countries of the world and also in the seemingly emancipated and egalitarian societies of Europe and "the West" (BMFSFJ, 2022). Not all are dissatisfied with this arrangement during the intensive years of raising children (Boterman & Karsten, 2014) but sometimes underestimate the long-term effects for their income and pension in case of a separation/divorce or death/invalidity of the principal earner (Flory, 2011; Nationale Armutskonferenz, 2017).

In addition to family structures, the framework conditions of labor are also changing rapidly. Some of the changes support the transformation of gender relations; others, such as the professionalization of care work, add an additional layer to the debate. Not all of them have spatial implications, but they all point out the need for a conceptual update of gender-inclusive or care-oriented urban planning. One aspect is tertiarization: in Germany, up to 75% of jobs are now attributed to the service sector (BPB, 2022). Digitalization is a related and enabling factor that has been encroaching on most people's private and professional lives for decades now and has had a real boost during the Covid-19 pandemic when face-to-face contact had to be reduced. It has increased the number of remote or home office workers and diminished the need to commute every day for many people. One of the results of both trends, tertiarization and digitalization, and added to by demographic change, is a shortage of skilled labor in many professions like the craft industries and in

engineering—but also, and with even more difficult societal repercussions, in the care professions.

Since women have become economically active in greater numbers, unsurprisingly, they have less time to carry out unpaid care work. Many families—at least those who can afford it—therefore outsource some of the care work to professionals like cleaners, nannies and childcare workers, and nurses. This practice has caused the much-cited "global care chains" (Hochschild, 2016), a cascade of migration and precarious living and working circumstances that have been much debated in recent years. Results, however, have been few, and crisis has not been averted. There is at least a rising awareness that care work, paid and unpaid, is in urgent need of a revalorization. By removing some of the workload of others, professional care workers enable the rest of the economy to function. This way, the economic structures still align in many ways with the abovementioned hierarchy of productive and reproductive tasks and the underlying Fordist ideal of separated spheres (Graefer, 2021).

This paragraph has shown the connections of gender relations and structural working conditions and the ways in which productive and reproductive activities are inherently intertwined. All changes—as well as the forces of inertia of patriarchal society structures—combined show the urgent need for new and truly transformative urban planning approaches that strive for gender equality and structural changes in the work environment that take away some of the pressure for workers who are also (unpaid) caregivers.

3   Fields of Action for Gender-Inclusive and Care-Oriented Urban Planning: A Qualitative Content Analysis

To find out which fields of action urban planners should pay attention to when aiming for gender-equal cities oriented toward the needs of caregivers and those cared for, a qualitative content analysis (QCA) of about 50 planning publications on gender inclusiveness over the last 30 years was conducted. QCA is a coding method and combines a systematic and rule-governed procedure with great flexibility, which makes it useful for this rather open research question. Schreier advocates to understand QCA as a "toolbox" that enables researchers to align the steps in the research process with the research question and material (Schreier, 2014). The result is a category system, which emerges from the classification of textual statements on more abstract terms that link back to the research question (Kuckartz, 2018; Mayring, 2015; Schreier, 2012).

Since the 1990s, handbooks and criteria catalogs for gender-sensitive planning and building have been developed in many cities, and several regional or sectoral plans have been dedicated to the topic. Some similarities and recurring themes can be identified, but there is no fixed set of measures. Gender-sensitive planning and building comprises more than the reconciliation of care work and paid work; for example, feelings of insecurity in public spaces are an important topic. Not all of them, however, are relevant for this research. Therefore, planning guidelines and handbooks focusing

on gender inclusiveness were collected and evaluated with regard to care orientation and measures that support the reconciliation of paid work and care work. A system of categories combining all measures and recommendations mentioned in at least one of the documents was created. In addition to the planning documents, evaluation reports and publications at the interface of research and practice, such as the ExWoSt[1] reports on gender mainstreaming in urban planning, were included in the category system; the Handbook on Gender-Inclusive Urban Planning and Design produced by the World Bank in 2020 was also included. In total, more than 40 documents have been collected and evaluated. The analysis concentrated on space as a "product," that is, predominantly "material aspects" of planning and building, and did not take into account the—equally important but less concrete and manageable—elements of planning processes and decision-making structures (Zibell, 2006, p. 1).

Five categories emerged from the content analysis, each with several subcategories: Housing, Open Spaces & Public Open Spaces, Mobility & Transport, Facilities & Infrastructure, and Work, Business & Commerce. Table 1 provides an overview of the categories and subcategories and comments on them from the perspective of gender-inclusive urban planning.

The table clearly shows that many of the measures relate to other currently popular planning guidelines like the City of Short Distances, barrier-free or eco-/climate-friendly planning. It also shows that gender-inclusive and care-oriented planning is not necessarily completely different but that the key for implementing most recommendations is a change of perspective. The following section applies these results to a case study, namely, the newly planned urban expansion district of Hamburg, Oberbillwerder.

4   Case Study: Gender Inclusiveness and Care Orientation in Hamburg-Oberbillwerder

This section presents and analyzes Hamburg-Oberbillwerder as a case study for gender inclusiveness and care orientation in urban planning. Oberbillwerder is part of Hamburg's recent urban expansion strategy, a result of the ongoing housing shortage (Grund, 2018). The case study was selected because it is one of the largest urban expansion projects on greenfield land in Germany. Furthermore, it can be seen as a potential role model for similar projects: on the one hand, Hamburg has been experiencing severe pressure regarding its land use and housing strategies for years due to high prices and unbroken population influx. On the other hand, the city aims to shape the necessary expansion process in a way that is as eco-friendly and socially acceptable as possible. The intersection of aspiration and size gives it a potentially transformative role for urban planning in Germany and beyond.

The future district is situated in the southeast of Hamburg and will comprise approximately 7000 residential units. At the moment, the site is used as agricultural

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[1] ExWoSt is the federal research programme "Experimenteller Wohnungs- und Städtebau" (experimental housing and urban design).

Table 1 System of categories with codes and sub-codes

Field of action	Principles and measures	Underlying idea from the perspective of gender-inclusive planning
Housing and housing environment	High ("urban") density	Avoid monofunctionality
	Diversity of uses	
	Enable working from home	
	Diversity of housing forms and target groups	Ensure socio-economic diversity, offer attractive housing to less privileged groups (intersectionality)
	Community facilities close to housing, including additional equipment (bins, laundry rooms, storage rooms, covered bicycle parking, roof terraces, play loggias, barbecue areas)	Attractive, needs-based, safe facilities that help to organize everyday life Enabling contact and communication in the neighborhood
	Safety of the residential environment: acoustic and visual references to play areas; little traffic	Reduce need to accompany children and the elderly
	Create barrier-free environment	Reduce need to accompany children and the elderly
	Flexible, usable floor plans	Enable home office, flexible enlargement/reduction of flats depending on family situation
Green and public spaces	Accessibility, reachability, safety	Reduce need to accompany children and the elderly
	Recreation and leisure spaces close to settlement	Adequate supply for all residents
	Connectedness with other infrastructure facilities	Short distances, accessibility
	Enable exchange and community-building	Enable contact between residents
	Attractive, flexible, varied design	Diversity of needs
	Acoustic and visual references	Help to facilitate childcare
Infrastructure and facilities	Integrated locations for facilities, neighborhood centers in residential areas	Good accessibility from all residential areas
	Active ground floors	Liveliness, security
	Completion at the same time as housing	Good supply and short distances from the start
	Accessibility	
	Differentiated, attractive offers	Enable supply in the district, consider different needs
	Flexibility of uses	Enable reaction to changing needs

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Field of action	Principles and measures	Underlying idea from the perspective of gender-inclusive planning
	High-quality social and cultural infrastructure, especially child care and care for elderly/disabled family members	Short distances for care and recreation
	Basic supply; additionally desirable: meeting places, medical care, administration/service/counselling centers, educational opportunities	Short distances for daily and periodic needs
	Consider gender equality	
Mobility and transport	Allow for trip-chaining	Care orientation, independence from cars
	Preference to car-free mobility/ environmentally friendly transport	
	Public transport: walking distance to stops and sharing services (from home/work/ infrastructure); accessibility, safety, link modes of transport, user-friendly frequency; link districts and city center	Comfortable use Reduce need to accompany children and the elderly Enable use outside normal working hours (shift work, gastronomy) Avoid unnecessary transfers and travel times
	Cycling: Closed, attractive, safe cycle path network; connect all sub-areas, especially city center; covered bicycle stands, storage facilities	Promote bicycle as means of transport for everyday life and recreation Reduce accompanying mobility and journey times
	Pedestrian-friendliness: Network of footpaths	Short distances, enable walking in everyday life
	Road safety: traffic avoidance, Pedi-bus, traffic education, play streets, traffic calming, crossing possibilities, pavement widths	Reduce accompanying mobility, enable walking in everyday life
Work, business, and commerce	Good accessibility of workplaces: spatial distribution, integration of businesses into settlement structure and infrastructure	Work/employment offers in the neighborhoods; short distances, enable trip-chaining
	Flexible and attractive design of industrial estates	Spaces for freelance activities, lowering inhibition thresholds for setting up and renting premises, increasing quality of stay, liveliness
	Guarantee safety of work routes	Enable work for all at all times of the day
	Co-working spaces/teleworking communities	Reduce commuting distances

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Field of action	Principles and measures	Underlying idea from the perspective of gender-inclusive planning
	Create diverse workplaces for as many educational backgrounds, qualification and experience levels, time possibilities, etc., as possible	Offer many different employment opportunities in the neighborhoods
	Link labor market/structural policy and gender equality: consider structural conditions of labor, promote equal opportunities in access to the labor market, regional development agency with focus on gender equality, promotion of women entrepreneurs, qualification offers	Enable structural change Facilitate re-entry into the labor market, e.g. after family leave
	Family-friendly working conditions: Part-time jobs, innovative working time models, gender- and family-friendly human resources development, part-time managers, gender-appropriate distribution of care work	Improve opportunities to reconcile care work and paid work Enable careers for parents Rethink role concepts Enable egalitarian task allocation

land. In 2019, the planning office ADEPT won the competition for the master plan together with Karres en Brands and Transsolar. The master plan's guiding principles are, firstly, the "Connected City," which aims to develop the quarter in relation and close connection to the neighboring districts as well as with Hamburg's city center, and, secondly, the "Active City," which is to contribute to exercise and a healthy and active lifestyle. Furthermore, Oberbillwerder is intended to become less car-dependent, more environmentally friendly, and more socially diverse than conventional urban expansions.

The district will be made up of five neighborhoods with different densities. In terms of public green and open spaces, numerous playgrounds as well as a large activity park and a swimming pool are planned on altogether 28 hectares. The district will also have an education and community center with two secondary schools, two elementary schools, 14 day-care centers, and 14 other facilities of social infrastructure (Fig. 1).

So-called mobility hubs will be the centerpiece of mobility and transport infrastructure: "Residents and their guests will be able to park their cars in the mobility hubs and switch to alternative means of transport such as bicycles, rental and cargo bicycles or, in the future, small autonomous shuttle buses for the journey to their front door. By evenly covering the district with the mobility hubs, […] equal access conditions for public transport and private transport are created" (IBA Hamburg GmbH, 2019; author's translation). Overall, motorized private transport is expected to account for only about 20% of total traffic in the medium term. In addition to public transport, cycling and walking are also to be encouraged. Cycle lanes to the neighboring districts and the city center, as well as an attractive, safe network of

Fig. 1 Master plan; ADEPT/Karres en Brands

cycle paths and footpaths connecting the five neighborhoods, contribute to the implementation of the "Connected City" and "Active City" concepts. Sports and exercise are going to be important elements of daily life in the district.

There will be not only opportunities for exercise in public spaces but also plenty of space for institutionally organized sports. Since 2018, the draft master plan has been developed further in collaboration with political bodies, authorities, and civil society actors. In February 2019, the Senate passed the master plan, and in April 2019, the district assembly decided to initiate the development plan process. Since then, numerous public participation and information events have been held (Figs. 2 and 3).

For the research project, publicly available planning documents for Oberbillwerder and related media publications were evaluated and relevant passages compared to the system of categories set out in Table 1. The aim was to find out whether and how the principles of gender-inclusive and care-oriented planning had played a role during the planning process. Even though the planning process has been very inclusive and was accompanied by an innovative and widely praised "Working Group on Social Issues" (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg/AG Soziales, 2021), it is immediately striking that neither care orientation nor gender inclusiveness were explicit discussion topics. Nevertheless, the master plan does include a range of gender-inclusive and care-oriented measures as will be elaborated in the following paragraphs.

Fig. 2 Central public space in "BahnQuartier"/Railway Quarter; ADEPT/Karres en Brands

Fig. 3 "Grünes Quartier"/Green Quarter; ADEPT/Karres en Brands

The overlap is significant especially in the fields of action Infrastructure & Facilities, Public Spaces & Open Spaces, and Mobility & Transport: The discussed social, cultural, and medical infrastructure is diverse and will meet most needs and requirements of caregivers and those cared for. In addition to a differentiated range of educational and childcare facilities, sports and other clubs or associations will play an active role in shaping life in the district. First floors of many buildings will be dedicated to various uses so that monofunctionality is avoided and liveliness and a sense of security is created (IBA Hamburg GmbH and Büro Luchterhandt, 2017).

