

EMERGING CIVIC URBANISMS/ DESIGNING FOR SOCIAL IMPACT

14-16 DEC 2018
GASS2018
Great Asian Streets Symposium

PACIFIC RIM
COMMUNITY DESIGN
NETWORK



SINGAPORE
**STRUCTURES
FOR INCLUSION18**



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14-16 December 2018



**GREAT ASIAN STREETS SYMPOSIUM /
PACIFIC RIM COMMUNITY DESIGN NETWORK /
STRUCTURES FOR INCLUSION**

Introduction

This international conference aims to bring together academics, practitioners and students from the three networks in Asia (Great Asian Streets Symposium), Pacific Rim (Pacific Rim Community Design Network) and the U.S. (Design Corps and SEED Network) to share multiple perspectives on Emerging Civic Urbanisms and Designing for Social Impact.

With rising awareness of the impacts of environmental degradation and growing social and economic polarisation, various forms of civic urbanisms are emerging around the world as an alternative to the growth-oriented and market-driven urban development of the past. This implies an awakened desire for a new paradigm in society based on more sustainable ways of life, which contributed to the increased interest in communal life and shared identities in localities, with greater emphasis on well-being, quality of life, social inclusion, environmental consciousness, and active participation of citizens in decision-making.

In a fast changing political and social context, this conference draws attention to the possibilities and challenges that we face while moving towards a more inclusive and sustainable future. It provides a timely platform for scholars, professionals and students interested in contemporary urbanisation and its future trajectories to question and reflect upon the ways we approach our built environment through various planning and design processes to inspire new visions of urbanism.

About Great Asian Streets Symposium (GASS)

The Great Asian Streets Symposium (GASS) was initiated in 2001 at the Department of Architecture, School of Design and Environment, National University of Singapore (NUS). In response to the long-standing and dire lack of truly Asian perspectives in the literature and research of Asian cities, GASS aimed to establish an Asian-rooted center of excellence to foster, both regionally and internationally, exchange and communication of ideas and studies within this field.

Over the past decade, GASS has successfully shared and integrated cutting-edge debates and discussions on many problems and challenges that confront Asian cities, such as traffic congestion, air pollution, social segregation, environmental degradation, and slum

proliferation. On this basis, the GASS community has also created a significant knowledge base, with exemplary policies and design practices that have effectively addressed these issues for resilient, sustainable, and liveable cities.

The first symposium, held on 18 and 19 January 2001, provided an engaging discussion platform for urban researchers and professionals committed to the study of streets and public spaces in Asia. In the following year, the 2nd GASS brought together an even greater number of participants with high-quality papers and cutting-edge discussion. By then, the Great Asian Streets Symposium had become popular as a veritable public space and forum for studies of Asian cities. Selected papers from the first and second symposiums were published as an edited volume.

The 3rd GASS took place in December 2004. The expanded theme was, “Street, Urban Space and Representation”. In this third gathering, the GASS hosted more than 100 participants from all over of the world, including both academics and practitioners, to share and exchange their works and ideas. While researchers and scholars presented a variety of historical, social, and morphological investigations into Asian streets and the associated manifestations of life, renowned practitioners focused on cutting-edge planning, urban design, and architecture practice of streets and public spaces in Asia.

The 4th GASS, held in December 2006, addressed a broader theme, “Reclaiming the City.” The focus was on reshaping the built environments, re-appropriating of public spaces in our cities, and regaining vitality of urban life. The 5th GASS took place in December 2008 at the usual location - Department of Architecture, National University of Singapore. This gathering proposed a provocative string of themes, “FUTURE | ASIAN | SPACE”, and was highly successful. It played an important role as a catalyst for constructive and creative thinking about Asian cities in the 21st century.

The 6th GASS, held in December 2014, themed “Asian Urban Places”, aimed to enhance the understanding of urbanity of Asian streets and public spaces. This sixth reunion aspired to investigate underlying urban transformation processes, discuss contemporary professional experiences and best practices, and explore future visions, design ideas, and planning strategies for Asian cities in a new era.

The 7th GASS, held in December 2016, themed "Crossroads: Asian streets in the dynamics of change", asked what roles streets could and should play to cope with the pressing challenges in the rapid and intense urbanisation process, which is imperative for achieving a sustainable urban future in Asia.

The 8th GASS, to be held in December 2018, with the theme "Emerging Civic Urbanisms / Designing for Social Impact" aims to bring together academics, practitioners and students from the three networks in Asia (Great Asian Streets Symposium), Pacific Rim (Pacific Rim Community Design Network) and the U.S. (Design Corps and SEED Network) to share multiple perspectives on Emerging Civic Urbanisms and Designing for Social Impact.

About Pacific Rim Community Design Network

The Pacific Rim Community Design Network was launched following a working conference at University of California, Berkeley in 1998. The purpose of the conference was to provide the practitioners and scholars working in the field of participatory design and planning across the Pacific Rim region with an opportunity to share and compare each other's experiences and advance their practice and research. Through subsequent conferences and joint projects, the network has provided a vehicle for collaboration and mutual support, as well as a forum for comparative understanding of community design in the fast changing political and social context of the Pacific Rim. Network members now span from Asia to North America, in countries including Canada, China, Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand.

For more information, visit <http://prcdnet.org/about-us/>

About Design Corps And The SEED Network

Design Corps was founded in 1991 with a mission to create positive change in traditionally underserved communities by using design, advocacy, and education to help them shape their environment and address their social, economic, and environmental challenges. Our mission is realized when people are involved in the decisions that shape their lives. Design Corps' programs, including the Social Economic Environmental Design (SEED) Network and SEED Evaluator, bring the skills sets of design and planning to empower communities. Established in 2005, the SEED Network provides a common standard to guide, evaluate and measure the social, economic, and environmental impact of design. SEED is premised on the belief that design can play a vital role in the most critical issues that face communities and individuals, in crisis and in every day challenges. To accomplish this, the SEED process guides professionals to work alongside locals who know their community and its needs. This practice of "trusting the local" is increasingly recognized as a highly effective way to sustain the health and longevity of a place or a community as it develops. Structures for Inclusion is an annual conference organized by Design Corps.

For more information, visit <https://designcorps.org> and <http://www.seednetwork.org>.

Symposium Themes

This international conference aims to bring together academics, practitioners and students from the three networks in Asia (**Great Asian Streets Symposium**), Pacific Rim (**Pacific Rim Community Design Network**) and the U.S. (**Design Corps and SEED Network**) to share multiple perspectives on Emerging *Civic Urbanisms* and *Designing for Social Impact*.

With rising awareness of the impacts of environmental degradation and growing social and economic polarisation, various forms of civic urbanisms are emerging around the world as an alternative to the growth-oriented and market-driven urban development of the past. This implies an awakened desire for a new paradigm in society based on more sustainable ways of life, which contributed to the increased interest in communal life and shared identities in localities, with greater emphasis on well-being, quality of life, social inclusion, environmental consciousness, and active participation of citizens in decision-making.

In a fast changing political and social context, this conference draws attention to the possibilities and challenges that we face while moving towards a more inclusive and sustainable future. It provides a timely platform for scholars, professionals and students interested in contemporary urbanisation and its future trajectories to question and reflect upon the ways we approach our built environment through various planning and design processes to inspire new visions of urbanism.

Main Theme

Emerging Civic Urbanisms / Designing for Social Impact

Sub-themes

1. Community building and engagement
2. Collaborative/citizen-driven placemaking
3. Environmental well-being
4. Grassroots advocacy and activism
5. Heritage conservation
6. Urban commons and sharing city

Keynote Speakers



Randolph T. Hester, Professor Emeritus, Department of Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning, University of California, Berkeley

Randolph T. Hester is a founder of the Participatory Design Movement in landscape architecture. He has created internationally acclaimed democratic landscapes in places as diverse as Raleigh and Manteo, North Carolina, Los Angeles, California, and Tainan and Chiayi Counties, Taiwan. He mobilizes grassroots efforts to collectively create places of cultural and biological diversity. His capacity to adopt hopeless causes, address environmental injustices and overcome seemingly insurmountable political obstacles through socio-ecological thinking and strategy is legendary. His first books, *Neighborhood Space* (1975), *Community Goal Setting* (1982) and *Community Design Primer* (1990) provide now classic participatory design techniques. *Design for Ecological Democracy* (2006) describes a visionary yet achievable future based on enabling, resilient and impelling form. Hester is Professor Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley and Director of the Center for Ecological Democracy in Durham, North Carolina.



John Liu, Chairman, Building and Planning Research Foundation, National Taiwan University

John K.C. Liu is the Chairman of Building and Planning Research Foundation at the National Taiwan University. He is a founding member of the Pacific Rim Community Design Network. Liu studied architecture at the Rhode Island School of Design, Cooper Union, and University of Washington, and obtained his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. His research interests include ecological design and planning, methods and theories of participatory design, and heritage conservation. Liu taught and researched at the National Taiwan University, Tsinghua University, University of California, Berkeley, Chung Yuan Christian University, and Pennsylvania State University. Liu received numerous awards, including Taipei Culture Award, Taiwan Architects Association Award, Asian American Architects and Engineers Association Award, State of California Affordable Housing Award, and Progressive Architecture Award. He was the Ong Siew May Visiting Professor at the National University of Singapore from 2016 to 2017, and a scholar-in-residence at the National Science Foundation, USA.

**Akiko Okabe, Professor, Department of Socio-cultural Environmental Studies,
University of Tokyo**



Akiko Okabe is an architect and Professor in environmental studies, architecture and urban policy at the Graduate School of Frontier Sciences, University of Tokyo. After graduating from the University of Tokyo, she practiced as an architect at Arata Isozaki & Associates in Barcelona, and in partnership with Masato Hori at Hori and Okabe. Okabe began teaching at Chiba University in 2004. Her books include *Further Concentration in Megacities* (2017; co-authored), *Barcelona: a Mediterranean City* (2010), *Sustainable Cities: Regional and Environmental Strategies at the European Level* (2003), *Sustainable Community under Depopulation* (2012; co-authored) and

Toward an Urban Renaissance: Cities as Common Social Capital (2003; co-authored).

Okabe's work on urban upgrading via stakeholder participation in Jakarta received the Regional Holcim Award 2014 and Architectural Institute of Japan's Architectural Education Award 2017.

Special Guests



**Bryan Bell, Executive Director / Co-Founder / Associate
Professor, Design Corps / SEED Network / Department of
Architecture, NC State University**

Bryan Bell founded the nonprofit organization Design Corps in 1991 with the mission to provide the benefits of design for the 98 percent without architects. His current work includes research on the field of public interest design and the SEED Network, which Bell cofounded.