Regarding the provision and organization of open space and public space, it is envisaged that the Green Loop will connect all important facilities in the district. Spaces will be multiuse and thus very flexible in order to attract as many people as possible and with different backgrounds regarding age, gender, and social status (IBA Hamburg GmbH, 2019). The focus on games, sports, and exercise leads to an expected good availability of open spaces and public spaces, while at the same time, there are high demands towards the quality of spatial design (BSW, 2018).

In combination with the Mobility Hubs, which are to accommodate the majority of stationary traffic in the neighborhood, the stated goal is that individual motor car traffic will play a subordinate role (IBA Hamburg GmbH, 2019). To achieve this, suburban trains are to run more frequently in the future, and additional bus services within the district are planned. Important infrastructure is to be situated within walking distance from the residential areas. Due to the planned high-quality and comprehensive bicycle lane, it can be assumed that the bicycle will be a relevant everyday means of transportation and not only be used for leisure purposes.

In the field of action Housing & Living Environment, an important—albeit rather vague—goal is to achieve an attractive design for all generations and living situations through the principle of mixed use as well as dense construction (BauNetz Media GmbH, 2018). Social cohesion is an important topic in the brief (IBA Hamburg GmbH and Büro Luchterhandt, 2017). Apartments are to be offered in different sizes and price categories, and housing cooperatives are to be responsible for up to 20% of the residential units. A combination of working and living should therefore be possible in principle, although the ideas here are not yet as mature. However, this is presumably due to the relatively early planning stage, as is the low level of detail regarding community facilities next to the houses.

For the field of Work, Business & Commerce, only a number of basic conditions have been formulated. Up to 5000 jobs are to be created in the district, most of them in the supply infrastructure and the areas of health, sports, and nutrition, relating to the notion of the "Active City." Additionally, there will be so-called "crafts courtyards" close to the subway station, co-working spaces, and studios (IBA Hamburg GmbH and Büro Luchterhandt, 2017). The largest employer in the district will be the University of Applied Sciences (Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften, HAW; Feldhaus, 2018). Short commuting distances are desired due to their environmental friendliness (IBA Hamburg GmbH and Büro Luchterhandt, 2017). It is noticeable that two of the measures shown in the table, namely, "structural policy" and "working conditions," were not discussed at all during the planning process. It could certainly be argued that these are not classic planning tasks. At the same time,

however, these are the measures that could have the strongest "strategic" effect and thus actually develop transformative power for gender relations in the new district.

The complementary expert interviews suggest that the intention to reconcile paid work and care work is a connecting, albeit never explicit, issue for many people involved in the planning process. The most important argument is the economic necessity for both parents (if existing) in Hamburg to be in full-time employment, not gender equality. In addition to the necessary spatial conditions (short distances, infrastructure available etc.), the all-day care of children outside the home is seen as an indispensable instrument for establishing compatibility (S 2021; RE 2021). In addition, several interviewees explain that they plan to offer a wide range of housing options for all kinds of families and everyday arrangements, so as not to exclude anyone. Families are seen as an important target group for the new district, but it is assumed that they will "move there anyway" (DA 2021). At the same time, a certain perplexity arises when it comes to the strategic issues of gender inclusiveness. Planners see their role in relation to this as reflective, gladly supportive, but not as proactive shapers and drivers of a transformation. This attitude is surprising since there are very clear ideas about the desired transformation with regard to health and exercise as well as mobility, climate, and resource protection. In some cases, a lack of interest or imagination in strategic development can be assumed.

5   Discussion and Conclusion

In this article, the planned suburban district Hamburg-Oberbillwerder was analyzed to find out whether and to what extent the feminist-inspired critique of residential neighborhoods on the outskirts of cities finds its way into planning today. A particular focus in this paper was on planning measures that improve the reconciliation of paid and care work (tactical measures) and support egalitarian life-work models for families (strategic measures).

In order to examine the gender and care orientation of Oberbillwerder, a qualitative content analysis was carried out from which fields of action were derived. This was compared with the master plan and other planning and media documents for Hamburg-Oberbillwerder. It became evident that many positions and demands of gender-sensitive planning are highly compatible with current planning guidelines even though gender inclusiveness or the reconciliation of paid work and care work were never explicitly discussed. Several fields of action of gender- and care-oriented planning are recognized in Oberbillwerder as important issues for the functioning of the district or in line with the goals of eco-friendliness and fostering an active lifestyle. Primarily, these are public spaces and open spaces, infrastructure and equipment, and mobility and transportation. Several other measures are planned in the area of housing and housing environment, although some of the details are not known yet. Again, these are not discussed with regard to gender equality or care orientation, but with regard to health, family friendliness, or climate and resource protection. It is striking, however, that high quality and flexibility of the planned spaces in addition to the intended low car dependency and the integrated spatial

layout will potentially have a positive effect on the reconciliation of paid and care work regardless of the rationale behind the measures.

One important field of action that has the greatest potential for strategic and structural change of gender relations, namely, work and commerce, has so far received little attention. Even though Oberbillwerder is supposed to be a multifunctional district, the jobs that are created will mostly be needed in the everyday infrastructure of the district. Measures concerning the labor market and structural policy and family-friendly working conditions or their implications for gender relations are not addressed at all. As a result, care orientation in Oberbillwerder will remain on a tactical level: reconciliation of paid work and care work is indeed facilitated by short distances and flexible space appropriation; however, a transformative agenda for gender relations is not pursued. Expert interviews suggest that these topics are not seen as tasks for planning practitioners and that—given the high housing prices in Hamburg—adaptation to the demands of reconciling paid work and care work is expected on the part of families/caregivers, not employers.

However, in cooperation with actors from the private sector and civil society as well as social institutions—employers, Chamber of Industry and Commerce, schools and day-care centers—strategic visions with a spatial and neighborhood focus could be developed in the future. By focusing more strongly on work and commerce, planning could move to a more strategic orientation and thus work more effectively toward actual structural changes and a more egalitarian distribution of tasks within families. Possibilities of easing the double burden for caregivers of all genders could be developed and implemented. To achieve this, however, the demands of reconciliation and their repercussions for gender-related equal opportunities would have to be explicitly discussed and prioritized as independent goals, which currently does not seem to be the case. Further research on similar cases of urban expansion projects should be conducted to find out whether and how the topics of care orientation and gender inclusiveness are perceived and discussed among planners more generally and to carve out a new and more strategic role for planners within this nexus.

Interviews with Planning Experts in Oberbillwerders

Employees of Architectural Office (AO), interview conducted by author together with Arvid Krüger, 7 October 2021.

Employee of Development Agency (DA), interview conducted by Arvid Krüger, 21 October 2021.

Employee of District Office (DO), interview conducted by author, 29 September 2021.

Employee of Real Estate Developer (RE), interview conducted by author, 28 September 2021.

Employee of School Authority, interview conducted together with Arvid Krüger, 30 September 2021.

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Empowerment and Adaptive Capacity of Women in Urban Areas: Mitigating the Risk of Water Insecurity in Chad

Sveva Lazzati, Gül Tuçaltan, and Fleur Wouterse

1   Introduction

Water insecurity is one of the key risks associated with climate change and can result from changes in the water cycle, water quality, and cryosphere as well as from drought and flood negatively impacting natural and human systems (IPCC, 2022). As climate change exacerbates the frequency and severity of heavy rainfall, cities, river plains, and deltas experience more disruptive flooding, which along with the destruction of property, infrastructure, and services facilitates the spread of water-borne and water-related diseases (Ahmed et al., 2022; Douglas et al., 2008; Few et al., 2004; Levy et al., 2016; Sajid & Bevis, 2021; Semenza, 2020; WHO & WMO, 2012). Direct flood damage is projected to increase globally by four to five times at 4°C compared to 1.5°C (IPCC, 2022). Flooding affects populations by washing away homes and destroying food and stocks of goods in markets as well as livestock and cultivated land. During floods, wells—often the only water source—and latrines can be destroyed (ReliefWeb & UN OCHA, 2022) giving rise to water contamination and forcing households to resort to unsafe floodwaters for daily use. A significant increase in ill health and premature deaths from climate-sensitive diseases and conditions is projected. Between 20,000 and 30,000 additional diarrheal deaths in children are also expected by mid-century under 1.5–2.1°C global warming, with West Africa most affected, followed by East, Central, and Southern Africa (WHO, 2014). Morbidity from cholera is also projected to increase as is *E. coli* (IPCC,

S. Lazzati (✉)
Global Center on Adaptation, Groningen, The Netherlands

University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
e-mail: sveva.lazzati@student.uva.nl

G. Tuçaltan · F. Wouterse
Global Center on Adaptation, Groningen, The Netherlands
e-mail: gul.tucaltan@gca.org; fleur.wouterse@gca.org

2022). Intersecting inequalities and context-specific factors such as culture, gender, religion, ability, and disability or ethnicity mean that risks vary at a fine scale across and within communities and societies (IPCC, 2022). While rural areas are also affected, urban areas tend to be more prone to flooding and further subject to climate risks.

Chad, like other countries in the Sahel region, is already experiencing the effects of climate change in the form of increased temperatures and precipitation. The country is subject to a projected increase in heavy rainfall events expected to increase exposure to pluvial and riverine flooding and their related impacts. Chad is exemplary in terms of being subject to various water insecurity-related stresses and shocks and displaying high levels of vulnerability and low levels of responsiveness. The Sahel's drylands do not readily absorb water, and they are more prone to quick and heavy flooding (Elagib et al., 2021; UN OCHA, 2020). Chad ranks third from last in the Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative (ND-GAIN, 2022) vulnerability ranking, meaning that the country experiences one of the highest levels of climate vulnerability globally in terms of the susceptibility to be adversely affected by climate-driven hazards.[1,2] The country also ranks third from last in ND-GAIN's adaptation readiness index meaning that its governance structures and policy processes ensuring that adaptation takes place are weak or nonexistent (Ford & King, 2015). In 2020, 20 out of Chad's 23 provinces were affected by water insecurity with a higher incidence in the southern and central ones and more than 64,000 households suffered flood damage or were displaced, and in some regions, increased childhood diarrheal disease was observed during extreme weather events (UN OCHA, 2020). Urban areas, in particular, such as the capital N'Djamena are at risk of being severely impacted (UN OCHA, 2022).

In the absence of the required hard and soft infrastructures, negative effects of climate change, such as increasing care responsibilities, workloads, and limited access to resources, oftentimes affect women disproportionately. Thus, addressing the adaptive capacities, specifically of women, when discussing and planning for climate change in Chad is a necessity. In addition, urban population growth has been accompanied by an increase of vast informal settlements, due to failing housing systems and lack of investment capacity (Dodman et al., 2018; Revi et al., 2014). These informal settlements are vulnerable to flooding due to inadequate infrastructure, general lack of services, and sociopolitical marginalization putting them at high risk from extreme weather events (Haque, 2021; Revi et al., 2014). Thus, this chapter argues that it is all the more important to assess and mobilize the adaptive capacity of the population, women in this case, as well as its drivers especially those in the most vulnerable and exposed regions. Respectively, this research focuses on how adaptable women are in urban Chad and what strategies they employ and the resources they require to mitigate the risk of water insecurity. This chapter aims to

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[1] The ND-GAIN Country Index, as developed by the researchers of the Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative, encapsulated a country's vulnerability to climate change and other planetary challenges with respect to its adaptive capacity.

[2] Chad | ND-GAIN Index

pave the way for improved planning and policymaking processes that support the adaptive capacities of women in urban areas of developing countries.

We take adaptive capacity as complementary to readiness and define it as "the potential for actors within a system to respond to changes, and to create changes in that system" (Chapin et al., 2006). Adaptive capacity of individuals, households, and communities is thought to reduce the impact of climate change (van Valkengoed & Steg, 2019; Wouterse et al., 2022). Examples of individual and household-level adaptive capacity are risk mitigation (vaccinating, using emergency and health kits, using nutritional supplements, treating water) and risk management strategies such as purchasing (health) insurance (van Valkengoed & Steg, 2019). While most adaptation efforts have been focused on reducing risk, focusing on increased agency and adaptive capacities of actors to reduce vulnerabilities is urgent, given the low level of adaptation readiness of Chad.

Empowerment refers to agency or the ability to pursue relevant goals and the institutional environment enabling people to exercise this agency successfully (Butler et al., 2015). So far, the concept of empowerment has received little empirical attention within adaptation research where the focus has been more on the role of education (see, e.g., Feinstein & Mach, 2020; Lutz et al., 2014). Most existing empirical studies focus on the role of empowerment in relation to agricultural production, poverty reduction, or food and nutrition security (see, e.g., Malapit & Quisumbing, 2015; Wouterse, 2019). This chapter contributes to filling this gap and assesses the role of empowerment in adaptive capacity in the form of the adoption of strategies that mitigate health risks associated with floods. In a departure from mainstream climate adaptation literature and to underline the gendered nature of adaptation policy and practice, our study focuses specifically on women who are often claimed to be more vulnerable to the effects of climate change.

We use the nationally representative Demographic and Health Survey data collected in 2015 and construct a multidimensional economic empowerment index akin to the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) with indicators on control over personal decisions, autonomy, access to income, involvement in decision-making, and time dedicated to leisure activities. We then use regression analysis to reveal the relationship between this index and adaptive capacity in the form of four selected strategies that mitigate the risk of health impacts of floods.[3] We find that empowerment is an important predictor for the adoption of adaptive health strategies and that empowerment levels of women are significantly lower than those of men both in urban and rural areas. However, climate responsiveness is higher in Chad's urban areas as they host women who are more empowered in terms of access to resources and autonomy with improved decision-making capacities. Specifically, economically empowered women have higher uptake of adaptive

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[3] WEAI is the first comprehensive measure to assess women's empowerment and participation in agriculture. As initiated by International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), and USAID's Feed the Future in 2012, it not only measures the levels of empowerment of women within the agricultural sector but also their relative position to men within the household.

health strategies such as taking up health insurance, treating water before drinking, administering nutritional supplements to children, and vaccinating them, which are likely to mitigate the risk associated with waterborne diseases.

Based on our findings, we call for an integrated approach to climate adaptation, which encompasses gender-sensitive policy and planning responses targeting economic empowerment as means of greater inclusion of women in urban development initiatives in Chad.

2   Climate Change and Water Insecurity in Chad

Chad is a landlocked African country situated in the Sahel, and its climate is overall desertic, with higher precipitation in the southern regions and more arid weather in the north of the country. Rainfall incidence increases during the wet season, which stretches from May to October with July and August as the wettest months. There is a high variability in temperatures (4 to 6 degrees depending on the month) with a general warming trend over the hottest months of the year (+3°C on average between 1970 and 2020 for the months of May to September). In general, it is assumed that if the average annual precipitation varies little, it will be concentrated in more intense rainfall events, and more intense floods followed by prolonged dry periods. Data from the climate change portal of the World Bank confirm a scenario of increased drought episodes, with a decrease in the number of wet days but an increase in volumes per rainy day.[4] Figures 1 and 2 show some recent climatic trends for the country's regions.

N'Djamena, the country's capital where nearly 17 million people live, is located 100 km from Lake Chad. Lake Chad is a good example of the climate variability affecting the N'Djamena region in relation to climate change. Since the 1970s and 1980s, the Sahel was confronted with a period of severe drought that has significantly affected water resources, including Lake Chad, which is said to have shrunk dramatically. Since the 1990s, there has been an increase in rainfall in the region with a peak in water volume attained in 2013 in Lake Chad (Pham-Duc et al., 2020). N'Djamena is located almost 300 meters above sea level at the intersection of the Chari and Lagone rivers on an alluvial plain where the quality of its soil, made up mainly of clay, silt, and sand, has a low absorption capacity (Fig. 3).

This particular topography causes flooding during the rainy season, which runs roughly from May to October, as exemplified by the recent severe floods of October 2022 (Fig. 4).

During flooding events and in their aftermath, water contamination is frequent and can happen through a variety of mechanisms such as overwhelmed or damaged sewer treatment facilities discharging untreated wastewater into rivers and streams, contaminated floodwater transporting pathogens to drinking water wells and the
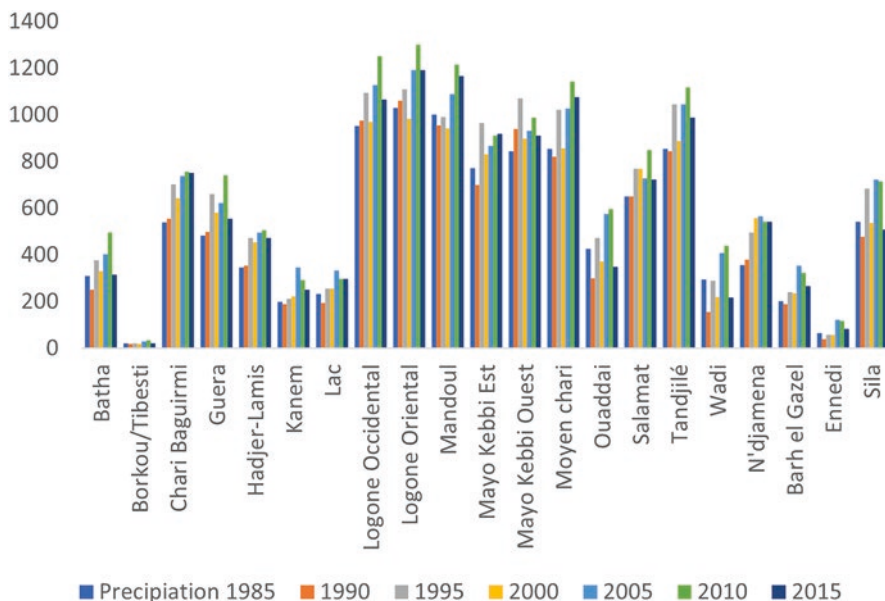
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[4] Chad - Summary | Climate Change Knowledge Portal (worldbank.org) Chad - Summary | Climate Change Knowledge Portal (worldbank.org)

   Chad Population (2022) - Worldometer (worldometers.info)
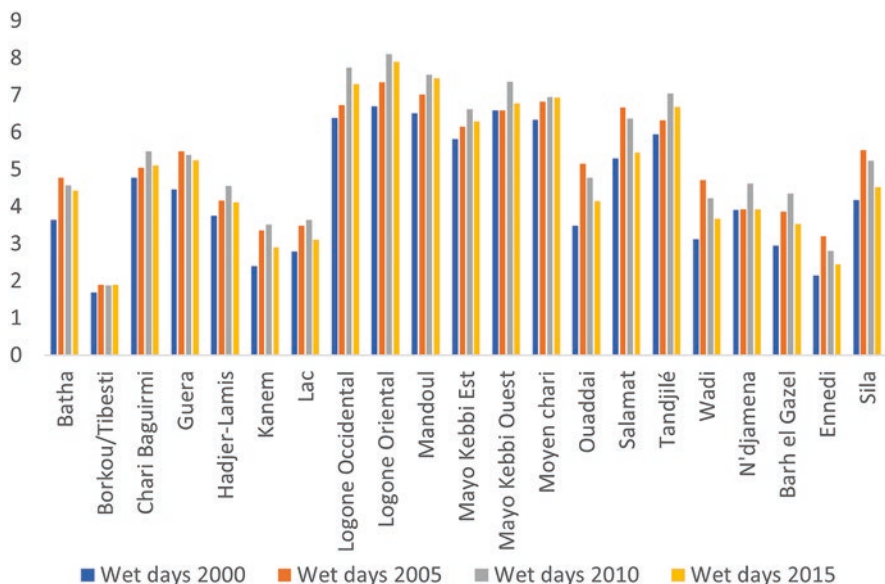
Fig. 1 Number of wet days per year. Source: DHS 2014–2015

Fig. 2 Precipitation 1985–2015 (Source: DHS 2014–2015)

Confluence area of the River Chari with river Logone, which constitutes an alluvial plain
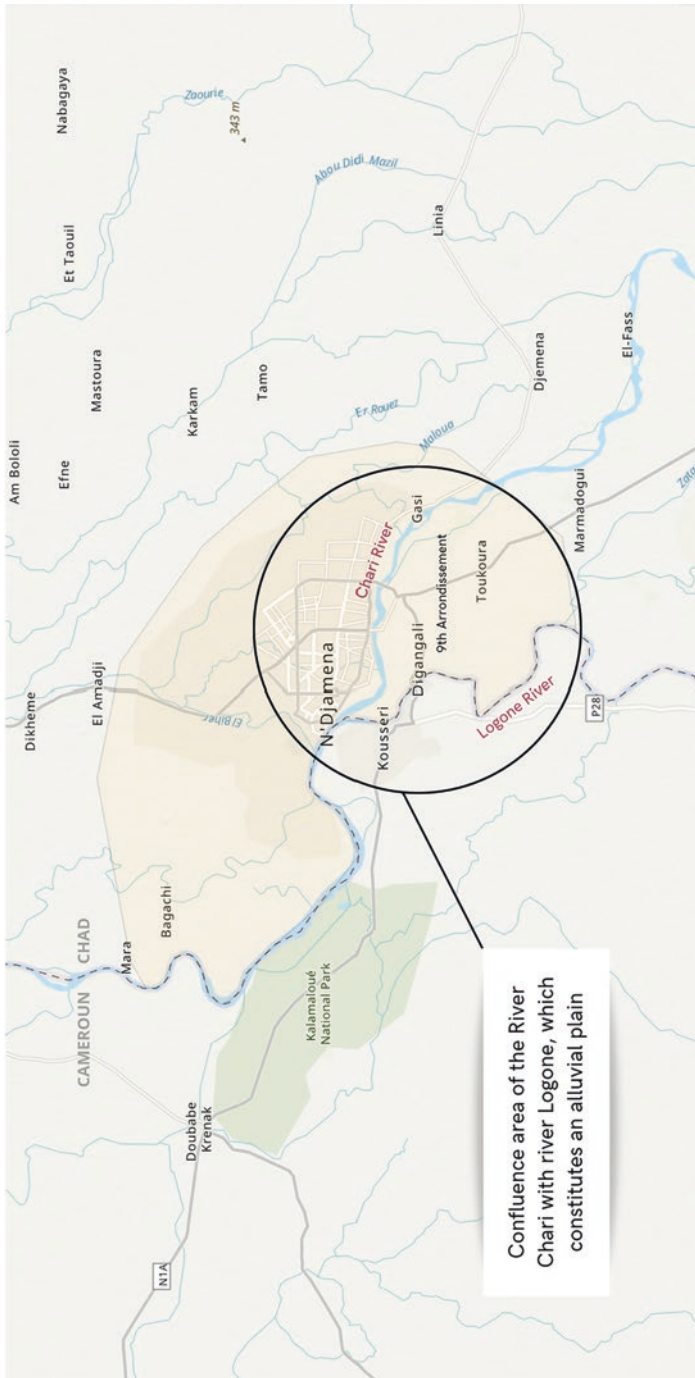
Fig. 3 N'Djamena city. Source: the authors
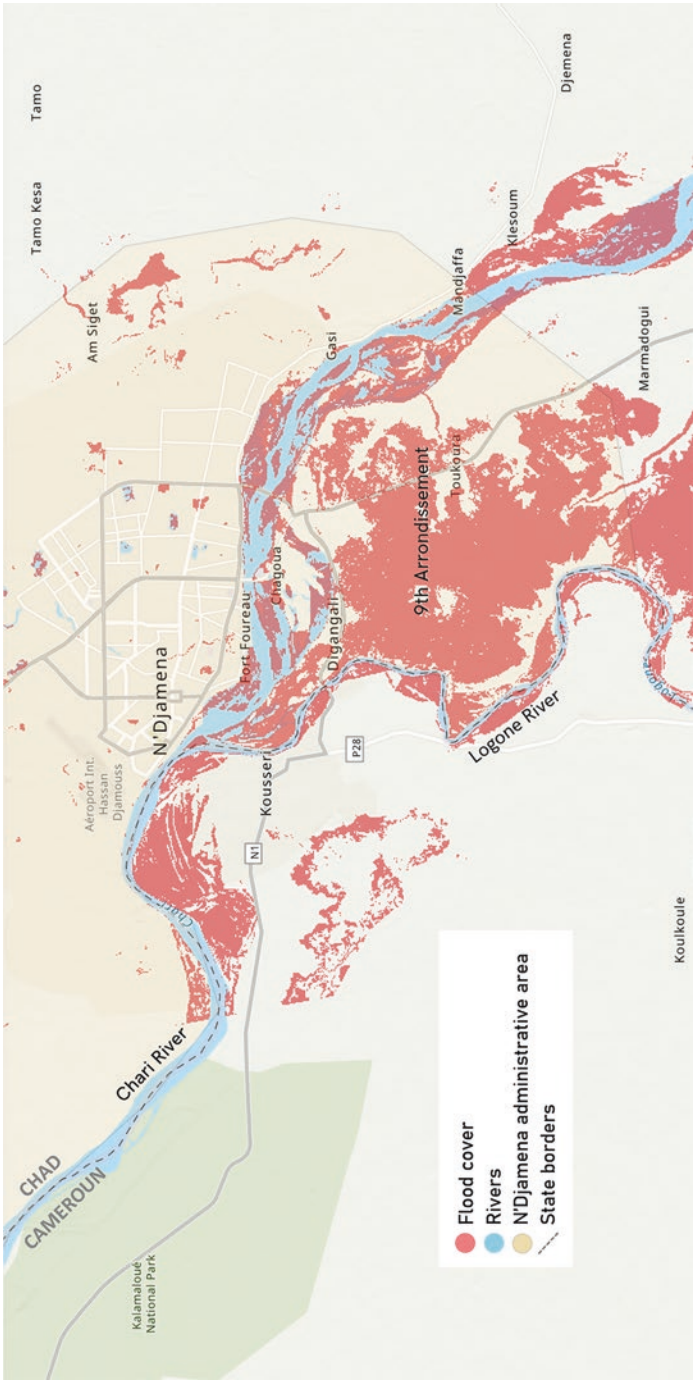
Fig. 4 Satellite detected water extent as of 30 October 2022. Source: Map by authors showcasing data from the UN Operational Satellite Application Programme (UNOSAT)

water distribution system, contamination of irrigation water that pollutes food, damaging of water supply and treatment systems and displacement of population toward areas with inadequate sanitation infrastructure (Semenza, 2020). Contaminated water used for drinking, sanitation, and recreation is associated with the contraction of a number of different viral, bacterial, and parasitic diseases and especially diarrheal disease (Levy et al., 2016). When flooding disrupts sewage systems, people are at increased risk of transmission of gastrointestinal pathogens, particularly *E. coli*, norovirus, rotavirus, cryptosporidium, giardia, campylobacter, different salmonella enterica serotypes, and hepatitis A. Other diseases such as leptospirosis and tetanus may also occur more frequently (Semenza & Menne, 2009). Large outbreaks of waterborne diseases due to flooding present a severe threat particularly that disproportionally affect more biologically sensitive age groups, such as children and the elderly (Semenza, 2020).