His work has been supported by the American Institute of Architects (AIA) College of Fellows Latrobe Prize and through a Harvard Loeb Fellowship. Bell has published three books in the field, and he organizes the Public Interest Design Institute and the Structures for Inclusion conference series. He was awarded a National AIA Award and was a National Design Award finalist. His work has been exhibited at the Venice Biennale and the Smithsonian National Design Museum. Bell holds degrees from Princeton and Yale and is an associate professor in the School of Architecture at North Carolina State University.

14-16 December 2018



Sergio Palleroni, Director / Professor, Center for Public Interest Design / School of Architecture, Portland State University

Sergio Palleroni is a Professor and Director of the new Center for Public Interest Design at Portland State University (www.centerforpublicinterestdesign.org), and previously a Professor at the University of Texas, Austin, and the University of Washington for two decades, where he founded the Basic Initiative (www.basicinitiative.com), a multidisciplinary fieldwork program which each year challenges students from US and abroad to apply

their education in service of the problems facing marginalized communities throughout the world. He has worked on sustainable architecture and community design in the developing world since the 1980's both for not-for-profit agencies and governmental and international agencies such as UNESCO, World Bank, and among others the governments of Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, China, Taiwan, India, Kenya, Tunisia and Western Sahara. This work has received international recognition and is currently focused on investigating public interest design practices, and networking these practices into a global knowledge network.

Local Speakers



Seah Chee Huang, Director, DP Architects (DPA)

Seah Chee Huang is a firm believer that the power of architecture and design, can shape minds, touch hearts and inspire lives. He is one of the key drivers of DPA's design, research and innovation. As the president of the Singapore Institute of Architects and board member of Board of Architects Singapore, Chee Huang advocates quality and sustainable architectural profession. He partakes in the larger discourse of the built environment in numerous design advisory panels and committees for various agencies and institutions. Chee

Huang is also recognised as one of the emerging architects in URA's latest edition of 20 under 45. His notable projects include Singapore Sports Hub, Our Tampines Hub, Bukit Canberra in Sembawang and Punggol Regional Sports Centre, all people-centric, fully integrated community and sports hubs in Singapore. In addition, Chee Huang champions numerous corporate social responsibility initiatives such as Project Bus Stop, which re-imagines bus stops as meaningful social nodes; Goodlife! Makan, an inclusive elderly activity centre that empowers stay-alone seniors through food rituals; as well as a dynamic collaborative workplace for Youth Charity, Heartware Network.

14-16 December 2018



Mizah Rahman, Co-founder / Executive Director, Participate in Design (P!D)

Mizah Rahman is a designer and community organizer who is a strong advocate for a participatory and community-centric approach in the design and planning of cities and neighbourhoods. She is the Co-founder and Executive Director of Participate in Design (P!D), a non-profit design organisation that helps neighbourhoods and public institutions design community-owned spaces and solutions. She is also currently an Associate Lecturer at Ngee Ann Polytechnic, School of Design and Environment. Since the thesis for her Masters of Architecture at the National University of Singapore, Mizah's portfolio of participatory-based works has expanded to include neighbourhood planning, public space design, and community art installations; all of which realised in partnership with grassroots organisations, educational institutions, civic groups and government agencies. Her standing in the participatory design field has seen her being invited to present at various local and international platforms including the New Cities Summit 2017, Asian Pacific Urban Youth Assembly organized by UN-Habitat, TedXBondUniversity and World Architecture Festival. She was a finalist in the Makers of More Challenge by Ashoka Changemakers, in 2015 and is nominated as a World Cities Summit Young Leader in 2018. She also sits on the Executive Committee at Singapore Heritage Society from 2017-2019.



Tan Beng Kiang, Associate Professor, Department of Architecture, School of Design and Environment, National University of Singapore

Dr. Tan Beng Kiang holds a Doctoral degree from Harvard University, Master of Architecture from UCLA and Bachelor of Architecture (Honours) from National University of Singapore. She is a registered architect with rich experience in both the public and private sectors. She was the former Deputy Head of the Architecture Department, Year 4 leader and Leader of the Community and Housing Design Section. She served as a council member of the Singapore Institute of Architects and currently sits on various technical and advisory committees. She is a recipient of design and teaching awards including the 2018 Pacific Rim Award. As a strong advocate of participatory community design, she led community centric Design Studio projects in Singapore, Philippines, Cambodia, Indonesia and Thailand. Her teaching and research interests are in Participatory Community Design & Planning, Service Learning, Community Development, Design for Aging, Sustainable Housing and Learning Environments. She is an active conference speaker and reviewer. Her publications are in journals, books and conference proceedings.



**Cho Im Sik, Associate Professor, Department of Architecture,
School of Design and Environment, National University of
Singapore**

Dr. Cho Im Sik is Associate Professor and Deputy Head at the Department of Architecture, National University of Singapore where she serves as the Leader of Urbanism Research Cluster. Her research addresses the challenges and opportunities that Asian cities face with accelerating social change, focusing on the social dimension of sustainable development. Her research expertise lies in urban space planning for sustainable high-density environments and design for social sustainability involving community-based, participatory approaches. Her research on local neighbourhoods and communities was recognised as one of the High Impact Research in NUS and its research outcome was included in the Singapore Sustainability Blueprint 2015, reflected under the chapter of ‘an active and gracious community’ and thrust of ‘vibrant spaces for the community’, as an exemplary case that empowers the community to be involved in designing, maintaining and activating public spaces. Her books include *Re-framing Urban Space: Urban Design for Emerging Hybrid and High-Density Conditions* (2016, with Heng and Trivic) and *Community-based Urban Development: Evolving Urban Paradigms in Singapore and Seoul* (2017, with Križnik).

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Score: Considering a Score of Years of Democratic Design in the Pacific Rim, Anticipating the Next Twenty Years

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Abstract

A “score” is twenty of something. For the Democratic Designers in the Pacific Rim this year we celebrate one score of shared activist design. Considering “scores” in several different ways may help us understand our shared goals and the obstacles to achieving them. The insights of “scores” are integrated with thoughts about the next twenty years of participatory design. Eight scores illuminate the challenges facing democratic design: 1. Starting Point, score as a mark to start a race. 2. Tallying Advances, score as a way to account for actions. 3. Settling Grievances, score as in settling the score for past injury, scoring the efforts for environmental justice. 4. Organizing Creative Movements, score as a movement in dance, communal creativity to advance participation and an aesthetic of vitality. 5. Knowing the Score: Political Power, understanding how the world really works. 6. Knowing the Score: Science, relating ecological processes, theory and local knowledge to community design. 7. Knowing the Score: What Matters Most to People, approaches to applying deep values to design. 8. Knowing the Score: Hope Bringers, the distinctive role played by democratic designers.

Key words: community design, communal creativity, grassroots power, endemic design

Introduction

In traditional English a “score” is twenty of something. For the Democratic Designers in the Pacific Rim this year we celebrate one score of shared activist design. Twenty Years of exchanges around and across the Pacific Ocean.

“Score” is seldom used as a measure of time in my country except in the most urgent situations. A year after proclaiming slaves free and at a time when it was uncertain if the nation and that freedom would be forever lost, Abraham Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address as follows: “*Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought to this continent, a*

new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” It had taken over 80 years for the nation to acknowledge that this equality was only for landed white men. It took two more years for Congress to ratify the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery and then by the slimmest of margins.

This delay, in itself, is a lesson for those of us who do community design. The arc of the universe may bend towards justice, but the progress is painfully slow. Our shared experience over the past twenty years confirms that. Our core goals- community inclusiveness, environmental justice, cultural expression, collective creativity, informed civil discourse, democratic self-determination itself, and “Endemic Design”- all come at a disheartening and debilitating pace, over scores of years, never as one-offs, and at great cost to those who struggle for them.

Today I want to talk about “scores” in several ways that may help us understand our shared goals and the obstacles to achieving them, and offer thoughts about the next twenty years of participatory design. I see eight scores that illuminate the challenges facing democratic design: 1. Starting Point, 2. Tallying Advances, 3. Settling Grievances, 4. Organizing Creative Movements, Endemic Design, 5. Knowing the Score: Political Power, 6. Knowing the Score: Science, 7. Knowing the Score: What Matters Most to People, 8. Knowing the Score: Hope Bringers.

1.Starting Point. When a line is drawn in the earth, it is called a “score.” That score marks a starting point for a foot race, a territorial dispute, or a home base. In our case we marked the beginning of a participatory design collaboration 20 years ago. In 1998 John Liu was 54, Marcia McNally was 44, Masato Dohi was 36. Jeff Hou was 31. If we look ahead a score of years, John Liu will be 94, Marcia 84, Masato 76, Jeff 71. When will we score a new collaboration? Who will lead it? With whom?

With whom is key. As important as it was for a small group of designers to seek mutual support twenty years ago, I believe that to be effective we must both maintain our focus on the design of the built world and partner with those who seek institutional reformations at the largest scale like Human Rights Watch, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and the World Health Organization. This requires scaling up as Marcia McNally has articulated. She demonstrated this in creating the Big Wild greenbelt around Los Angeles and in her plan to create an Urban Wildlife Refuge along the Los Angeles River. To do the latter she created a regional vision and national partners, used local cultural attachments to birds as a lure and combined water quality and flood management as means to naturalize the concrete channel. Then she implemented the big vision in small neighborhood increments.

We do small well, national and united nations less well. We must attend to the local grassroots and the really big scale simultaneously. Resist the in-between scale of big urban design; designers always screw that up. We need big bigness and we need to break bigness

down. In my country groups like the Alliance for Democracy Justice Rising, Southern Poverty Law Center and Grace Communications Foundation provide the broad policy context in which we work at the local level on issues like Constitutional reform, hate crime and food security. Partnering with such groups for short courses can offer benefits for both us and them. We “learn the score” beyond our expertise; they get honest ground-tested feedback and emotion-filled cases that advance their interests.

2.Tallying Advances. Another definition of a “score” is a way to keep a tally, as in a sporting event, the health of various democracies, the amount of poverty or CO2 emissions. The score indicates accountability, a means to rate how we are doing. A score is an indication of quality, of progress towards goals, a measure of advances and retreats. John Liu has discussed many of the important advances that have come from our collaboration: exchanging participatory approaches, respecting oppositional world views, honest debate, inspiration, insights into our own cultures, friendship and support. His conclusion that community design consists, most fundamentally, as culture+ empathy+ story-telling inspires action and provokes reflection. I am personally grateful for the communities that formed across the Pacific to save a spoonbill bird, tens of thousands of fishermen’s jobs, associated cultures and ecosystems from extinction, and forging the most important friendships of my life. I value colleagues who transformed privacy into unselfish civil society in Japan and those who acknowledged the homeless in Kamagasaki when everyone else kept them out of sight, out of mind; Marcia and I carry on your work today in Durham, North Carolina. We have redesigned a small urban garden to prevent private interests from taking over a public space in the heart of downtown for their outdoor restaurant. They hoped to expel undesirables; our design accommodates the homeless and near homeless as well as other users. It is the most democratic place in Durham. We appreciate the inspiration from Masato Dohi and Tamesuke Nagahashi. I value the effort to make a book of techniques, *Design as Democracy*, which none of us could have done alone.