While rural areas can also be affected, urban areas are particularly prone to flooding and concentrate many of the present exacerbating climate risks. In Chad, rapid increase in the population of urban areas also increased the demand for freshwater, which has already put excessive stress on the water and sanitation infrastructure (Howard, 2016; World Bank, 2007).

3   Climate Risk, Vulnerability, and Adaptive Capacity

Climate risk, defined as the probability of hazardous events or trends multiplied by impacts if these occur, is the result of the interaction between exposure, vulnerability, and hazards (IPCC, 2022). According to the IPCC risk framework, exposure is the presence of livelihoods in places and settings that could be adversely affected, whereas vulnerability is the propensity or predisposition to be adversely affected. Hazards, instead, are interpreted as the likelihood of actual climate physical events or trends multiplied by their magnitude (IPCC, 2022).

Vulnerability is a highly complex dimension arising from a wide range of institutional, geographic, environmental, socioeconomic, biological, and other factors, which can vary spatially and temporally. It is also often associated with poverty, as impoverished populations are more reliant on ecosystem services for livelihoods, are more likely to live in environmentally exposed locations such as flood plains or degraded hill slopes, and possess fewer resources to adapt to changing environmental conditions and recover from disasters. Poverty also influences how people perceive the risks to which they are exposed, how they respond to evacuation orders and other emergency warnings, and their ability to evacuate or relocate to a less risk-prone location (US Global Change Research Program, 2016). Poorer households are more likely to be forced into low-agency migration as a means of adapting to climate risks and at the same time are the most likely to be immobile or trapped in deteriorating circumstances where migration would be a preferred response (Fazey et al., 2016; Leichenko & Silva, 2014). However, the poor cannot be addressed as a homogenous group, and so far, studies have failed to sufficiently acknowledge the linkages between climate vulnerability, poverty, and heterogeneity

(Dodman et al., 2018; Eriksen & O'Brien, 2007). In an attempt to increase resilience and prepare for the effects of climate change, it is critical to acknowledge and address the distinct experiences and difficulties that many groups, notably women and disadvantaged communities, confront. Thus, vulnerability must also be considered as a gendered dimension.

Women are often claimed to be more vulnerable to the effects of climate change for a number of reasons. For instance, women are said to represent a disproportionate share of the poor and, together with children, are found to be more likely than men to die during disasters. One example is the Asian Tsunami where the largest number of fatalities were said to be women and children under the age of 15. Additionally, it has been documented that women in Bangladesh did not leave their houses during floods due to cultural constraints on female mobility and those who did were largely unable to swim in flood waters. Neumayer and Plümper's analysis (Neumayer & Plümper, 2007) of a sample of 141 countries between 1981 and 2002 indicated that the adverse impact of disasters on life expectancy of females compared to males is clearly contingent on the extent of socially constructed vulnerability. They show that women died more when they were socioeconomically disadvantaged. An exception to the contention about women's higher mortality is the case of Hurricane Mitch where more men were said to have died than women. It has been suggested that this was due to existing gender norms, as ideas about masculinity encouraged risky, "heroic" action in disaster situations (Röhr, 2006). It needs to be noted that the empirical evidence base for the feminization of poverty thesis (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Jackson, 1996) is rather scant. The insistence on women's universal vulnerability can have an opposite effect, that is, gender is made invisible in the debates on climate change since it is assumed that we know what the problem is—the vulnerability of women (Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

Alongside socioeconomic positionality, biological sensitivity is a determining factor of vulnerability to climate risk. Sensitivity has been associated with developmental stage (e.g., children are at increased mortality risk from diarrheal diseases), pre-existing medical conditions (e.g., diabetics are at increased risk during heat waves), acquired conditions (e.g., malaria immunity), and genetic factors (Balbus & Malina, 2009). Given their immature physiology and metabolism and their high intake of air, food, and water relative to their body weight as compared with adults (US Global Change Research Group, 2016), children often have unique pathways of sensitivity to climate hazards. Hazards are expected to increase childhood risks of malnutrition and infectious disease through their impacts on household food access, dietary diversity, nutrient quality, water, and changes in maternal and childcare access and breastfeeding (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP,, & WHO, 2018; Perera, 2017; Tirado et al., 2010). Children living in locations with poor sanitation are especially vulnerable to gastrointestinal illnesses, with rates of diarrheal diseases expected to rise under many climate change scenarios (Wang et al., 2022).

Throughout this article, we put vulnerability in conversation with the concept of adaptive capacity, which we outlined in the previous sections. Some of the key attributes of adaptive capacity are thought to be social learning and knowledge exchange, empowerment, and "bridging" social networks that link stakeholders and their

resources across administrative levels and spatial scales (Armitage & Plummer, 2010; Smit & Wandel, 2006). Notably, empowerment (especially of women), when integrated with other attributes of adaptive capacity, is considered useful for addressing complex problems (Butler et al., 2015). Empowerment has been interpreted and defined in multiple ways, but generally, it is embedded within agency-structure ontologies and defined as the improved potential for individuals to make changes and decisions in their lives (Alkire et al., 2013; Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Woroniecki et al., 2019). Additionally, empowerment must be understood relationally as it is not just a factor of women's attainments but also of their equality with respect to men. In this sense, empowerment entails increasing power of the low-power group.

Several studies have suggested that improvements in empowerment have multiplier effects on the three pillars of sustainable development: economic, social, and environmental (Charbit, 2018). Control over household income and education of women have been shown to have direct positive consequences on health of the household and for children's access to schooling (World Bank, 2012). Using the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index, Malapit and Quisumbing (2015) find for Ghana that women's empowerment is more strongly associated with the quality of infant and young child feeding practices. Wouterse (2017) finds for Niger that more educated, experienced, and empowered households are more to have put in place zaï pits, an on-farm adaptive production strategy. Seymour (2017) demonstrates for rural Bangladesh that reduced gender disparities within households are associated with higher levels of technical efficiency in agriculture.

While empowerment has been linked to the adoption of adaptive production strategies in agriculture, there is not much literature on the role of empowerment in the adoption of resilience-enhancing strategies in urban settings. This is surprising because, particularly under uncertainty, subjectively defined adaptive strategies become progressively more important in adaptation action. Higher levels of empowerment are expected to positively affect adaptive capacity by increasing the uptake of adaptive strategies to mitigate climate risk. As Fig. 5 shows, the expected result of the adoption of adaptive strategies is lower vulnerability. This means that households are able to maintain their welfare in the face of climate hazards such as extreme flooding.

4   Empowerment and Adaptation

4.1   An Empowerment Index for Adaptation

We draw on data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for Chad from 2014 to 2015 to assess the relationship between empowerment and household uptake of adaptative strategies that mitigate the risk of children contracting or being severely affected by waterborne diseases. DHS are nationally representative and provide a wide range of data to monitor areas such as health and sanitation of both adults and children in a household, which matches the purpose of this research. Moreover, DHS constitute the largest source of data on women's participation in
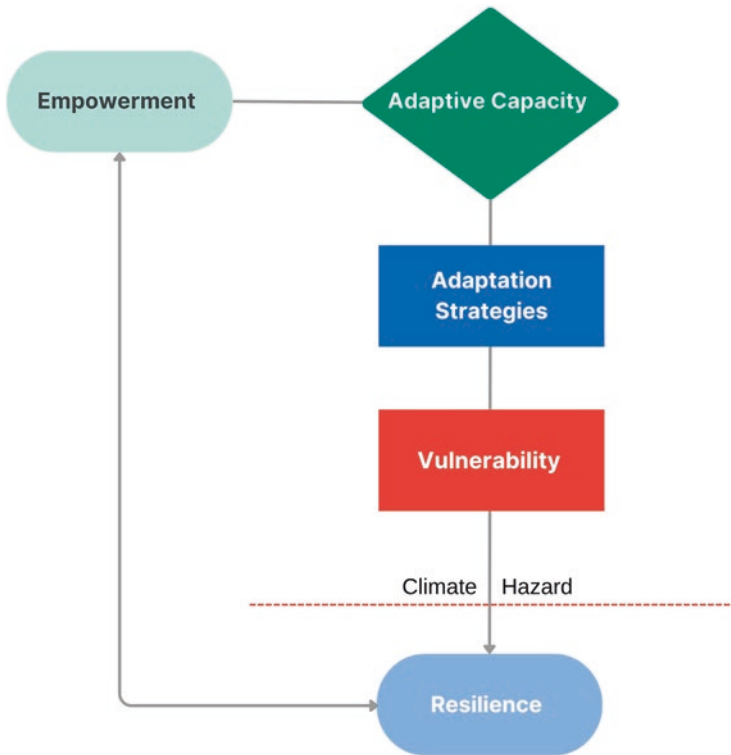
Fig. 5 Conceptual framework. Source: the authors

decision-making (Calder et al., 2020). The data is georeferenced and collected in both urban and rural areas across all of Chad's administrative regions, which allows us to assess within-country variation. This is particularly important when analyzing empowerment in connection with location-specific challenges such as climate vulnerability and adaptation. In order to obtain an unbiased estimation and to be able to evaluate the sampling errors, a scientific probability sampling methodology is used in DHS surveys. A probability sample is defined as one in which the units are selected randomly with known and nonzero probabilities. Also, DHS data are available for many countries over multiple years, enabling the replication of this study.[5]

Given the multidimensionality of empowerment, which includes concepts such as control over personal decisions, autonomy, access to income, involvement in decision-making, time poverty, etc. (Alkire et al., 2013; Calder et al., 2020), it is common to resort to an index to measure it. An index is a composite measure that, based on a set of indicators, provides an indication of the empowerment level in a

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[5] Two components of the DHS are used for this study: the individual women's survey, which contains data on 17,719 women (as well as data for up to six children under the age of 5) of which 4285 live in urban areas and 13,434 in rural ones; and the individual men's survey, which contains data on 5248 men for all surveyed women.

given community, city, or country. An empowerment index can be used to enhance evidence-based policymaking, monitor progress toward gender equality in the context of certain projects and for policy evaluation purposes in many different areas. For our research, we focus on the WEAI, an index that is embedded in a broader household setting and captures both individual and household-level empowerment (Alkire et al., 2013). The WEAI indicators are reflected in the DHS data available for Chad. However, because the WEAI measures empowerment in agriculture and we are interested in the role of empowerment in adaptive health capacity in both urban and rural areas, we have made some adjustments. Our Multidimensional Empowerment Index (MEI) captures the economic and social agency dimensions of empowerment through the combination of five domains—employment, income, autonomy, leadership, and time. This index reflects the extent to which an individual has control of and ability to act upon their own decisions. Each domain features one or more binary indicator (see Table 1), which takes the value of 1 when an individual is considered adequate in a specific empowerment component and 0 when instead the individual is considered inadequate.

The employment domain features one indicator that measures the current employment status of the respondent. Employment is considered a crucial element of economic independence and often used as a partial proxy for empowerment as it provides access to an income based on one's own work engagement (Greig & Koopman, 2003). However, access to an income without the possibility to control it and choose how to allocate it would mean less independence and reduced agency. Therefore, the second domain, income, considers a respondent to be adequate if he or she has sole or joint control over their own earnings. For the autonomy domain, two indicators are used, each capturing a different aspect of autonomy, which is often taken to mean independent decision-making and freedom of physical mobility (Bloom et al., 2001; Nigatu et al., 2014). We thus select freedom of movement and control over one's own health and well-being as our indicators. To capture them, we use, respectively, the ability of an individual to leave the house by him or herself and the control over one's own healthcare decisions. To measure leadership within the

Table 1 Multidimensional Empowerment Index—adequacy cutoff scores

| Dimension	Indicator	Cutoff score	Weight
Employment	Employment	Respondent is adequate if currently working	0.20
Income	Control over use of income	Respondent is adequate if they have sole or joint control over use of income	0.20
Autonomy	Freedom of movement Decision over one's healthcare	Respondent is adequate if they have left the house alone in the past 12 months Respondent is adequate if they have sole or joint control over one's healthcare	0.10 0.10
Leadership	Input in household purchasing decisions	Respondent is adequate if they decide (solely or jointly) on household purchases	0.20
Time	Leisure	Respondent is adequate if they allocate time to reading a newspaper or magazine Respondent is adequate if they allocate time to listening to the radio	0.10 0.10

household, we use an indicator of control over household purchases. Due to data limitations, leadership outside of the household (e.g., among the community) could not be included in the index. Finally, the time domain captures the availability of free time to read a newspaper or listen to the radio outside of work or household care. Adequacy cutoff scores for all the above indicators are displayed in Table 1.

The MEI is computed for both men and women, to capture the relational component of empowerment and compare men's and women's scores, but also because we consider empowerment as an increase of agency applicable to both women and men. Figs. 6 and 7 show important differences in empowerment level with women's total score averaging at 0.25 and men's total score at 0.48.

Fig. 6 shows that women are particularly inadequate in the income, autonomy, time, and leadership domains. To further understand the relevance of urbanization for empowerment, we computed urban and rural average empowerment scores for women.
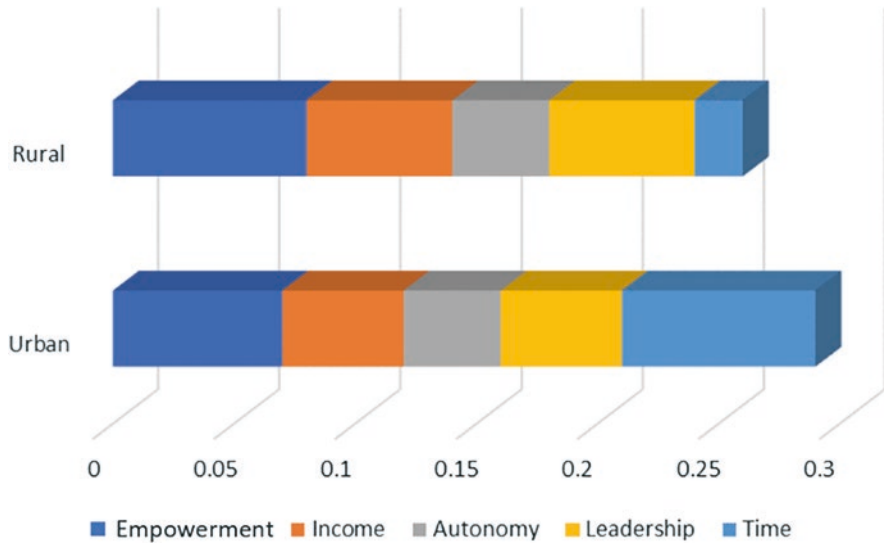
Fig. 7 shows that adequacy in empowerment of women in urban areas is higher compared to women in rural areas. We see that the former are more adequate mainly because they score higher in terms of adequacy in time.

Fig. 8 shows how empowerment scores are distributed across the country. Wadi Fira, in eastern Chad, displays the lowest average empowerment score, and this is true when looking at overall scores as well as at rural and urban scores. The Wadi Fira region also falls into the higher-risk category of the INFORM subnational risk index (2022).[6] If we find an association between economic empowerment and
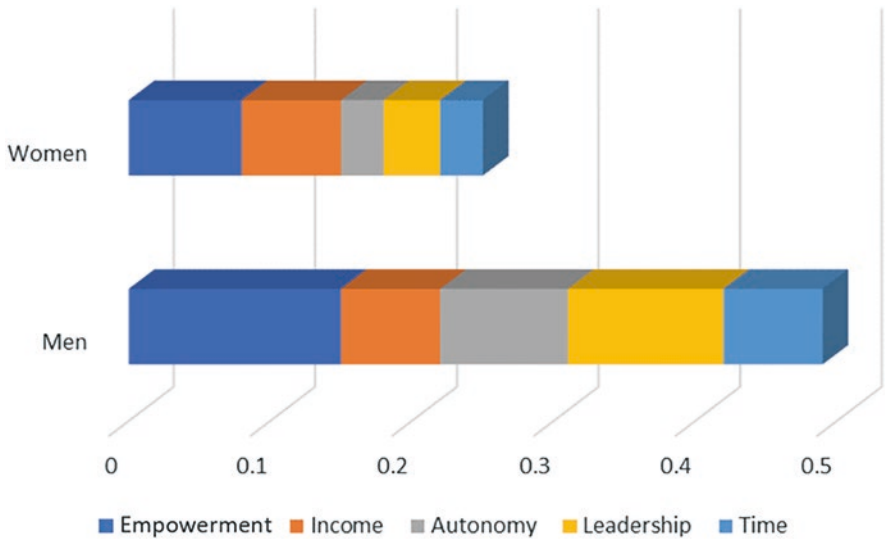
Fig. 6 Adequacy in empowerment of women and men in Chad. Source DHS 2014–2015

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[6] INFORM is a composite multidimensional risk index for disasters and humanitarian crises developed by the Joint Research Center of the European Commission. It measures domains such as hazard and exposure, vulnerability, and lack of coping capacity and is available both at the national and subnational levels.

Fig. 7 Adequacy in empowerment of women in rural and urban areas. Source: DHS 2014–2015

adaptive capacity, this could mean that in Wadi Fira, high vulnerability and low empowerment significantly hamper adaptation. In contrast, N'djamena yields the highest average empowerment score. It is important to specify that all data from N'Djamena are collected from urban households as it is a city; therefore, only urban results make up its average empowerment score.

4.2   Linking Empowerment and Adaptive Capacity

To study the relationship between empowerment and adaptive capacity, we select four adaptation strategies undertaken at the individual level (see Table 2), which can contribute to building resilience to infection by waterborne pathogens. We draw on existing adaptation research and the specific risk under examination in order to identify these strategies. Even though not solely pertaining to the adaptation domain, when considered in relation to the risk (contraction of waterborne diseases), these strategies can be judged to enhance specific adaptive capacity. For instance, water and sanitation interventions are widely regarded as the most effective strategies against waterborne infections (Levy et al., 2016). Specifically, water filtration and treatment are effective adaptive measures for diarrheal diseases (Mellor et al., 2016). However, climate change's impact on waterborne diseases does not solely depend on a system's ability to respond to a hazard such as flooding but on socio-environmental circumstances that increase pathogen exposure (e.g., lack of sanitation facilities, proximity to riverbanks, presence of haphazard urbanization) and, importantly, on individual susceptibility (e.g., malnourishment or absence of
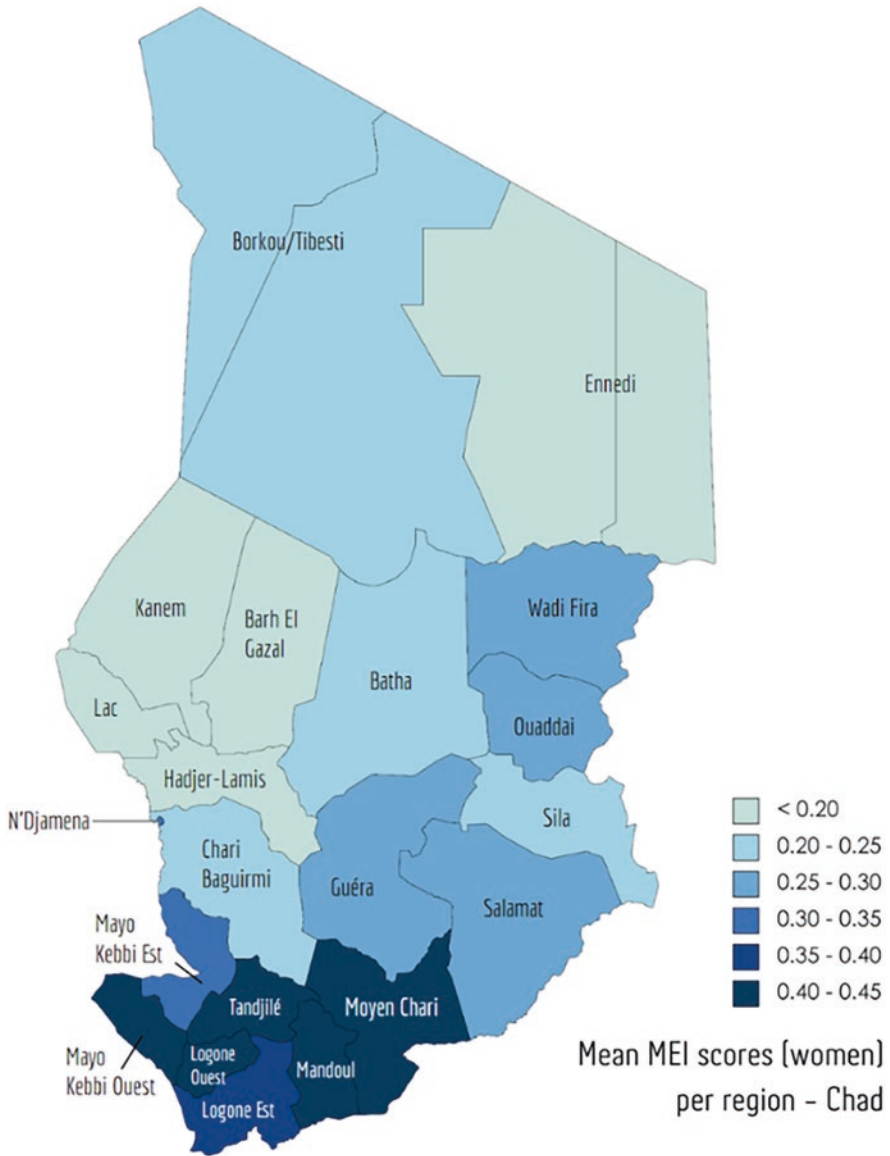
Fig. 8 Mean MEI score per region. Source: DHS 2014–2015; the authors

vaccination) (IPCC, 2022; Levy et al., 2016). The provision of nutritional supplements (Vitamin A) to children and child vaccination (BCG and/or DTP) are therefore also selected as adaptive health strategies. [7] It is important to note that the surveyed individuals for the latter two adaptation markers are mothers and that only

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[7] (Bacille Calmette–Guerin primarily against tuberculosis and Diphtheria, Tetanus, and Pertussis).

Table 2 Adaptive health strategies for urban and rural households. Source: the authors

Adaptive health strategy	All	Urban	Rural
Woman has health insurance (1 = yes)	0.003 (0.054)	0.012 (0.108)	0.001 (0.025)
Firstborn was given vitamin A supplements (1 = yes)	0.276 (0.447)	0.317 (0.466)	0.265 (0.441)
Firstborn was vaccinated for BCG and/or DTP (1 = yes)	0.334 (0.472)	0.467 (0.499)	0.298 (0.457)
Has applied treatment to make water safe to drink (1 = yes)	0.090 (0.287)	0.193 (0.395)	0.0622 (0.242)
Number of observations	12,556	2704	9852

Notes: Standard error in parentheses

Table 3 Pairwise correlations—empowerment (women) and adaptive strategies

Adaptive strategy	Empowerment		
	All	Urban	Rural
Woman has health insurance (1 = yes)	0.066***	0.113***	0.038***
Firstborn was given vitamin A supplements (1 = yes)	0.107***	0.075**	0.115***
Firstborn was vaccinated for BCG and/or DTP (1 = yes)	0.131***	0.051***	0.147***
Has applied treatment to make water safe to drink (1 = yes)	0.090***	0.099***	0.078***
Number of observations	12,556	2704	9852

Notes: ***denotes significance at the 1% level; **denotes significance at the 5% level

the observations for the firstborn child are used. [8] Table 2 shows the incidence of the different strategies as well as differences between urban and rural households.

Given that urban areas are overall more vulnerable to flooding and often the hardest hit, higher levels of empowerment could represent a constructive element if empowerment is found to positively affect adaptive capacity. A simple pairwise correlation between women's empowerment scores in urban and rural areas and the four adaptive strategies to mitigate the risk of waterborne disease infection is performed in order to understand the last hypothesis in more depth. Table 3 shows strong correlations between women's empowerment and the four adaptive strategies: the uptake of personal health insurance, administering vitamin A to the firstborn, vaccination against BCG and/or DTP, and water treatment before use. These positive correlations suggest that more empowerment is associated with an increase in adaptive capacity through the uptake of individual strategies. A stronger

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[8] The decision to only use data for one child rather than for several was driven by a lack of comprehensive information for subsequent children in the dataset, which would have significantly reduced our sample and returned an incomplete picture. We are aware of the limitations this might generate, namely because of the existing gender bias in decisions over health expenditures and care (Khera et al., 2014), which relates to higher observed health expenditure and care for boys.

correlation with health insurance in urban areas and with vitamin A supplements and vaccinations in rural areas is found when urban and rural women's empowerment was looked at separately.

We use regression analysis to obtain a clearer understanding of the effect of empowerment on adaptive capacity. In addition to the empowerment index, human capital variables of the respondent and of the household head, asset ownership variables, and an indicator for the location of the respondent (either urban or rural) are included within the analysis as well as climate variables. A system of equations is specified as follows:

$$p_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 MEI + \alpha_2 M + \alpha_3 A + \alpha_4 G + \alpha_5 R + \varepsilon_i \tag{1}$$

$$p_n = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 MEI + \gamma_2 M + \gamma_3 A + \gamma_4 G + \gamma_5 R + \varepsilon_n \tag{2}$$

$$p_w = \beta_0 + \beta_1 MEI + \beta_2 M + \beta_3 A + \beta_4 G + \beta_5 R + \varepsilon_w \tag{3}$$

$$p_v = \delta_0 + \delta_1 MEI + \delta_2 M + \delta_3 A + \delta_4 G + \delta_5 R + \varepsilon_v \tag{4}$$

In Eq. 1, the probability of the household being covered by health insurance (p_i) is explained by our variable of interest *MEI*, a vector of individual and household characteristics; *M*, age and education, a vector of household assets; *A*, ownership of land or of a home, a vector of household-level geographical variables (*G*), including a binary variable, which takes the value of 1 is the household is located in an urban area and 0 if not and a vector of climate variables, *R*. Similarly, in Eqs. 2, 3, and 4, the dependent variables are, respectively, the probability of the administration of nutritional supplements to the firstborn, the probability of water treatment, and the probability that the firstborn is vaccinated against BCG and/or DTP. The system of Eqs. 1–4 is estimated as a seemingly unrelated probit regression with regional fixed effects and clustered standard errors.