In all these we are the counter-culture, resisting dominant forces. Our work, when worth doing, is the “exception,” out of the ordinary. It is not mainstream. In the next twenty years we must never conform. We must never accept local, national or global idiocy. We must disobey unjust laws and practices. We must be courageous extremists, willing to pay a high price for ecological democracies the world over. Dr. King noted that we are all extremists; the only question is what kind of extremists will we be.

3.Settling Grievances. The American idiom “to settle a score” came into common use centuries ago. The duel with loaded pistols is the most mythical form of settling a score. It is a colorful and often deadly phrase meaning, most literally, to get even with someone who did you wrong in the past. In that sense it is a pay back. But it also means to avenge a previous

injury, to rectify and to make equal. The Civil Rights movement transformed Thomas Jefferson's promise that all men were created equal into a near reality, best symbolized in the memorial for Martin Luther King, Jr., promissory note in hand, facing Jefferson across the water.

For community designers much of our work is settling old scores: making invisible injustices visible, creating justice where there was injustice, transforming design against people into design with people, making places where the marginalized feel welcome, resurrecting cultural traditions lost to modernization, encouraging pride in "primitive" sustainable practices, empowering the powerless, cultivating the voices of voiceless ecosystems and people, enhancing biological and cultural diversity. And doing these through meaningful collaborative design.

As one example of the difficulties we face, we are losing diversity at a disastrous rate. There are about six thousand spoken languages worldwide at present. By 2100 there will only be three thousand. By this measure in less than a hundred years (5 score years) the world will be only half as culturally diverse as it is today. Loss of biological diversity is more alarming. Singapore leads the way in extinctions of species. On average over the past 500 years less than one species went extinct each year; now 50,000 species likely go extinct each year. Over the next twenty years a million species are likely to go extinct.

Most of these catastrophes are caused by the design of our habitation. As one example, Songdo New City is heralded as a model of sustainability; but, it is built entirely on a wetland, filled and destroying much of the tidal flat essential for seafood as well as endangered migratory and endemic species. All of these grievances will increase in the next twenty years. Each implicates design. Who will challenge them? Who will implement alternative design futures that maintain or increase biological and cultural diversity, champion cultural difference, change power imbalances, make more inclusive civic settings, create environmental justices? Can all these grievances be settled by compromise or do some require a dual?

4.Organizing Creative Movements. In music a movement is labeled a "score." In the 1960s (three score years ago) Larry Halprin borrowed the idea of a dance score from his wife and applied it to landscape architecture, spelling out the method in *RSVP Cycles, Creative Processes in the Human Environment*. Just as dancers follow a pattern of individual movements to perform a previously unknown work, Halprin orchestrated a design process that he called collective creativity to design unique landscapes. At the same time Karl Linn developed a process focused on environmental justice that he called communal creativity. Both methods stressed participation as the score for not only resisting top-down design from the dominant culture but also to evolve more humane environments. Both challenged global trends that emphasize formal and static corporate design. Both replaced a formal aesthetic

with a vitality of design not seen in developed countries since the rise of international modernism.

Using the central idea of archetypal architectural patterns developed by Chris Alexander in his 1977 book *A Pattern Language*, democratic designers in our group began to search for and apply distinctive everyday life patterns as an unselfconscious score, made up of idiosyncratic, not universal movements. Our search produced an approach different from those above. It should be called “Endemic Design,” and we should claim it as a result of our past twenty-year collaboration. In this regard, the work of Fuchang Tsai informs us. He draws inspiration from the shape of the past to create a sustainable future based on the uniqueness of a place and culture. The way his community has transformed abandoned salt fields into an ecosystem supporting his endangered village and species is remarkably creative. It combines high technology with ancient worship into a seamless whole. His community is what it is and is becoming what it is capable of being.

I think as a group the Democratic Designers in the Pacific Rim is driven by an affection, in some cases a passion, for community, searching for and creating designs that are particular, possibly peculiar and confined, to a people and landscape. The projects I am working on, The Shorty Lawson Museum of the Black Tenant Farmer at Hesters Store, North Carolina and Black Wall Street Garden, Durham, North Carolina share this with Fuchang’s work in Shin Tsen Town. We are making “Endemic Design.” In ecology an endemic species is one that only lives in that region; it is landscape restrained. In social terms endemic refers to characteristics prevalent, distinctive or unique to a people in a region. This may include distinctive language, economy, customs, worldview, myths, beliefs, patterns of interaction or land use, architecture and attachments to the landscape. I now speculate that the local pattern language explicates an endemic gestalt. I called it the sacred structure, but I now think that at the heart of this lies “Endemic Design.” Capturing both the ecological and social endemic qualities as a single phenomenon expresses the essence of a place, makes intuitive sense and touches peoples’ hearts, and, thereby creates meaningful design. It is a way for people to become native to their future.

Scores of “Endemic Design” like Fuchang’s will be ever more important in creating distinct landscapes that fit diverse life patterns, cultures and ecosystems. What innovations must be sought now and in the next twenty years to make these scored approaches more forceful in debunking formal global design? Who will provide the insight and next generation of design with unique vitality? Who will champion sustainable and uplifting forms of habitation?

5.Knowing the Score: Political Power. Another idiom that might inform the next twenty years of activist design is “to know the score.” Knowing the score is to understand how life really is, how the world really works. Knowing the score empowers one to never be delusional, never misled by “Fake News” or campaign promises that are too good to be true.

If one knows the score, effort is not wasted just wishing; the community, assisted by the designer, dreams, studies the facts, plans and takes effective political action.

Community designers are often unable or unwilling to challenge big powers; they content themselves with minor annoyances of abusive authorities. Many of us are naïve optimists, unable to grasp the full extent of corporate control over our built environment. Once that is acknowledged, the designer can move on to develop strategies that maximize the power unique to the grassroots: numbers, disruption, boycott, local wisdom, homefield advantage and moral high ground, among others.

If any of us wanted to learn effective political intervention from top down to bottom up over the last twenty years, we needed only to follow Hsia Chu Joe and John Liu as they went about their daily task of oppositional empowerment. I learned from them how critical it is to understand the motives, powers and weaknesses of the various brokers. As they articulated these, I learned to draw them. Making power maps resulted from our collaboration. One lesson is that democratic designers must make power maps as a means to effective strategies. Some of their techniques are included in our book *Design as Democracy* in the chapter on putting power to good use. I learned from John and Hsia as we worked to save the jobs of fishermen and the endangered Platalea minor from extinction. This is a story we often tell, so it need not be belabored here. But, please excuse us; we cannot resist the memory of our effort.

Over the last twenty years we have often been reminded of the bottom line in our community design efforts to reform societies: “The price of Democracy is eternal vigilance.” To us the emphasis is on the vigilance we must extend continuously, refurbishing the democracy with active attention and participation every day. But the greatest challenge in the next decades will be from those who only attend to the price of democracy. They ask, “How much? I’ll buy it.”

As global ecosystems collapse at an accelerating pace, concentrated power will be ever more coveted by those hungry for certain profit, and societies wishing for mere security will be complicit in the concentration of authoritarian government. To counter these trends will require that democratic designers know the complex political score that is incomprehensible to us old timers. Who will provide the insights and courage of strategists like Hsia and Liu? I worry that most young community designers are conflict averse, unable or unwilling to risk the costs of confrontation. If you can not risk the costs of confrontation, you can never reap the plentiful benefits, and you will unwittingly contribute to forces that consume and destroy everything that you cherish.

6.Knowing the Score: Science and Native Wisdom. Twenty years ago our work was largely a search for participatory justice informed by social factors implemented in small built works that expressed particular cultural values. Most of us attended to people, not ecosystems. We

could simply ask,” What do you want?” The community would tell us most of what we needed to know. Well, it was never that simple, but it was far less complex than today. As an example, Marcia McNally is a leader in Durham’s Coalition for Affordable Housing. She realized that the legal and financial complexities were beyond her group and suggested an “Affordable Housing College” in which community leaders and the general public partner for short sessions to learn the intricacies of housing for all, resulting in informed local policy changes and multiple 60% AMI and lower housing developments, among many other nuanced policy changes and projects.

Justice remains a focus, but increasingly justice, as well as survival, must be contested in an ecological framework. And democratic designers must know the score about the theoretical natural sciences and the design implications of conservation biology and ecosystem function. We must understand the way data can be twisted to deny that global warming is human induced. We must know basic strategies for accommodating climate change and coastal metamorphosis and retreat. We must know the score to distinguish green washing from greening, conflicts of greens from symbioses. Yekang Ko and Hsiao-Wen Wang are leading an effort to develop methods to maximize the ecological integrity of endangered ecosystems while accommodating other sustainable land uses. They know the score about the conflict of greens.

We must know how to do basic field science, work with field and theoretical scientists as well as citizen scientists and witches. We must understand that ecological principles are so abstract as to turn people off. These principles are key to survival. So, what to do? Most people enter the world of ecology and inhabit it first through experiencing nature. Providing early childhood access to nature in everyday life, then, is the means to ecological action. Equally important we must know where to find the experts we need, the questions to ask, the persistence to keep asking the essential questions, the capacity to make spatial and territorial the science of spatially illiterate experts, and the ability to make informed plans with a soul from multitudes of conflicting, often mutually exclusive, even paradoxical, scientific sources. The combination of the theoretical knowledge about spoonbill habitat of IUNC expert Malcom Coulter and the native wisdom of Uncle Gao Ong serves as a model. Only when theory and field observation were integrated did an accurate map of critical habitat emerge. That combination helped save the spoonbill from an extinction vortex. It led to an alternative plan with ecological and cultural soul.

To create a soul requires getting to the essence of a thing, capturing a gestalt that endures. This requires making ecological science our friend not merely a limitation. Quite honestly, I worry about the capacity of most participatory designers to know the ecological score or to dig deep enough to garner a meaningful gestalt that combines culture and ecology in creative, sustainable ways.

7. Knowing the Score: What Matters Most to People. Participatory designers have unusual professional capabilities to understand what matters most to people. Participatory processes were and are invented with a primary intent to articulate what communities want and need. Kinship with social sciences, ethnography, values and action research has strengthened our skills in this. We know that some values are thin, superficially held and externally motivated. Other values are thick, deeply held. Helping communities sort the differences between thick and thin values is increasingly important in an effort to avoid harmful status-seeking design and to express fundamental values in design.

The deepest values cluster around four human wishes articulated by W. I. Thomas, for 1. security, 2. new experience, 3. reciprocal response and 4. belonging. Often subconsciously held, these wishes, when captured in the design of a place, manifest as sacred places. In the case of Jiading City, identifying the most cherished places empowered Jiading Youth to advocate a sustainable plan built around the sacred cultural and environmental forces that made their community unique. The design touches people's hearts, stirs meaningful, actualized lives and the settings for an active, empathic, even loving, democracy.

In the struggle to reclaim the most sanctified landscape in all of the Hawaiian Kingdom, native people are challenging the continued desecration of their Gods embedded in the mountain Mauna Kea that has been overtaken by the astronomy industrial complex. Aided by State agencies the astronomy industry has illegally taken over the sacred origin of Native Hawaiians. To reclaim the mountain for religious purpose they created a map that illustrates the double-denial sacredness underlying their culture; the dominant culture continues to discount native claims based on intentionally inaccurate official maps of culturally important sites. In one recent precedent-setting case, the Hawaiian Courts ruled in favor of the native claims to the mountain of their ancestral origins, but several weeks ago the Hawaii Supreme Court legitimized the construction of the next telescopes, ignoring Native claims to the sacred mountain.

I believe that helping communities reclaim and express their deepest values is what many of us presently strive to achieve as participatory designers and what we will strive to achieve in the future. A question that haunts me is what research and methods are most essential in advancing our capacity to work with communities to create and inhabit the sacred in everyday life. Who will do this work through design that changes not only visionary programs but also how the world is built?

8. Knowing the Score: Hope Bringer. People want the freedom to collectively create their futures. The desire cannot be repressed. Participatory design nurtures it. Jeff Hou nurtures it in Seattle. Most of you nurture it throughout our shared Pacific Rim. As one measure of the nurturance, there are 50 more democratic governments in the world today than there were in 1990. Flawed democracies still count as democracies. We get meaning from making the

places we inhabit, even in flawed democracies, especially ones that free us from Martial Law and become beacons of unbridle joy.

Colleagues often ask if I am despairing over the politics of my democracy. Yes and no. Yes, there are terrible distractions from matters of great concern; we have to resist the President daily. No, the work I do at the grassroots goes on in spite of everything, bringing hope. The opposition is organized with vigorous youth who continue to tilt the arc of the world towards goodness.

Even when it seems the world will explode with hatefulness or collapse from greed, community designers bring hope, not wishful thinking but built works of hope. We bring hope and make good on it. Above all else democratic designers are practical-minded Hope Bringers. To the desperate, marginalized, unrecognized, and abused we bring hope. Through the work we do, the participation we encourage, the places we help create we bring hope. Through the banishing of environmental inequities we bring hope. Through the expression of distinctive cultural traditions with modern-day utility we bring hope. Through new economies grounded in skills that local people have we bring hope. Through design that welcomes all people we bring hope. Ecodemo, Kokodemo, Asakodemo. Ecological democracy takes root, sprouts and blooms here and there. We bring hope and make good on it by helping communities control the places they cherish, and transforming the places we embrace with them.

Results and Conclusions

So, what exactly do we need to do in the next twenty years? I suggest the following Eight Actions to Guide Designers in the Next Score of Years:

1. Scale up our partnerships to enhance our capacity to design the grassroots.
2. Take pride in being counter to dominant cultures, and gladly suffer the consequences.
3. Make cultural and biological diversity our life's work.
4. Advance "Endemic Design."
5. Challenge big power fearlessly by mastering negotiation, advocacy and disobedience.
6. Integrate theory, science and native wisdom as one.
7. Inhabit the sacred in our everyday lives, and design places that allow others to do so.
8. Bring hope through participatory processes; deliver hope through the built environment.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the organizers of the Conference for prompting John Liu and me to reconsider the work of the Democratic Designers in the Pacific Rim over the last twenty years and to speculate about the next twenty years of community design.

Collaborative Community Design: Lessons in Participation

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Abstract

During the past twenty years, under the auspice of the Pacific Rim Community Design Network, one of the enduring practices in community design is the collaborations that were forged across disciplines and across cultures. One example of this kind of collaboration is between Randy Hester at U.C. Berkeley and me at National Taiwan University. Collaboration takes many forms. Successive generations of students from both institutions worked jointly on complex environmental and social issues. Individually we acted as consultants to each other on teaching methods, on research strategies, and on nuances in the practice of planning and design. In particular, through debate and argumentation, we focused on understanding the deep meanings of participation, including fairness, equity, justice and democracy. At the second conference of the PRCDN 1999, I presented two case studies to show that local communities possess knowledge and wisdom to solve problems creatively, and that the designer's main role is to assist in uncovering and strengthening the local knowledge, thereby empowering communities. With each practical experience, whether jointly or individually, we have incrementally learned a bit more about participation in community design. Today in 2018, to summarize what we have learned and what we should pay attention to, I would like to share three thoughts: One, when we address a community, we need to get close to the Culture of the Community; Two, in order to know the culture, we need to develop Empathy as a method in various forms; Three, a key ingredient of empathy is Storytelling. These three aspects form the basic core of participatory community design.

Keywords: Local Wisdom, Culture of the Community, Empathy, Storytelling

In 1998, a small group of us got together in Berkeley to share our experiences in community design. We agreed then that we would meet periodically and try to involve more and more people in this conversation. Today's gathering is a testament to this effort and I congratulate the conference organizers. I do miss a few old people who are not here with us, especially Prof. Endoh, whom I met at our second conference in Tokyo, 1999. Each day, after we had finished serious discussions, he would take us to his favorite bar and there we all became great friends.

At this second conference, I talked about the “**local wisdom**” of communities. I presented two cases in Taiwan. The first one is a small fishing village called Dong-Kang where the elderly residents, without any help from “designers”, built one of the most pleasing and comfortable places that I have ever experienced. This village is situated at the mouth of a river as it goes out to sea. Along the river, a dike protects the village from yearly floods. The dike offered a spectacular view of the mountains, river and the ocean. On the dike, people liked to spend hot summer afternoons catching the ocean breeze, however its barren surface did not provide any shade. Elders got together and decided to plant banyan trees in two rows along the dike. Families in the village adopted individual seedlings and engaged in a friendly competition to nurture the trees to maturity. More than ten years later, when the trees were grown, each family then used old fishing nets to make hammocks and hung them between the trees. This tree-lined rows of hammocks on the dike became one of the most celebrated local place-making in Taiwan. The quality of this particular setting is both physical and social. It is an unmistakable expression of an active, healthy and self-reliant cultural process that was alive and well. To me, this social capacity demonstrated that an ordinary community possesses the knowledge and skills to solve problems in creative ways.

The second case is a commissioned design of a theater for local performing groups. This project occurred at about the same time that we first became aware of the Dong Kang dike, where its process made a great impression on us. While acknowledging the difference in content and complexity of the two cases, we thought the design of the theater could also be based on the “local wisdom” of the theater groups who would be the users of the theater. Here is an example of how the theater entrance was designed. By involving local theater groups in the design process, we learned of a particular form of a processional performance where actors and the audience slowly moves through the neighborhood to gather more and more audience. The procession would eventually arrive at a stage set up for the final show, most often at a temple square. Through participatory **storytelling**, the group envisioned the new theater to have a large open entrance where a processional performance would come through into the main stage bringing all the people with it. This spatial scenario was refined and developed into

a physical form, which, together with a three-sided thrust stage, became the first theater in Taiwan that actively responded to the needs of traditional cultural practice.

I considered the first case of the dike as a vernacular process where no “professional designer” was involved and the second case of the theater as a “designer-led” process seeking to learn from the vernacular. In analyzing these two cases, several issues were addressed including the differences in participants, in the temporal aspects of engagement, and in the differential focus on function and form, etc. I concluded my presentation by suggesting that in every living community there is a reservoir of **“local wisdom”**, though its strength may vary from one community to another. Simply I was making the point that ordinary people in ordinary communities are smarter than we give them credit for, that if the conditions were right, they can pretty much solve their own problems and in their own ways.

After I made this presentation, my dear friend Randy Hester challenged me on the point of what he called “native wisdom”. In his view, the example of the dike is an exception to the rule. Much more prevalent is the rapid decline of the environment and the disintegration of communities brought on by ignorance and selfishness. When I heard this, I was rather upset and we got ourselves into a heated debate. Now in our younger years, we were both rather adamant about our own views and neither was calm enough to listen to the rationale of the other. The debate was a stalemate, as you might guess, but what followed was noteworthy. We agreed to invite Mark Francis, also a dear friend and long-time practitioner of community design, to comment on my presentation. Well, he began by saying that my paper was “an excellent summary of community creativity in a vernacular process”, but then went on to tear my analysis apart. At one point, he even said that my discussion was “gibberish”, which is an American way of saying “nonsense”, a pretty harsh criticism! By the end, though, he came around and suggested that our positions are more of a continuum where local knowledge and professional expertise interact, and they reinforce each other to form what he called a “blended wisdom”.

This debate, along with its tense moments, actually helped to solidify our mutual respect and improved our communication. It impelled Randy and I to pursue in earnest several issues of concern to us: the relationships between the designer and the community, the different layers of local knowledge, and how we see the world from each other’s point of view. So, during the following year we began a correspondence focused on clarifying our agreements and our differences. This correspondence was presented as a joint paper at the next conference on the island of Matzu in Taiwan. We agreed on the importance of respecting the subjectivity of the community and that the community possesses knowledge of the local environment beyond what professional designers could know. At the same time, we as designers have knowledge

in resolving complex problems beyond the means of individual communities. We have continued this conversation all these years while maintaining some differences in the methods of engagement. This has been a very important learning experience for me.

At the same time, our group at NTU was involved in an environmental protection movement in Tainan County initiated by local fishermen to oppose a petro-chemical project. Due to its potential environmental and social devastations, and especially being alerted to the plight of the Black-faced Spoonbills, Randy and his team from U.C. Berkeley began to collaborate with us on finding multi-faceted solutions to increase the bird population, to restore the coastal wetland ecology, and to transform the local economy. Collaboration among professionals as well as local fishing communities, activists, and progressive politicians was key to sustaining a decade-long international effort. Today the cross-boundary collaboration is continuing and has expanded many fold to include Japan, Korea, China, and Southeast Asia. Locally it has expanded to the south of Taiwan meeting new challenges of conservation and development. Deeper in the local communities of Tainan and Chiayi, a new generation of audacious and innovative residents, activists and planners are making long-term commitments to reversing the destruction of the environment. Sustaining this process of participatory planning across generations, across cultural boundaries, and across disciplinary boundaries have been critical learning experiences. We gained new appreciations for what it means to take time in a local community.

In the first decade of the new millennium, two other issues of pressing concern were historical preservation of significant cultural sites and indigenous community development. An urban informal settlement called Treasure Hill and the Lesheng Leprosarium both faced destruction and displacement to make way for new urban developments. Both of these cases exemplify the deep conflicts between the housing needs of the elderly and the intrinsic historical values of the physical object. Main stream professional discourse was, in the words of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, “an easy victim to the charitable deceptions of nostalgia” for the object. The reality, to the residents, is that housing rights is the primary concern. Keeping the people in place rather than displacing them was clearly the best and most meaningful way to the preservation of historical sites. Yet this simple logic did not find common ground.