5   Results

Regression results for determinants of the uptake of the various adaptation strategies are given in Table 4. A positive significant relation between empowerment, uptake of health insurance, water treatment, and the decision to vaccinate the firstborn child is observed. The latter result is similar to that of Wendt et al. (2022) who finds for low- and middle-income countries that children of more empowered women are less likely to be left out of complete vaccination cycles and that women's intrinsic agency is a strong determinant of child vaccination. Contrary to expectations, see, for example, Santoso et al. (2019), no statistically significant relationship is observed between empowerment and administration of vitamin A supplements. Instead, education seems to be a better predictor here. In addition to empowerment, education is a strong determinant of the uptake of all four adaptive health strategies. The average formal education level of women in our sample is less than 2 years against almost 4 years for men. The sex of the household head also plays an

Table 4 Multivariate probit results

	Health insurance	Vitamin A	Water treatment	Vaccination BCG and/or DTP
Age respondent (years)	0.010 (0.009)	−0.015 (0.002)***	0.001 (0.003)	−0.028 (0.002)***
Education respondent (years)	0.073 (0.011)***	0.021 (0.005)***	0.062 (0.006)**	0.046 (0.005)***
Empowerment	0.960 (0.251)***	0.042 (0.052)	0.132 (0.079)*	0.257 (0.058)***
Sex of household head	−0.051 (0.168)	0.097 (0.036)**	0.011 (0.059)	0.112 (0.038)***
Age of household head	0.003 (0.006)	−0.005 (0.001)**	−0.003 (0.002)*	−0.007 (0.001)**
Household size	0.009 (0.018)	0.021 (0.004)***	0.024 (0.007)**	0.032 (0.004)***
Owns land	0.369 (0.183)**	−0.041 (0.053)	0.062 (0.062)	−0.022 (0.047)
Owns house	−0.290 (0.187)	0.033 (0.055)	−0.071 (0.061)	−0.052 (0.049)
Location (urban = 1)	0.639 (0.185)***	0.233 (0.053)**	0.473 (0.068)**	−0.386 (0.059)**
Wet days 2015 z-score	−1.060 (0.579)*	−0.126 (0.281)	−0.633 (0.442)	−0.739 (0.338)**
Rainfall 2015 z-score	2.131 (1.197)*	0.303 (0.693)	−0.657 (1.174)	0.825 (0.848)
Constant	−3.347 (0.887)***	−0.872 (0.922)	−4.235 (1.538)***	−0.352 (1.063)
R-squared	0.30	0.11	0.14	0.14
Number of observations	12,556			

Notes: Clustered standard errors in parentheses

Regional level fixed effects are not reported

***denotes significance at the 1% level; **denotes significance at the 5% level; *denotes significance at the 10% level

important role in the administration of vitamin A as well as in vaccination decisions, which are both more likely in households headed by a male. In terms of assets, land ownership is positively correlated with the uptake of health insurance. Location—urban or rural—explains the uptake of the four adaptive health strategies but not in the same direction. Women in urban areas are more likely to have taken up health insurance, administered vitamin A to their firstborn, and treated their water before drinking and to have vaccinated their firstborn against BCG and/or DTP. Our climatic variables, the z-scores for the number of wet days in 2015 as well as the z-score for 2015 rainfall are, respectively, negatively and positively associated with uptake of health insurance. The z-score for the number of wet days in 2015 is also negatively associated with vaccinations.

Table 5 Interaction effects

	Health insurance	Vitamin A	Water treatment	Vaccination BCG and/or DTP
Empowerment	0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.018)	0.009 (0.011)	0.117 (0.190)***
Education	0.001 (0.000)***	0.010 (0.002)***	0.014 (0.001)***	0.023 (0.002)***
Location	−0.008 (0.002)***	0.061 (0.015)***	0.058 (0.010)***	0.191 (0.017)***
Empowerment X Location	0.024 (0.005)***	0.034 (0.037)	0.021 (0.024)	−0.151 (0.040)***
Education X Location	0.002 (0.000)***	−0.004 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)	−0.011 (0.003)***

Notes: standard errors in parentheses
***denotes significance at the 1% level; **denotes significance at the 5% level; *denotes significance at the 10% level

To further unpack the location effect, some interaction terms are introduced. Results are given in Table 5. Indirect effects suggest that there is significant complimentary role of location in the uptake of health insurance. Women in urban locations who are more empowered and more educated are more likely to have taken up health insurance. For the administration of vitamin A, there is no complimentary location effect, and more educated women in either location are more likely to administer vitamin A to their firstborn. Similarly, for water treatment, there is no complimentary effect of location with respect to education and empowerment, while education remains strongly significant. Lastly, a trade-off between empowerment and location was noted for vaccinations, where women who were more empowered were less likely to vaccinate their firstborn when in an urban setting. The direct effects of empowerment and education on vaccination remain strongly significant.

6   Conclusion and Policy Implications

Water insecurity is one of the key risks associated with climate change and can manifest with the spread of waterborne diseases during flooding events. Chad is subject to a multiplicity of water insecurity-related stresses and shocks, including flooding, but levels of responsiveness have remained low. Urban areas in Chad are particularly affected by flooding, while the lack of services in and marginalization of informal urban settlements make them especially vulnerable to water insecurity. Various adaptive strategies can be adopted to mitigate the risk of waterborne diseases: health insurance uptake, provision of nutritional supplements, water treatment, and child vaccination. But so far, it has not yet been understood what the drivers of the uptake of these strategies are. In particular, the role of empowerment has remained relatively under analyzed although it has been identified as a critical element of adaptive capacity.

In this chapter, we used the 2014–2015 DHS data to formulate an empowerment index based on adequacy in the employment, income, autonomy, leadership, and time domains and assess the role of empowerment in relation to the uptake of four adaptive health strategies that could mitigate the risk of waterborne diseases, which are particularly prevalent during flooding. Empowerment scores indicate that there is a significant gap between men and women in both rural and urban areas. In particular, women are found to be less adequate compared to men in terms of employment, autonomy, and leadership. Women in urban areas are more empowered compared to women in rural areas, in particular because they are more adequate in the time domain.

Our regression results for the adoption of the four adaptive strategies demonstrate the role of women's empowerment in the uptake of various adaptive health strategies. More empowered women are more likely to have taken up health insurance, to treat their water before drinking, and to vaccinate their firstborn. This means that, when women are more empowered, they themselves as well as their children are less at risk of water insecurity. Interaction effects reveal that there are important differences between urban and rural areas where there is a positive indirect effect of empowerment and an urban location on insurance uptake but a negative indirect effect of empowerment and an urban location on vaccination.

While adaptive capacity remains strongly associated with the level of education, the important role of empowerment opens up a window for understanding and planning interventions that enhance empowerment. As women are particularly inadequate compared to men in the domains of leadership, autonomy, and employment, various channels for strengthening empowerment can be explored. For instance, creating employment opportunities for women could be a particularly promising strategy. To help households adapt and mitigate the risk of water insecurity, local and central government authorities, nongovernmental organizations, and external funding and/or implementing agencies could adopt policies and collaborate with local institutions to create jobs and build skills.

Finally, the higher levels of empowerment and adaptive capacity found in urban areas, which tend to be more heavily affected by flooding and the related spread of waterborne disease, constitute a promising finding. An understanding of the specific impact pathways for enhanced adaptive capacity would offer opportunities to design interventions that can be scaled. Further research on the topic should also include dedicated data collection in urban and rural areas to understand different trends and needs. An expansion of our research through an analysis with georeferenced climate vulnerability data (flooding, extreme temperature, extreme precipitation) as well as additional waves of nationally representative household-level data presents an important next step.

Annex

Annex 1 Variable descriptives

	All	Urban	Rural
Age respondent (years)	30.18 (8.28)	30.16 (8.25)	30.19 (8.29)
Education respondent (years)	1.49 (3.05)	3.18 (4.55)	1.03 (2.27)
Empowerment respondent	0.29 (0.26)	0.31 (0.27)	0.28 (0.26)
Sex of household head	0.82 (0.38)	0.79 (0.41)	0.83 (0.38)
Household size	7.36 (3.84)	8.01 (4.25)	7.18 (3.70)
Age of household head	41.10 (12.46)	42.78 (12.39)	40.64 (12.44)
Owns land	0.45 (0.50)	0.35 (0.48)	0.48 (0.50)
Owns house	0.45 (0.50)	0.37 (0.48)	0.47 (0.50)
Wet days 2015 (number)	5.03 (1.74)	4.63 (1.61)	5.14 (1.76)
Wet days 2015 z-score	−2.15 (0.37)	−2.13 (0.37)	−2.13 (0.37)
Rainfall 2015 (mm)	624.51(357.76)	568.55 (322.92)	639.87 (365.27)
Rainfall 2015 z-score	−1.54 (0.18)	−1.53 (0.18)	−1.53 (0.18)
Number of observations	12,556	2704	9852

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Urban Struggles Redefined: On the Disenfranchisement and Agency of Cairo's Middle-Class Citizens

Safa Ashoub

1   Introduction

For some political scientists, a state is defined as being comprised of three components: land with defined borders, a ruler in the form of a government, and peoples as a defined population (Grotenhuis, 2016; Mitchell, 1991). Similarly, urban geographers define cities as a composition of urban space, structures and laws, and subjects as communities (Soja, 2009; Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 2013; Abdoumaliq Simone, 2015a). In this analogy, a city is understood as a microcosm of the state, as it contains rather similar features articulated in spatial and physical forms, involving several exchanges and flows.

For those who are interested in understanding how and why cities evolve as they do, it is crucial to look at the larger picture and question why nations also evolve the way they do. In that sense, the study of cities contributes to the understanding of the trajectories of nation states and their prospective futures.

The 2011 Revolution in Egypt produced new spatial, social, and political dynamics in the country. The period afterward, particularly post-2014, produced even more variegated trajectories for the development of the country in what the state has termed as the birth of the "new republic," as part of the newly established regime own propaganda. Hence, this research looks at the post-2011 period, situating urban transformations within the broader sociopolitical context.

It examines how the urban environment is shaped through interactions between space, structures, and subjects in post-revolutionary Cairo. In this regard, city-making is understood as a set of arrangements that allows for exchanges to occur and a product to emerge. The product is the outcome of the collective enactment of the physical and nonphysical presence of three elements: space, structures, and

S. Ashoub (✉)
Technische Universität Berlin (TUB), Berlin, Germany
e-mail: safa.ashoub@campus.tu-berlin.de

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subjects, in the built environment. This process is achieved through moments of confrontation and cooperation. This chapter aims to capture these moments of struggle between citizens and their urban environment.

Primary qualitative data was employed in the form of semi-structured interviews and site observation to collect information on citizen's interactions with the state/built environment including social media content analysis. Secondary data such as literature review and case study research were used to build a larger analytical framework to situate the results into.

The chapter is organized into six sections beginning with an introduction. The second section outlines the research framework, including the research question, methods, and key concepts. The third section describes the context and provides the reader with background information about the setting. The fourth delves into the case study and empirical data. The fifth discusses the findings within a theoretical framing, and the sixth is the conclusion.

2   Research Framework

This chapter examines urban transformations and city-making practices since 2014 up until 2022. *It seeks to answer the question: how do citizens' socio-spatial practices within roads, streets, and public spaces define and reshape the city as a space for urban struggles? How do such urban struggles contribute to the city's urban transformations?*

The primary data gathered was collected through ethnographic observations done in Cairo between September 2019 and September 2022, and semi-structured interviews with key informants, conducted in October to November 2022 and February 2023. In total, six people were interviewed: four males and two females. The selection criteria required participants to be adults over the age of 18, who had lived in the case study area, for at least 10 years. Preference was given to those who had lived in the area since at least 2010, so as to capture their perceptions of the urban changes in the neighborhood since the 2011 Revolution. All responses were anonymized, and all data were used strictly for research purposes. Oral consent was taken for audio recording. Identification of respondents was done through the snowballing/referral sampling technique (Parker et al., 2023), whereby a research assistant offered to connect the author with some recruits. This ensured that the main author did not have any prior relations with the interviewees. The remaining three informants were contacted via social media (Facebook) after commenting on a public post on the "Nasr City Complaints Group" Facebook page. Additionally, social media pages (public residents' groups on Facebook) were observed and information about residents' complaints in the neighborhood was collected. Data about the neighborhood was cross verified with the interviews to avoid gathering any misleading information or generating false generalizations.

The key methodological challenge of this paper was the restrictive environment for field data collection, due to personal security concerns, which meant that data collection had to be subtle and quiet. To overcome this challenge, observation was

done in virtual spaces such as social media pages to collect primary data and conduct content analysis (Prandner & Seymer, 2020) as mentioned above. Street observations, photo-documentation, and conversations with people in public spaces were done quietly and swiftly to avoid being noticed.

The key concepts used are urban transformation, city-making, urban struggles, disenfranchisement, agency, and socio-spatial practices. Urban transformation refers to changes that occur at the physical level within the city. City-making refers to a combination of citizens' behaviors and state's interventions (Holston, 2019; Stavrides, 2015). Urban struggles are a set of interactions that different groups engage in to claim certain rights in shaping the urban realm (Holston, 2009; Simone, 2021). Disenfranchisement is a state of disadvantage, a deprivation of an entitlement. Agency is the opposite: the capacity to alter the status quo. Socio-spatial practices are the modes of interaction based on social status and spatiality.

In more details, *urban transformation* is defined as a change that has occurred in a range of urban elements (Lynch, 2008) as follows:

1. Streets
2. Pavements
3. Signage
4. Traffic lights
5. Zebra crossings (pedestrian lines)
6. Street vendors
7. Bridges/flyovers
8. Coffeeshops and restaurants under flyovers
9. New shops
10. New spaces
11. Greenery/green spaces
12. Walkability
13. Overall orientation and order of the neighborhood (Fig. 1)

In this study, the "middle-class" is defined by educational level and professional affiliation: holders of a university degree, employed in a white-collar job (Abul-Hassan, 2021). In addition, socioeconomic status is taken into account, based on the World Bank's scale for income strata. They defined middle-class as "individuals who consume the equivalent of US$10 or more per day" (World Bank Group, 2019). However, due to the devaluation of the Egyptian pound in 2022, it became harder to determine which income bracket represents the consumption level of which class in Egypt given the unstable economic situation (Magdy, 2023). As such, other factors such as place of residence, culture, taste, and other subjective values such as choice of leisure activities are also taken in consideration when determining class positions.

Fig. 1 The Nile River in Cairo, Egypt. Source: Author. Date: 4 November 2021

3   Contextual Background

3.1   About Cairo

A key feature of pre-revolution Egypt was the general political apathy and lack of interest and engagement in public affairs (Abul-Magd, 2012). The authoritarian state, led by Mubarak, had been consolidating its power since the 1980s. The economy was protected, heavily managed through subsidy policies, and privatization took place under strict government scrutiny. This ensured that wealth was shared carefully between business people and state agents (Soliman, 2012). A clear distinction between social rights and political rights was carefully weaved by the Mubarak regime (Abdalla, 2012). This left little room for any real change and meant that the citizens followed the sociopolitical order that evolved. However, citizens occasionally staged demonstrations to demand better labor rights and employment conditions and express general opposition to privatization plans (Soliman, 2012).

In January 2011, Egypt experienced an unprecedented upheaval that came as a surprise to many observers (Bayat, 2013; Rennick, 2013). The 25 January revolution led to the overthrow of Mubarak regime who had ruled for 30 years and came with Mohammed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood in June 2012 through what could be considered as the only nearly fair and free elections that Egypt has witnessed in modern times (Chams El-Dine, 2014). Only 1 year after, in July 2013,

Abdelfattah Al-Sisi rose to power after ousting Morsi from office, backed with the military and fueled with widespread demonstrations (Kingsley, 2013). For the following year, protests continued, and uncertainty kept growing; until in May 2014, Al-Sisi won the presidential elections (Chams El-Dine, 2014) and brought back the military establishment to power (Roll, 2016).

In June 2014 and after the evident failure of all opposition forces to shape the political transition and with the domination of the military establishment over the scene, one could argue that this was the end of the January 25 revolution and the sign of victory of a counter-revolutionary order that has since ruled Egypt (Kingsley, 2014). State authorities began to rearrange and replan the city to prevent mass demonstrations and sit-ins (Abaza, 2014). They aimed to destroy any spaces of street politics and instead instituted heavily surveillance and securitized new "spaces" for politics, such as the New Administrative Capital and a series of new cities (Elmouelhi, 2019). They later termed this as building the "new republic." According to state media "the term new republic … encompassed a series of so-called fourth generation cities that are being built across Egypt" (Essam El-Din, 2022). The fourth-generation cities are defined as smart cities that are built to accommodate the growing population and according to the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) they will "introduce the use of artificial intelligence in smart cities in a manner in line with the state's vision of the future" (Abdel-Ghani, 2021). Moreover, 2014 was the year when Al-Sisi launched the National Road project with the goal of developing and extending Egypt's 23,500 km road network (Morsy, 2022).

Some of these projects were built on earlier political-urban transformations, whereby the development of new cities was introduced in the late 1970s during Sadat and kept growing during Mubarak's era in the 1980s–1990s, but the urgency in reinitiating and completing these ambitious projects increased after 2014 specifically as the new regime sought to showcase physical developments to earn social acceptance and credibility. Additionally, there have been acts of rebranding and establishment of multiple depoliticized spaces (Beveridge & Koch, 2019) to eliminate revolution-linked spaces altogether. For example, the notorious Raba'a Al Adaweya square in Nasr City, which witnessed the brutal raid on the Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) sit-in in August 2013, resulting in mass killings of the supporters of the MB in 1 day, was renamed in 2015 after Hesham Barakat (general prosecutor of Egypt 2013–2015) who was assassinated as a retaliation (Ahram Online, 2015). Later, the square was abolished altogether in 2018 following the erection of several flyovers in the neighborhood. This particular space (square then flyover) is described by the Arab Contractors as "Bridge of Martyr Hesham Barakat … among the development works of East Cairo to accommodate the traffic density in the squares of Nasr City to be without intersections" (*The Arab Contractors*, n.d.).

A major problem that posed itself for the post 2014 regime was the accessibility and abundance of open spaces in the form of squares and roundabouts, which they construed as potential spaces for protests and sit-ins (Antoun, 2012). Hence, as a strategy for containment, in many parts of the city, these intersections and roundabouts were eliminated, disrupted, and eventually replaced with wider streets,

flyovers, and barriers, through embarking on a national road redevelopment plan, to eliminate any potential street politics and to change the urban politics of the city.

3.2   Urban Transformation Timeline

The megacity of Cairo, a metropolis of around 20 million inhabitants, keeps growing and shows no intentions in slowing down. Most of Cairo's older neighborhoods have undergone some upgrading interventions between the years 2014–2022. In his speech at the Economic Conference in October 2022, Al-Sisi announced that "the state is working on upgrading the old city and at the same time building the new cities" (Mohamed, 2022). According to the press, the state's plan is to "to continuously develop and modernise the network of roads and axes in Greater Cairo" (Ahram Online, 2022).

Hence, as part of the afore-mentioned upgrades most of Cairo's core neighborhoods witnessed interventions composed of street widening, removal of intersections and sidewalks, and erection of flyovers. These transformations engulfed well-established and affluent neighborhoods within east and central Cairo, such as Heliopolis, Nasr City, and Downtown. They also impacted some southern and
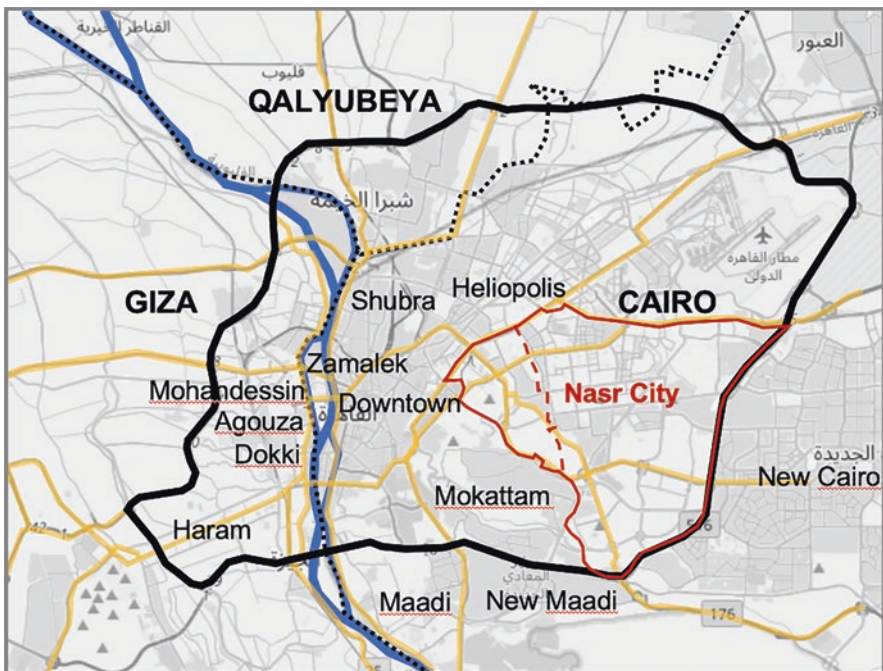
Fig. 2 Ring Road circling Greater Cairo Region (GCR) with Nasr City's location. Credits: OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org), additions by Salma Khamis for Author. Date: 28 February 2023

western neighborhoods like Mokkattam, Agouza, Dokki, Maadi, and Haram (Ahram Online, 2022), virtually areas circled with the Ring Road (see Fig. 2) (Khamis, 2023b).

In addition, interventions have occurred in the dense neighborhoods of historic Cairo, which have been declared by the UNESCO as a heritage area (Antoniou et al., 1980). Much of the historic city fabric, including centuries-old cemeteries, were razed to make space for new road axes and motorized highways (Young, 2020), see Figs. 3 and 4. These decisions came as a shock to heritage preservationists and urban activists, and several launched campaigns over social media to try and save the area from being crushed under the state's bulldozers (Noshokaty, 2021, 2022).

In general, interventions across the city resulted in the widening of streets and the narrowing of sidewalks. This in turn required tree-felling and resulted in the loss of considerable amounts of greenery and open green spaces in all neighborhoods (Al Ahram Weekly, 2020; Galal, 2018; Mounir, 2019; The Arab Weekly, 2022). Additionally, the process of "upgrading" involved the demolition of houses and the removal of pedestrian infrastructure. According to state media, at least 390 houses have been removed along the Ring Road to enable its widening (see Fig. 5), and although there has been a compensation process for those affected (Egypt Today, 2021), the entire process has been widely criticized.

Fig. 3 Al-Fardous Axis, which cuts through the Autostrad road and penetrates the old city cemeteries. Source: Author. Date: 29 January 2021

Fig. 4 Cemeteries bulldozing. Source: Author. Date: 10 February 2021

The state narrative stresses the necessity of widening the roads, increasing the production of housing units, the creation of new cities, and the overall restructuring of the city. But citizens feel increasingly distanced from their urban environment, and a rift ensued between the "structures" and "subjects" of the city. As a result, a state of alienation, dissociation, and disenfranchisement developed between the citizens and their urban environment on the one hand and between the citizenry and the state on the other hand. In this regard, this study argues that the middle-class urban struggles are what constitute the city. Through their daily maneuvers, citizens deal with the urban transformations trying to overturn what has been imposed on the city.

4   Case Study: Nasr City

The primary case study for this chapter is the eastern neighborhood of Nasr City (Madinet Nasr in Arabic). Nasr City is about 250 square kilometers and is composed of two subdivisions (east and west Nasr City) (Aqarmap, 2023). Nasr City was established as the new capital of Egypt back in the 1950s (Elshahed, 2015; Frochaux & Martin, 2010). It was designed to attract middle-class citizenry such as bureaucrats, professionals, and small business owners (Elshahed, 2015). The masterplan of the neighborhood was put in place by modernist architect Sayed Karim in

Fig. 5 Ring Road demolitions. Source: Author. Date: 19 February 2023

1956 (Elshahed, 2015; Frochaux & Martin, 2010), with a grid-like urban-scape that mirrored the socialist-militarist mindset back then (see Fig. 6) (Khamis, 2023a).

The neighborhood carries a special importance for social researchers (Abaza, 2009; de Koning, 2005; Elshahed, 2015), given its reputation for housing the "new middle classes" of Egypt. These *new middle classes* emerged in the 1970s with President Sadat's political and economic reorientation of the country. His "*infitah*" policy—also known as the "Open door" policy—rather liberated the country's economy and established a new capitalistic society (Baker, 1981). Nasr city became famous for its mega shopping malls and new "lifestyle" that it offered from the 1980s until the 2000s. It became known as the uptown district of the "new middle classes," which are defined as the nouveaux riche who profited from the oil boom in the 1970s and 1980s by working in the neighboring Gulf states (Abaza, 2009). Yet, this neighborhood also hosts multiple military establishment complexes, including the Ministry of Defence, due to its pre-intended role as the capital of Egypt. This mix of highly consumeristic space coupled with a highly scrutinized and controlled grid-like landscape created the neighborhood's special character.

The first set of upgrades in Nasr City occurred in 2014–2018, whereby in that phase, state authorities enacted a series of infrastructural interventions to widen the streets and ease traffic. State authorities installed a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) lane in Mostafa El Nahhas Street and removed the old existing tramway (Cairobserver, 2013).

Fig. 6 Nasr City borders, with a highlight on grid-like structure at its center. Credits: OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org), additions by Salma Khamis for Author. Date: 28 February 2023

That included removals of sidewalks, green islands, and installation of flyovers, see Fig. 7. The second set of upgrades took place between 2018 and 2022. In that second phase, a series of corrective actions to the preceding interventions took place to rectify the disruption of pedestrian pathways and interrupted commercial activities. This included erecting pedestrian bridges and installing street signage for the new routes to clarify the new orientation of the streets due to complaints about the confusion of street users about new directions (this was observed over social media public pages).

These urban changes have resulted in an urban struggle that manifested through social media, whereby citizens posted complaints and shared jokes about the status of the built environment in the neighborhood. For example, one commentator posted that instead of reducing traffic congestion, it became faster for her to walk between the stuck cars, due to the occurrence of more traffic jams after the removal of the tramway in Mostafa El Nahhas street (see Fig. 8). Some of these complaints have been discussed in a previous study examining the role of infrastructural projects in exacerbating socio-spatial fragmentation (Ashoub & Elkhateeb, 2021). In addition to sharing their grievances on social media, citizens also resisted these urban transformations through "territorial manoeuvring" (Schwarz & Streule, 2022). That is, through their everyday movements, choices, and struggles.