In 2006, at the 4th GASS (Great Asian Streets Symposium) entitled “Reclaiming the City”, I spoke about these debates on historic preservation and urban development then taking place in Taiwan, and argued for a balanced consideration of the social and the physical. Today, twelve years later, this basic common ground continues to be elusive. Many challenges to meaningful participation by the stakeholders remain.

Communicating with the indigenous peoples was at times frustrating, lacking knowledge and trust, but at other critical moments exhilarating when the power of mutual understanding takes command in producing unexpected but extraordinary results. On Orchid Island (Ponso-no-Dawo), at the Sun-Moon Lake Ita-Thao tribe, through the vast territory of the Dayan people, amidst urban Amis settlements, and most recently with the Rukai tribe at Kochapogan Rinari, again and again we had to rethink our own values and preconceptions. In one instance in the Rukai tribe, due to forced relocations to new settlements, the use of fake landscape elements was considered just as meaningful and sacred as the real, unconcerned with authenticity. In another instance, men of the tribe initiated and voluntarily built a weaving house for the exclusive use of women, showing care and respect otherwise buried in the memories of ancestors. With the Dayan tribe, detailed stories of land cultivation through a local knowledge system of the Gaga, is now officially incorporated into the national land planning regulations.

So, what have I learned about participation in community design from these experiences? Reflecting on the past, refining on what we are engaged in now, and approaching the future with a new sense of urgency, I would just share a few thoughts with you:

- 1) In every community, whether rich or poor, urban or rural, healthy or frail, there is a deeply rooted way of life which we call the **culture of the community**. This culture is the framework through which a continuous transmission of local knowledge is exercised. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz speaks of “**experience-near**” as a way of getting close to the culture of a community. An alive and healthy culture mediates conflicting values and creates new values by absorbing foreign and diverse ingredients. Even a community that is outwardly in decline nonetheless possesses deep knowledge of its culture, which remains to be rediscovered and rejuvenated. Confidence in and respect for the **Culture of the Community** is fundamental.
- 2) To get close to a community and to engage the community, an essential step is the practice of **Empathy**. Of course, this is easier said than done. How do you know someone to an extent that you may represent this person? And conversely, how does someone know you to the extent that he or she can trust you? The ancient Chinese sage Zhuang-tzu captured the essence of empathy by observing the happiness of the fish in a stream, resulting in a famous debate with his best friend on how does one know the happiness of the other. In community design, one of the first things to do is to reserve our own values, respect the wholeness of the other, and then listen patiently. Only then will we get closer to the community.
- 3) **Storytelling** is the most straight-forward and effective way of getting close to and of involving all members of the community. Storytelling is a temporal art that brings the past to the present, and from the present to the future. It allows easy and natural communication among old and young, men and women, long-time residents with

newcomers. More significantly, storytelling can be effective in reaching common ground on clarifying collective problems, in developing preferred scenarios, and formulating joint solutions. A feature of good stories is that the teller is never tired of telling, and the listener is never tired of listening. **Repetition and redundancy** in storytelling are crucial features of community participation. Jane Jacobs observed with great insight, “a rigorous local culture depends on the natural redundancies in the community”. The source of problems and the seeds of solutions all reside in the strength of collective storytelling.

Culture of the community is the wholeness of the local milieu within which the designer and the community come together, forming the basis of just and equitable participation. **Empathy** is the everyday practice of reciprocity and mutual understanding. **Storytelling** is the natural beginning of identifying problems and points the way towards solutions, which become the basis of new stories. As designers, together with the community, through this participatory process, we look forward to a resurgence of community creativity and a flourishing of local environments. I believe this is our challenge and mandate, to be part of the social movement to build healthy and whole communities.

Acknowledgements

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A Critical View on Social Design in Japan

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Abstract

The role of architects has turned drastically towards being more ‘social’ after March 11, 2011 the great earthquake. Social design is booming in Japan, and unexpectedly has become a growing business chance for private advertising agencies. However, hasn’t social design emerged from the premise that the public interest is against the private? Through discussing public space beyond the western urban theory, a critical view on social design movements in Japan will be given.

Keywords: social design, public space, disaster, community, Japan

Social design is quite common in Japan. Architects think that the social justification of their works is indispensable. However, this is rather a new trend. The role of architects has changed drastically towards being more “social” after March 11, 2011 the great earthquake (Arch+Aid 2016). Architects have become aware that working in favor of the private interest of their clients would not necessarily contribute towards a better society. Japanese architects are now more conscious of their social responsibility. However, it is too optimistic to think that the public interest is respected more than before.

Privatization of public spaces

Recently, the privatization and commercialization of public spaces, through deepening neoliberal trend, have been severely criticized in European cities (Muñoz 2008). For instance, Las Ramblas of Barcelona had been an attractive public space where citizens could gather and see each other by chance till around 1980s. Now it is invaded by tourists and local citizens are scarcely found there. The stands along the street are selling souvenirs and a cup of coffee is too expensive on a daily basis. The right to the city is threatened (Harvey 2012).

On the other hand, in Tokyo, spectacular huge redevelopment projects are in progress in urban nodes such as Shibuya and Shinjuku (Ishigure 2014; Shibuya Redevelopment website).

Private initiatives are leading the projects and the whole district has turned as if a monstrous

shopping mall. You are obliged to consume, spend money on shopping, drinking or eating, if you wish to enjoy and feel comfortable there. Curiously there is a scarce criticism against commercialization of public spaces. Moreover, they are appreciated as good practices of public-private partnership.

This paper, through discussing the notion of public, common and private beyond the western urban theory, explores why Japanese people welcome the private oriented upgrading urban spaces rather than striving for the right to the city (Okabe 2017b). Furthermore, it attempts to reveal the hidden threats of pretended social design in Japan.

Public, common and private

Public space is generally translated into Japanese *kokyo-kukan* (公共空間). Ko(公) means ‘public’ and kukan (空間) means ‘space’. Then, what is kyo (共)? It means ‘common’. The precise meaning of *kokyo-kukan* (公共空間) is public-common space, and not public space. Japanese cities haven’t had symbolic squares or main streets such as European cities (Okabe 2017a). The traditional urban fabric of Japanese neighborhoods is characterized by a network of narrow alleys (Sand 2013). They are common spaces for neighbors rather than public spaces. They are regarded as public-common spaces.

H. Arendt discusses the private realm, the public realm, and society (Arendt 1958). She says that “A man who lived only a private life ... was not permitted to enter the public realm” [Fig1]. Here, we can observe the clear contrast between the public and the private. She argues, “the rise of society brought about the simultaneous decline of the public as well as private realm”. She uses the word ‘society’ in a very peculiar way. Arendt’s ‘society’ has a negative notion and is close to “the common realm” [Fig2].

If we apply Arendt’s framework of public, private and social (common) realms to Japanese cities, they have been the common realm in the first place. Although the notion of public and private was imported with the modernization of Japan, it has remained very weak and the common realm continues prevailing. In Japan, the public is synonymous of governmental or official. Hence, it is quite natural that there is no civic movement to reclaim the public realm.

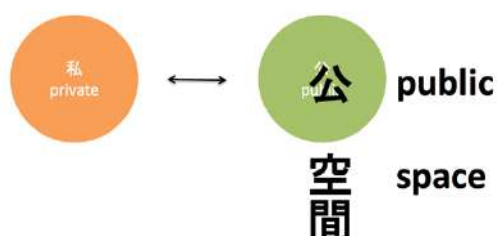


Figure 1. The private and public realm

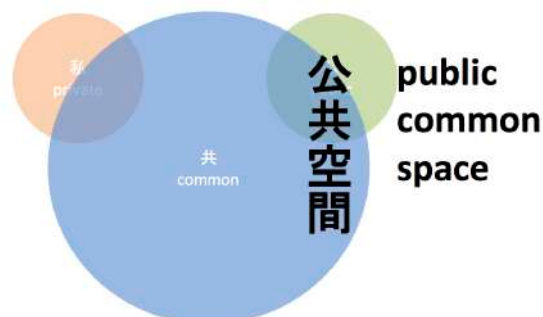


Figure 2. The rise of the common realm

The rise of social design in Japan

The 2011 event was not the first disaster we have lived. We had a great earthquake that damaged the big metropolis of Osaka in 1995. Shigeru Ban was the only architect who reacted quickly. The temporary shelters of pulp tubes and cases of beer bottles were designed and provided to the affected populations. But many architects felt powerless and frustrated. The earthquake of 2011 has been the chance to revenge.

The most outstanding figure of social design would be Ryo Yamazaki. When we say ‘design’, we usually imagine some designed tangible products. On the other hand, Yamazaki supports intangible design or design without materialized products and he advocates ‘community design’. He is well known by the regeneration project of a remote island suffering from depopulation and aging. He succeeded in attracting young people by promoting “the island that has nothing special”. When the great earthquake of 2011 occurred, he was just preparing the book titled “Community Design” to be published (Yamazaki 2011). After the earthquake, everyone became conscious of the importance of the community and he suddenly became a charismatic figure of community design.

Social design, pretended?

Social design is considered as giving a solution to social problems by design. A materialized designed space must be also strategically social. Social design is booming in Japan. And now, advertising agencies are expanding their business to social design. They have found an attractive market in it. They are coordinating social design projects for the reconstruction of areas affected by disasters and regeneration of remote rural aging and shrinking areas (issue+design project 2011; Namikawa 2012). Social design is now a measure to make revenues for private companies. They are working as a profitable business on social design projects. But, didn’t social design emerge on the basis of the premise that the private interest can be against the public interest? Social design is quite compatible with ‘disaster capitalism’ that N. Klein affirms (Klein 2007).

As I argued with the help of H. Arendt, in Japan, and also in Asian countries with similar socio-cultural backgrounds, public interest, if it is not the government’s interest, is public-common interest. It can be reinterpreted as ‘interest for all’ including the private interest. Corporate private interest, through social design projects, promoting sympathy among all Japanese, sharing pains with disaster victims can be easily disguised as interest for all, or public interest. We have to be aware of symptoms of totalitarianism that exclude or ignore the options unfavorable to the market. It can be called commercial totalitarianism under the proliferation of neoliberalism.

Social design is not always in conflict with commercial market activities but it should be a strategical complement of them.