Fig. 7 A newly erected flyover in Nasr City. Source: Author. Date:11 July 2021

5   Disenfranchisement and Agency

5.1   Space, Structures, and Subjects

Urban scholar AbdouMaliq Simone (2021) has highlighted the perpetual tension between "human agencies and technicity," whereby he examines the relationship between technological instruments and human interactions within cities. He examines the "spatial and temporal frameworks of contemporary urbanization, as well as the changing parameters of collective life" (Simone, 2021, p. 1341), to argue that the agency of humans is articulated in collective processes of reworking the available resources, even in the most precarious ways. In the frames of this study, the notion of the collective agency is investigated in its variegated forms of choices, action, or even inaction toward the built environment as a domain for adaptation.

Building on the contextual conditions of the city described in the previous section, there has been a clear need for urban upgrading for the city. Nevertheless, the failure to involve citizens as key stakeholders in such process has resulted in a state of disenfranchisement. Yet the process of disenfranchisement is not linear. As a counteraction, citizens employed tactics of subtle disruptions, micro-aggression, and sometimes even indifference to regain a lost balance. Such means of negotiating the state's urban transformation projects, in both organized, collective ways as well

Fig. 8 Traffic jam at Mostafa ElNahhas Street after tram removal and BRT lane removal. Source: Author. Date: 12 March 2019

as disorganized, individual ones could be understood as iterative processes of adapting and reshaping the built environment.

5.2   City-Making and Disenfranchisement

Throughout the process of upgrading, the city's fabric has been bifurcated, fragmented, and rearranged into a technologically dominant built environment (Mitchell, 2002). Citizens are treated as cogs who must fit into pre-prescribed roles. As such, human existence is reduced to its functionality and productivity, and the city's life is pre-mastered to fit into a larger schema of a pre-imagined self and a pre-prescribed other. In this schema, the city's streets are there to allow for the constant movement of people from one point to another and not for waiting (or sit-ins).

No lurking or temporariness in public spaces is allowed. A constant stream of movement is envisioned by state authorities articulated in the "removal of intersections" to allow for "traffic fluidity," as can be observed within the streets of Cairo, where the traffic police are constantly waving their arms and directing drivers of vehicles to keep them moving. Hence, outdoor leisure activities are no longer tolerated. This can also be seen in the establishment of designated leisure areas since 2018. These are mostly comprised of privatized spaces that have clear boundaries,

such as the open air malls in new gated cities or food courts within mega malls (Elhusseiny & Kesseiba, 2019), or even more astoundingly in encircled cafes under newly erected flyovers. These have very clear borders in the form of fences, gates, security entrances, and designated parking lots, allowing for scrutiny of visitors as well as establishing a barrier to the "outside" world.

In this setup, citizens are faced with structures that eliminate any form of spontaneous interaction; interactions are defined within a spatial-temporal framework. Citizens are transformed into subjects of the city's structures (Bokov, 2019). The ensuing relationship between space, structures, and subjects is what frames the city-making dynamic and citizens' agency. Citizens (subjects) must fully comply; their very existence on the streets should have an economic justification, and they should be involved in some kind of a transactional situation. Otherwise, their presence in public space is deemed suspicious by the government. Furthermore, the heavy commercialization of previously public spaces is connected to increasing consumption levels of the middle-classes and offering an alternative entertainment. Hence, a state of urban disenfranchisement takes place through disorientating citizens and confining them within a performative scenario of a transactional nature whereby people, goods, and information are exchanged in a known format and a clearly defined space and time.

City-making is a deliberate act of spatial-temporal ownership as well as a culmination of visible and invisible struggles. In simple terms, city-making can be understood as an ongoing urban struggle over shaping the urban realm, ultimately to the favor of the power holder. However, city-making is also a commoning process (Holston, 2019; Stavrides, 2015): Holston describes it as "as the development not only of a sense among people that they are constructing a realm of acting together— call it solidarity—out of their common activities, but also of a sense that they have contributor rights to the commons thus created" (Holston, 2019, p. 17). In other words, city-making is a consciousness among citizens that they are together eligible and responsible for something. In Cairo's case, city-making attempts have intertwined with a sense of micro-counter aggression taking place in the urban realm as citizens express their resentment toward the state power. For instance, in most of upgraded streets, motorcyclists have broken parts of sidewalks to create a small room for U-turns after all intersections have been eliminated. In this case, despite being disenfranchised, citizens (subjects) choose to reassert their ownership over the city through maneuvering new spaces to accommodate their own needs, which have been essentially disregarded by state authorities (structures).

5.3   Urban Struggles

Urban struggles are incidences of confrontation between citizens and the hegemonic authority represented by the state and its agencies. Such struggles involve dialectics of resistance and co-optation, exchange, and production. This translates into the restructuring of the political economy and the repositioning of citizens in the city and society. For instance, everyday struggles could arise due to streets' congestion,

pollution, poor infrastructure, poor urban amenities, or lack of maintenance. Yet they could also arise due to lack of spaces of representation and general poor economic conditions, which translate into the daily hardships of social and economic livelihoods of citizens.

In Nasr City, two waves of city-making and urban struggles are highlighted. The first one was between 2014 and 2018, and the second was in 2018–2022 onward as mentioned in Section 4.

In both times, no consideration for citizens' opinions was taken, leaving the inhabitants perplexed and feeling deeply marginalized. These two phases also correspond to two waves of transformation in the socio-spatial interactions. Citizens expressed their concerns over social media, firstly during the construction with recurrent complaints regarding roads closure and lack of alternative routes and later after the completion of the first phase, and with the resulting inconveniences, citizenry expressed their discontent and request for reversal of interventions.

5.4 Agency Redefined

In an interview, one citizen (Interview 1, MN, Cairo, October 2022) mentioned that "I would say that I am deprived from the right to my neighbourhood. Like I cannot remember when did we as citizens approved the removal of the tram lines or when did we approve creating this bus lane in the middle of the street or … removing the street green islands or ... doing any of these transformations. I believe that I am alienated or currently I feel alienated from the neighborhood and that my memory to the city had been taken away without my permission."

In essence, several of the interviewees expressed that the urban changes in the form of "street upgrading" had changed their neighborhood in terms of accessibility, mobility, layout, and orientation (Interviews 1, 2, 3, and 6). Several mourned the loss of sidewalks and greenery in specific, see Fig. 9. Moreover, most of the interviewees indicated that they felt disconnected from their immediate urban environment. They felt the need to reassert their presence through a different set of actions, primarily through micro-reactions and adjustments to the new status quo, for example, one interviewee mentioned she observes the changes and writes them down in her diary, and sometimes she creates blogs about them over social media (Interview 1, MN, Cairo, October 2022). She also mentioned that she cycles to explore the new streets, and she sometimes takes the very same route everyday despite its lack of convenience; others mentioned taking a different route for ease of navigation or avoiding the inconvenient streets altogether (Interview 1, 2, 4, and 6).

This created a sense of in-betweenness and lack of clarity on the common objective or desire whereby citizens reject their status quo yet have no clear imagination of what the alternative might be (AbdouMaliq Simone, 2015b). The state has shown a deliberate disregard for citizen's needs and aspirations and imposed a statist vision that has resulted in disempowerment of citizenry through economic pressure and alienation and by changing the spatial-physical features of the city (Foley & Miller, 2020; Mitchell, 2002). For instance, another interviewee stated that "… I think a lot

Fig. 9 Removal of street islands in Nasr City. Source: Author. Date: 12 December 2020

of the changes that have happened in the Egyptian streets in the last four years (including Nasr City) are a great manifestation of both the corruption and failure of the state – meaning that, they are also a manifestation of the apathy sand lack of design perspective in the urban environment" (Interview 2, MW, Cairo, October 2022).

However, some interviewees also noted the possibility of using legal channels and organized civic action as another venue for agency. One mentioned: "I took a case to the court regarding the tree-cutting, and it is going very well until now. This is, actually, the first time a case is taken to the Egyptian court regarding the cutting of trees and I'm very positive because the judicial committee has only issued two reports and the two are to our interest" (Interview 2, MW, Cairo, October 2022). In this case, civic action is the embodiment of an urban struggle over the common realm.

The interviews revealed that most still liked living in the neighborhood, despite the perceived negative changes that had occurred in the last years. They liked the proximity of the neighborhood to other districts such as the airport and downtown, the open street fabric vis-à-vis the gated community urban fabric (Interview 2, MW, Cairo, October 2022), and finally the profuse availability of services and entertainment options (All interviews). This indicates that the neighborhood was built with a planning perspective favoring mixed-use streets ideology, coupled with multiple services to serve a large community (Elshahed, 2015). One interviewee mentioned

that they liked the neighborhood's liveliness: "The thing I like about Nasr City, in general, is the fact that you can find everything there. All kinds of shops and services. And I also like the chaos – it is also alive." (Interview 4, KHM, Cairo, October 2022). As Abaza indicates, "for most Cairenes, Nasr City is best known today for its endless variety of shops, spaces for leisure, restaurants, coffee shops, and cinemas" (Abaza, 2009, p. 9). As such, the neighborhood could be understood as catering for a growing consumeristic middle class that desires and can afford such places.

With the recent urban interventions, further exacerbation of consumerism is being molded into every vacant space, notably under the bridges and on previously green spaces. Relating to this, several interviewees expressed their disgust over the excessive consumeristic venues that have opened in spaces under the bridges and as kiosks in every corner of the neighborhood (Interviews 2, 3, 5, and 6). They mentioned that this not only poses general health risks in terms of promoting an unhealthy fast-food culture but also due to pollution emitted from cars' exhaust in close proximity to the seating areas (Interviews 3 and 5). One interviewee also expressed dissatisfaction with a perceived misuse of energy, due to the excessive lighting and electricity consumed to light up these shops (Interview 5, SA, Cairo, November 2022). To give a clear example, one informant mentioned "I think the street vendors increased after the changes, I think with the whole cafés under the bridges, it seems to be counterintuitive." (Interview 4, KHM, Cairo, October 2022) (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10 A new coffee-place under a newly erected flyover in Nasr City. Source: Author. Date: 28 September 2022

Many of these new urban elements are found within public spaces: on main roads and residential streets. As such, public spaces can be understood as a dynamic arena for urban and political alterations. To sum up, middle-class agency can be traced through different tactics of (1) civic action and utilizing institutional channels for grievances; (2) self-empowering techniques such as education, journaling, and social media blogging; and (3) developing precarious maneuvers during daily practice.

The first depends on a citizen's ability to undertake action such as filing a case at the court. It requires capacity to pay litigation fees as well as mobilization of resources like networks of friends to participate in the case. The second type of agency, relating to self-empowering options, also has a cost, for instance, investing in higher education and joining global schools to get knowledge on urban city management, which is not an option for the majority of working-class or low-income citizens. Yet, the third option, devising one's own techniques to maneuver the city could be considered as a tactic that is personal, invisible, and rather available to both the middle and working classes. For instance, citizens enact subtle agency and diffusion of discontentment, in ways such as avoidance of driving, walking a different route, and eventually escaping the inconvenience (Interview 6, ASM, Cairo, February 2023) (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11 Construction of a new restaurant or a coffeeshop at the corner of the Child's Park in Makram Ebeid street in Nasr City. Source: Author. Date: 10 July 2021

In the end, this involves decisions of what to engage and disengage with at the street level in its everydayness and even though there might be no clearly articulated result at the end. The very subtle movement of bodies, objects, and information shapes the urban spaces of the disenfranchised.

6   Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the status of urban citizenship under the broader aim of tackling the relationship between middle-class citizens and the urban spaces they inhabit. The aim was to understand the dynamics of interaction and how it has changed over time. Cairo's urban transformation should be understood within the wider context of political transformation since 2011.

Focusing on the neighborhood of Nasr City, it was found that middle-class residents use a variety of socio-spatial practices to access and shape their city, with choices of action, inaction, and reaction. In some cases, the citizens took a step back and watched the distortion of their neighborhood in silence, avoiding any interaction with surrounding changes. In other cases, citizens chose to step forward and engage with formal channels of grievance and dispute through court cases, as a highly institutionalized form of civic action. Others have employed themselves, physically, to counter such changes, and asserted themselves in their surrounding space, through educating themselves, writing about and documenting the changes over social media as well as through active walking, cycling, and even through writing about the changes in their own diaries (personal blogs).

The deliberate exclusion of citizenry in state-led urban restructuring is not a new practice, but the pace and impact of this restructuring over the past 5 years is unprecedented. Yet with every attempt of removal of physical and cultural memories that the new regime of post-2014 tried to erase, the citizens negotiated and resisted these changes.

Appendix: List of Interviews

Interview 1: MN, Female, 33 years, Nasr City resident, interview in person, Cairo, October 2022.

Interview 2: MW, Male, 40 years, Nasr City resident, Cairo, interview in person, October 2022.

Interview 3: HA, Male, 32 years, Nasr City resident, Cairo, online interview, October 2022.

Interview 4: KHM, Male, 24 years, Nasr City resident, Cairo, online interview, October 2022.

Interview 5: SA, Female, 69 years, Nasr City resident, Cairo, interview in person, November 2022.

Interview 6: ASM, Male, 51 years, Nasr City resident, Cairo, interview in person, February 2023.

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