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Culture-led Regeneration and the Production of Value in Rural Land

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Abstract

The territorial transformation of urbanizing China has involved not only the extensive acquisition of rural land but also the remaking of large numbers of rural communities through urban renewal and redevelopment projects. Those villages situated in urbanized areas have been particularly caught up in networks of global and local capital. Through both top-down state planning and bottom-up agency by village actors, many formerly rural communities occupying prime land in the city have been transformed into commercial and residential neighbourhoods while reaping significant gains in rental revenues in the process. In particular, the culture-led regeneration of villages has been deployed as a key strategy in enhancing the production and extraction of value from rural land. Such projects, however, have not been uncontroversial. The ambiguity of property rights relations both between state and village and within village communities has been a hotspot of contention.

This paper takes as its case study the regeneration of a village situated in the urban fringe of Shenzhen in southern China. As a result of both state policies and village initiatives, Dafen has evolved into a hub for artists and workers engaged in the production of oil painting reproductions as well as creative artwork. The arts-led regeneration of the village has nonetheless brought new tensions between state, villagers, artists and business tenants over the distribution of value generated from the commodification of rural land. Drawing on interviews, field observations and primary sources, this paper analyzes the politics of regeneration from the perspective of land commodification and property rights. It highlights the tension between the logics of claims and entitlements as expressed by different groups of actors, sheds light on state-society dynamics and the fraught processes of policy-making, and evaluates the implications for institutional innovation and village adaptation at the rural-urban grassroots.

Keywords: China, urban villages, regeneration, culture-led redevelopment, state-society relations

The Perception of Satisfaction on Living Spaces of Residents in

Vertical Residential: A Mixed Method Analysis

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Abstract

Dwellings, such as residential condominiums, affect the behavior of their residents and immediate surroundings. Because of typical design practices, these high-rise residences have the tendency to contribute to the disintegration of social interaction. Condominium hallways and lobbies are non-conducive to leisure time with others, while building layouts are meant for residents to park their cars and proceed to their units in the shortest and simplest way possible. Despite these failures in design, projected unit turn-over trends and the shortage in buildable land area dictate that high-rise housing estates are inevitable solutions to rapid urbanization and the need for housing. This study first determined the perception of satisfaction among condominium residents in Metro Manila through surveys and questionnaires, making use of the Buckner neighborhood cohesion index. Data gathered showed that places of interaction and gathering places are not proven adequate in creating a sense of community amongst residents in the current condominium setups as Filipinos, in general, do not interact frequently in the building, but they do feel positive towards their neighbors. Furthermore, respondents favor physical nodes or places of interaction where they can associate themselves with their neighbors. Once common issues and concerns, as well as perceptions of satisfaction, among residents of condominiums had been identified, the study proposed simple and practical guidelines to promote dynamic and vigorous social interaction within the residence and its immediate neighborhood. Promoting a sense of community, together with a level of safety and security, are integral to the success of high-rise dwellings.

Keywords: Vertical communities, sense of community, perception of satisfaction

Introduction

Oswald & Wahl (2005; citing Flade, 1993; Lawrence, 1987; and Rapoport, 1995) state that dwellings or living spaces are physical units so defined to provide residents shelter and protection for domestic activities and to separate private from public domains.

Certain definitions of “home” have been widely acknowledged, such as Sommerville’s which states that the home is “physically, psychologically, and socially constructed in both ‘real’ and ‘ideal’ forms” (1997, p. 226). A home can also be defined as an “extension of the self through places” (Fuhrer & Kaiser, 1992, p.105). These definitions imply that proper living spaces address more than physical needs, as they are also manifestations of subjective evaluations, goals, values, emotions, and observable or potential behaviors that people pursue (Oswald & Wahl, 2005).

As such, living spaces must reflect the personal and individual needs of its occupants through opportunities that promote their direct connectivity and participation. Failure to provide these opportunities leads to the non-gratification of physiological needs and safety and security needs (Zavei & Jusan, 2010). McCray and Day (1977; as cited by Zavei & Jusan, 2010) investigated this in a study of the relationship of housing to certain values, aspirations, and satisfactions based on Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (1970). Results showed that urban public housing units can only provide for physiological needs of their residents due to deficiencies in environmental factors (i.e. location, community services, and social aspects), which adversely affect the satisfaction of higher level or psychological needs (i.e. intimacy, love, sense of belonging, and freedom).

Unfortunately, trends in the modern era—such as globalization, rapid rate of urbanization, population growth, lack of resources, and technological achievements—caused a continuation of this non-satisfaction, leading to decision makers focusing on more economic motives in housing design (Gang Meng & Hall, 2006; as cited by Zavei & Jusan, 2010). Specifically, limitations in buildable land resources changed city growth patterns from outward horizontal spread to vertical growth despite the failures of the tower block schemes in the 1960s and the historical perspective developers have for tall buildings as only appropriate for offices.

In the Philippines, the growth of the wage-earning class, the increase in internal mobility (Robinsons & Goodman, 1996), the emergence of young professionals from the Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) industry, and the growth of the Overseas Filipino Workers’ (OFW) purchasing power have been greatly contributing to the number of condominium units due for turn-over in five major central business districts in Metro Manila. With more Filipinos leaning toward condominium living, perceptions with regard housing are being redefined;

families living in these high-rise residential structures have adapted to the setup, developing new behaviors in interpersonal communication, sense of community, and risk perception (Dela Cruz, 2014).

Dela Cruz (2014) further states that residents in vertical living show indifference to their neighbors and a generally low sense of community. Individualization or privatization promoted by condominium living weakens this attachment, as well as the individual's sense of responsibility to society (Utekhin, 2007; as cited by Zavei & Jusan, 2010). According to the theory of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), a sense of ownership and belongingness aids in reinforcing safety and security measures, as well as property maintenance. Thus, even if developers provide social spaces and state-of-the-art safety and security devices, residents can still become dissatisfied unless humanistic values in housing are linked to the design of these high-rise residential structures.

Shelter, house, and home

Several studies in the housing field indicate that houses are built to accommodate different levels of expectations. Banham (2007) and Oliver (2006a) suggest that residential spaces can be classified into three levels, namely shelter, house, and home. Unlike a house, a home is much more than a physical structure (Oliver, 2006a; Bachelord, 1994). Shelters are provided to protect people, whereas the creation of a home represents deep social structures. It is important to note that the distinctions are not trivial, sentimental, or romantic, but fundamental.

According to Oliver (2006a), "house" is a decorative concept, which is a "small dwelling" describing the physical structure of the building, whereas "home" is connotative of the deep structures of a social system and how these are reflected in the family's relationships to the domestic space it occupies.

Bachelord (1994) posited that there are personal factors affecting the establishment of a home, namely intimacy, daydreams, imagination, and memories. According to him, a house is a "large cradle" that is a human being's first world. In support to this notion, Shulz (1985) has suggested that a dwelling functions as a place to meet others for the exchange of products, ideas, feelings, coming to an agreement with others, accepting a set of common values, and also being oneself.

Filipino space

Incorporating or re-incorporating humanistic values into vertical housing designs is especially necessary in the Philippines where the concept of *kapwa* (Filipino for neighbor or fellow) is a main core value of Filipino psychology (De Guia, 2005). In the past, Filipinos have exhibited a strong sense of community, epitomized by the practice of *bayanihan*, wherein neighbors worked together to carry on their backs and transfer a community member's *bahay kubo* (hut) from one place to another.

However, rapid urbanization in today's overcrowded environment—which created an illusion of mass production and casual disposal—has distorted this value, so much so that the Filipino society can no longer distinguish between internal and external realities. A common line of thinking in this day and age would be “The space outside my house does not belong to me; therefore, I can dump my trash out there. Outside, the stuff is not my responsibility anymore.”

Apart from the need for vertical communities to encourage the *kapwa* value and the sense of community, high-rise residential designs must also take into consideration the Filipino use of space, which Cristobal (2010) specifically describes in the following passage:

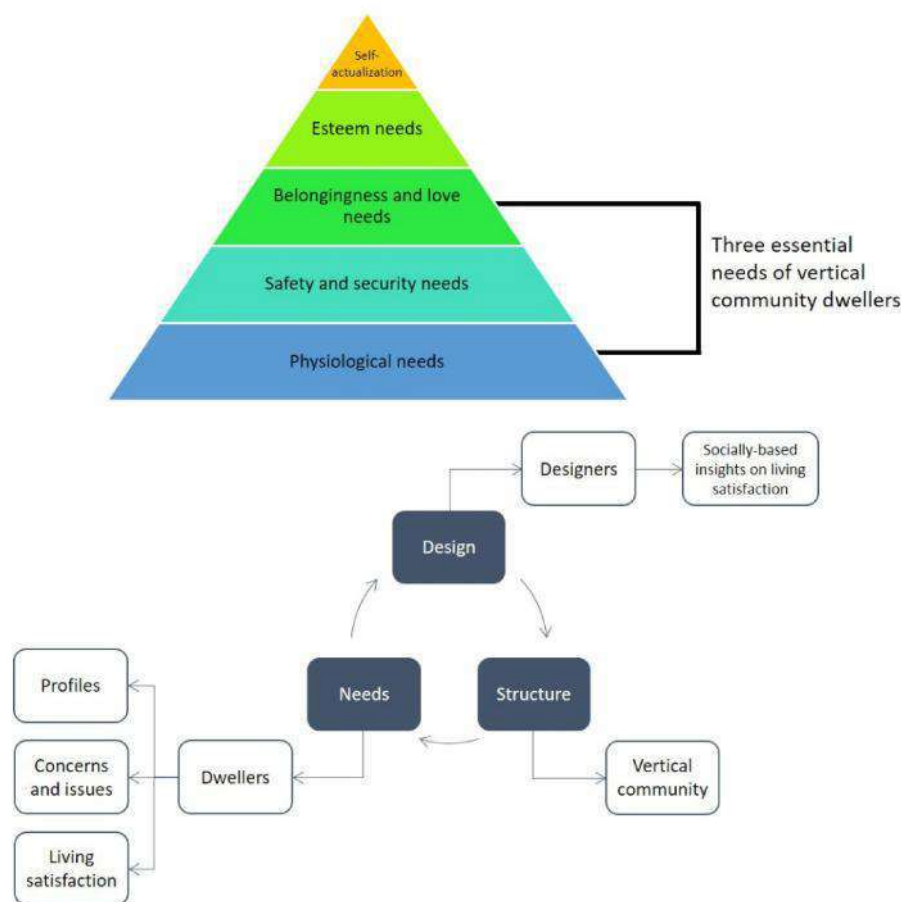
“The traditional spatial use patterns seen in the architecture and daily use of traditional Filipino home, the *bahay kubo*, reflects a distinctly Filipino pattern of understanding space and time. There is flexibility in spaces used by Filipinos. The adaptability and flexibility of the Filipino people translate this into the spaces they inhabit.”

Needs-based design framework

To organize and carry out urban design and planning actions, the study constructed a Needs-Based Design (NBD) framework (Figure 1) using the Framework for Strategic Sustainable Development (FSSD) (Robèrt et al. 2002; Robèrt 2000) and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1970).

The FSSD is a framework of strategic in complex systems that applies back-casting from sustainability principles to help guide society towards sustainability, while the Hierarchy of Needs identifies the levels of needs (physiological, safety, belongingness and love, esteem, and self-actualization) and theorizes them as the origin of every humanistic issue.

Figure 1. The study's Needs-Based Design conceptual framework.



The study's NBD will not have a complete agenda of the items that should be part and parcel of a favorable or profitable project. Rather, it highlights why a particular frame of mind, forms, and methods have a better potential for helping designers achieve success and includes who should participate in the endeavor to maximize efforts.

For this study, the success of the project will rely on three factors, (a) Design, (b) Structure and (c) Needs, which are interdependent. Thus, the failure of one will mean the failure of the project. In terms of Design, socially based insights on living satisfaction are taken into account, while Structure will be the vertical community itself. Lastly, the Needs factor is arguably the most pivotal of the three as it addresses the needs of the actual end-users. The dwellers profiles, concerns and issues, and living satisfaction must be taken into consideration.

If the Design, Structure and Needs factors are addressed, then the three most essential needs of vertical community dwellers will be satisfied: physiological needs (i.e. shelter), safety and security needs, and belongingness and love needs.

Results

A survey of 100 condominium dwellers from 25 condominiums around Metro Manila was conducted to identify the issues faced in their respective vertical residence, users' perceptions towards condominium living, and users' preferences for better high-rise housing.

Socio-economic and demographic results from the sample showed that majority of the respondents are married (69%) with a good professional career (62%) and are working in various industries around the metro. Although there is a substantial number of individuals who have declined to declare their income (33%), there are still respondents who declared that they are earning more than 250 thousand (17%), 100-200 thousand (15%) and less than 50 thousand Pesos (15%) respectively. Most of these respondents have household sizes between 3 to 4 members (34%) and are living in a 2-bedroom condo (42%).

Respondents' condo units had average sizes between 35-44 sq. m. (36%) and are located within the City of Manila (34%). Most of the respondents live between the 10th to 19th floor (38%), and most have been living in their condos for the past one to two years (34%). Lastly, majority of the respondents are still renting their condo spaces (59%).

Figure 2 presents the condominium identifiers/preference of the respondents, with the following surfacing as top factors: (1) safety and security, (2) proximity to work, space/school/markets, (3) density or number of residents, (4) presence of study area lounge, and (5) design of gate or entrance.

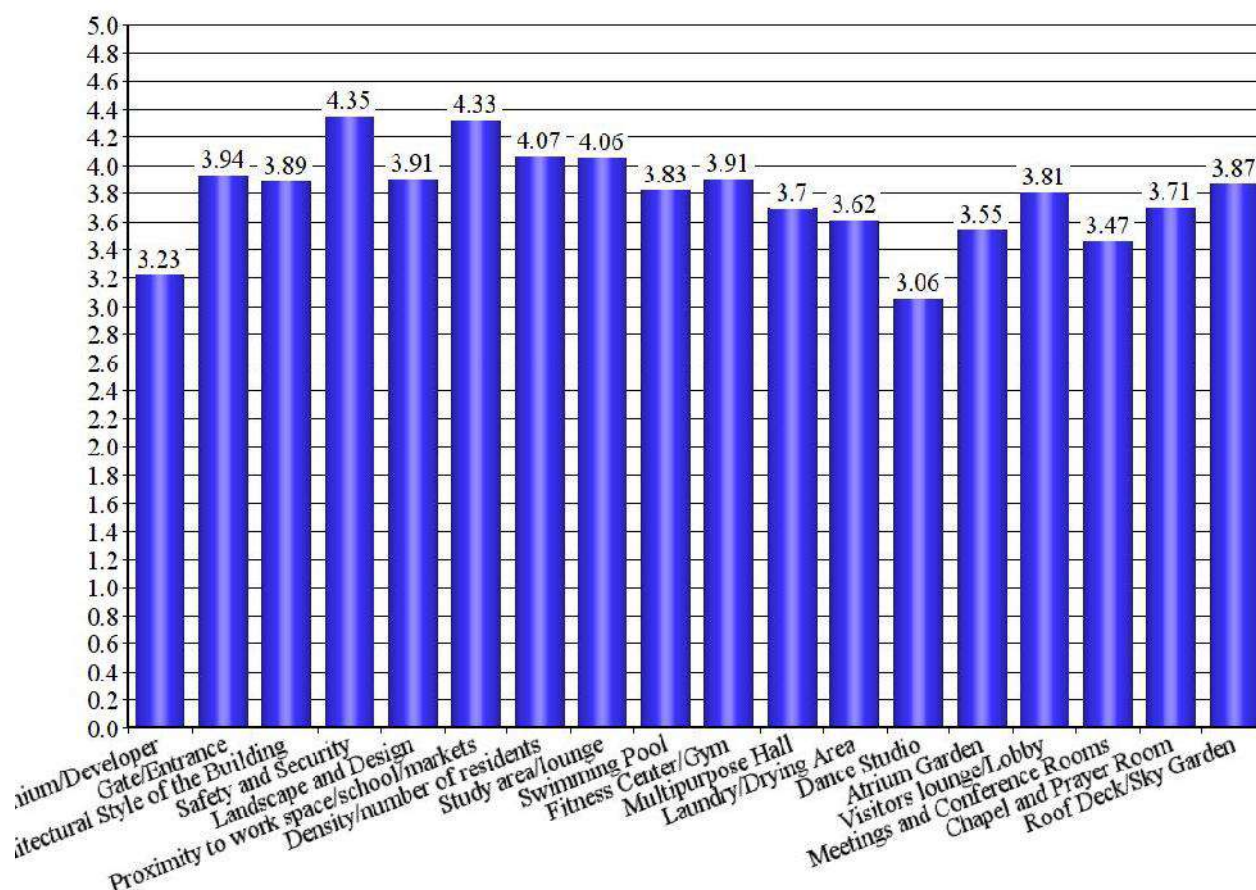


Figure 2. Condominium neighborhood identifiers / preferences.

As seen in the figure, respondents prefer condominiums because of the safety and security that they provide to the tenants. Personnel do not allow anyone to enter the property without the tenants' permission and make sure that no untoward incidents like theft occur, while CCTV cameras and roving guards are seen around the property. These respondents would pay extra in order for them to have that layer of security while living in their condo space.

In another aspect, the respondents decided on their condo space because of the proximity of their places of work, schools, and other business establishments. Although buyers can acquire a property like a townhouse or a house-and-lot in the same price as a regular condo unit, most of these properties are far from the respondents' place of work, which would cause them to commute. Respondents would rather put savings from their travel to work or school on the amortization of a condo that is mere walking distance away from where they conduct their business or study.

Also, the number of people living in a particular floor is important to the respondents. For them, more people mean more noise, more people using and waiting for the elevator, and more people using the other limited condo facilities.

Asked about their overall satisfaction in their respective communities, surveyed condo dwellers gave the following ratings:

Table 1. Overall satisfaction in the condominium community.

	Mean	Interpretation
Condominium Living Satisfaction	2.9	Acceptable
Amenities /Facilities Satisfaction	3.21	Acceptable
Belief that Amenities that contribute to sense of community	2.89	Acceptable

Despite the “acceptable” rating given for users’ belief that amenities contribute to a sense of community, most of the respondents stated that they “do not know anyone” (43%) in their condo and most hardly know their neighbors. In addition, majority of respondents hardly communicate with their neighbors (54%), as seen in Figures 2 and 3 below.

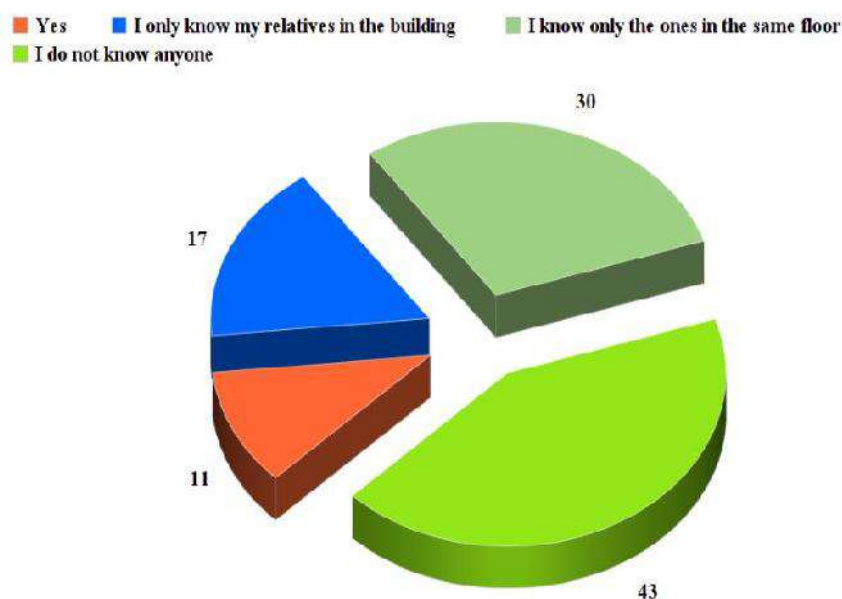


Figure 2. Knowledge of fellow residents in the condominium.

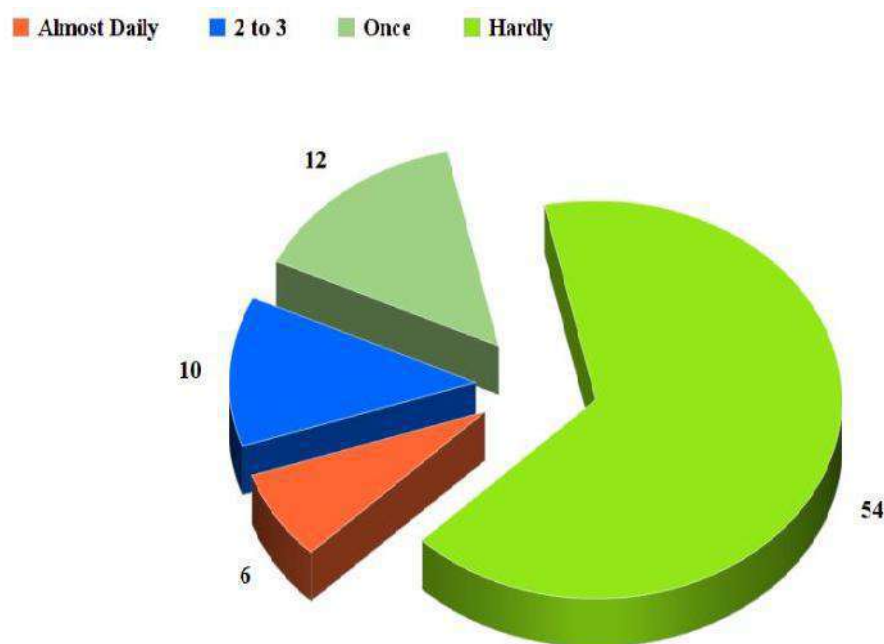


Figure 3. Frequency of communication with fellow residents in the condominium.

In a condominium set up, users invest on living spaces for the sense of privacy. It is quite natural for tenants to hardly know each other because of their work, privacy issues, and the like. Although many advertisements of these condominiums boost the “sense of interactive community” in their living space, a great number of these tenants are still more of a stranger to their neighbors and shy away from talking to each other.

Apart from the sense of privacy, many individuals also take into account the amenities, affordability of the space, location, security, and other such factors. Above all, buyers consider whether or not they would be happy or satisfied living in such a space. Although each condo tenant is allocated a specific room space on each floor of the building, one still has to go out and use the amenities and interact with their neighbors.

When it comes to sense of community, respondents gave the following ratings:

Table 2. Sense of community of respondents based on the Buckner neighborhood cohesion index.

	Mean	Interpretation
Attraction to neighborhood	4.48	Agree
Neighboring	3.88	Agree
Psychological Sense of Community	4.24	Agree

For the respondents, the chance to live in a place where there is little invasion of their privacy has been a “plus factor” in finding a condominium. What they sacrifice, however, is the sense of belongingness within their high-rise residence.

Trends and current lifestyles have caused negative psychological effects. The need for mobility has caused “placelessness” or a lack of place attachment (Tall, 2007; Fullilove, 2004; Norberg-Schulz, 1988), while individualization or privatization has caused a decrease in attachment to community and a weakening sense of responsibility to society (Utekhin, 2007).

Designers are challenged to devise spaces that can truly encourage this sense of community wherein most of the tenants interact, have good relationships, and have support for each other.

Design recommendations

For the condominium’s immediate surroundings, the study recommends the following:

- (1) Favoring the human scale / right scale
Promote visual interest and break the monotony by introducing a variety of building heights, massing and composition.
- (2) Localize the building / development
The new building must blend with its immediate surrounding in terms of architectural style. Design must be in context with the surrounding structures as designers should also be concerned with the design of areas immediately outside their assigned structures.
- (3) A development of multi-uses
 - a) Provide a third or fourth place of human life, such as a café or general stores.
These places are places where users can relax and escape their homes.
 - b) Produce places of activities where the equipment or facilities are clustered around.
Arrange these spaces so that people are compelled to go through them because of their design.
 - c) Allow the external community, through the introduction of mixed-use development, to access the open space on the ground level, but only if the safety and security of the residents are not compromised. The design of the ground level and its immediate surrounding areas will play a role in achieving this.
 - d) Prevent creating facades or exteriors that promote exclusivity. Provide different levels of visual interests and activities while still promoting security.

(4) Mobility / Walkability

Design secured and safe areas where residents are encouraged to walk around public spaces of activities and nodes of interest.

(5) Open Spaces for Private and Public Residents

Equip open spaces to lure the residents of the building and the community to engage in social interaction.

Meanwhile, for the condominium building itself, the study recommends the following:

(1) Quality of Common Locations & Accessories

Provide nodes of interaction at various degrees to promote communal spaces at different scale levels and incite the sense of belonging and sense of community at many dimensions.

a) Large-scale Neighborhood Space

Parks, plazas, monuments, abandoned spaces where amount of interaction will be maximized

b) Medium-scale Neighborhood Space

Green areas, in between spaces of units, intersection of walkways which will allow a greater amount of interaction



Figure 4. A pocket garden along a condominium hallway.

Figure from <http://atdmcihomes.com/tag/the-amaryllis/>

c) Small-scale Neighborhood Space

Open spaces of each unit to limited interaction, but still provide certain amounts of privacy.

(2) Public—Semi-Private—Private Space Arrangement

Furnish a gentle passage from the public to the semi-private to the private dwelling through the creative use of in-between zones and introduction of innovative features.

(3) Design of Building Entryway Areas

- a) Cluster the entryways of buildings to increase the possibility of more interactions. Locate them where they are connected to intersections of activities.
- b) Entryways must be clearly identified and oriented properly, having natural access to and from the dwelling.

(4) Design of Unit Entrance and Corridors

- a) Cluster the dwelling entrances on the same floor to promote more interactions. Corridors must be functional to promote nodes of activities.
- b) Discourage the presence of long and straight corridors. Include visual interest and promote social interaction like an outdoor seating area.

(5) The Connection of Public Space with the Units

The adjacency and visibility connection between units and public areas must be carefully taken into consideration.

- a) Private areas must remain private from public view. The view from the outside must be kept to a minimum for privacy issue.
- b) Unit dwellers must have the ability to see the public spaces to promote neighborhood surveillance.
- c) The ocular capacities must be maximized in the resident's unit.
- d) The introduction of proven architectural and urban design elements, such as building fenestrations, must be encouraged in the buildings to control visual sightlines between units and the public spaces.

(6) Clustering of Units

Filipinos prefer small-group centeredness, so clustering of units into smaller group is acceptable. This will be a welcomed break from the typical long and linear corridor design.

(7) Private Open Spaces

- a) A private open space within a unit is encouraged to provide option for the resident's need for privacy.

- b) This private open space must be multi-functional to the numerous activities, needs and desires of the residents.



Figure 5. Condominium balcony.

Figure from [https://s-media-cache-](https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/f7/83/70/f78370a4a2430c5b68f14f5ca552d428.jpg)

[ak0.pinimg.com/736x/f7/83/70/f78370a4a2430c5b68f14f5ca552d428.jpg](https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/f7/83/70/f78370a4a2430c5b68f14f5ca552d428.jpg)

Conclusions

The rapid development of vertical residential communities necessary to meet the demands of the changing times resulted in insufficient regard for the psychological needs of its tenants. Though these homeowners are the condominium's primary end users, they are often left out in the design process, which lowers the satisfaction they feel from living in these high-rise buildings. This is particularly alarming in the Filipino society as the culture's perception of space and community rely on the *kapwa* mentality.

The significant differences among the elements and characteristics of a shelter, a house, and a home was used to determine the indices of living satisfaction in vertical residences. As mentioned, these distinctions are not trivial, sentimental, or romantic, but fundamental, as the design of residential spaces and the involvement of its end users in this design process affect the way they are perceived. Further, the characteristics of a traditional home can be applied to vertical residences as they go beyond physical designs to satisfy more than the basic needs.

Meanwhile, by surveying homeowners from different condominiums in Metro Manila, the study was able to identify the major concerns these residents have in their respective vertical communities. Determining details such as the residents' relationships with their neighbors, their priorities in choosing condominiums, and their perception towards the social spaces in

their condominiums allow for an examination of common issues these users have encountered.

The resulting guidelines and recommendations seek to prioritize these end-users in the design process, instead of quick ROIs, as commonly practiced in this specific line of work. With multiple trends favoring the continuous use of condominiums, these guidelines are necessary to promote a better sense of satisfaction for tenants as the proper design of physical spaces that encourage community interaction within the condominiums will allow for the satisfaction of needs for shelter, paving the way for the satisfaction of higher-level needs such as the sense of belongingness. Not only will this be beneficial to the individual tenants, but also to the vertical community as a whole, as they are now more able to form ties with one another, preventing indifference especially when it comes to each other's safety and security.

Lastly, the study's literature review and survey results reveal that convenience is still prioritized above other important factors in choosing to live in condominiums. Although data from respondents show a generally acceptable rating in overall perception of living satisfaction, the common issues and concerns still point to large areas for improvement, especially to promote a sense of community and belongingness necessary in neighborhoods, whether in horizontal or vertical development. Therefore, design should consider beyond the satisfaction of basic needs and be also concerned with the satisfaction of higher-level needs for the wellbeing of users. The study concludes that condominiums, which are at the cusp of 21st century living, must be consciously designed to this end so as to tend well to the needs of the modern homeowner.

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Investigating Learning from Community Engaged Practices in the University

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Abstract

Community engagement is the bedrock of community design and planning. It has been argued that to promote sustainable development, and social equity, we need to challenge the growth oriented neo-liberal development policies of the late 20th and early 21st century. This necessitates an understanding of the design process that is democratic and predicated on community input, knowledge sharing and recognition of the expertise and power of local organizations, institutions and people.

Community based studios and community engaged projects are the primary vehicle through which students in architecture/landscape architecture/physical planning are introduced to democratic design practice. In the US, most academic (design/planning) programs have incorporated community based-design into their curriculum, usually in studios. There is an implicit assumption that the inclusion of such an experience translates into students valuing the advantages of community-based practice. Is this really the case?

We explore the learning potential of community engaged projects through critically evaluating two classes at Penn State. The first was undertaken with the Student Farm Initiative (SFI) at Penn State (Fall 2015). The SFI requested assistance to figure out the attitudes of different constituencies (faculty, community residents, farmers in the region) with respect to the student farm at Penn State. The second case involved working with students in an urban Philadelphia school with a high proportion of students from refugee families (Fall 2017). The school wanted assistance with the planning for a community school garden.

We first describe each case study. We then include reflection from students and the Instructor on the learning as well as challenges that occurred in the class. We conclude by discussing

lessons learned, that were collaboratively developed by the Instructor and students.

Key words: democratic design, community engaged design, student/faculty learning, evaluation

Introduction

Community engagement is the bedrock of community design and planning. It has been argued that in order to promote sustainable development, and social equity, we need to challenge the growth oriented neo-liberal development policies of the late 20th and early 21st century. This necessitates an understanding of the design process that is democratic and predicated on community input, knowledge sharing and recognition of the expertise and power of local organizations, institutions and people (Angotti, Doble, & Horrigan, 2011; Bose, Horrigan, Doble, & Shipp, 2014).

Community based studios and community engaged projects are the primary vehicle through which students in architecture/landscape architecture/physical planning are introduced to democratic design practice. In the US, most academic (design/planning) programs have incorporated community based-design into their curriculum, usually in studios. There is an implicit assumption that the inclusion of such an experience translates into students valuing the advantages of community-based practice. Is this really the case? This is the topic of this paper.

Study Approach

We explore the learning potential of community engaged projects through critically evaluating two classes delivered in the Landscape Architecture department at Penn State. The first was undertaken with the Student Farm Initiative (SFI) at Penn State (Fall 2015). The SFI is an initiative of the Penn State Student Farm, a grass-roots student organization that wanted to establish a student farm at the University. The Director of the SFI approached the Instructor, requesting assistance with figuring out the potential of a specific site for establishing the farm, as well as finding out what different constituencies (faculty, students, farmers in the region) would desire from a student farm at Penn State. The second case (Fall 2017, Spring 2018) involved working with students in a Philadelphia school to help them plan for a community school garden. This urban school, called the Martin Academy in this paper¹ has a high proportion of students from refugee families does not have any green space within its premises. The school wanted to explore the different ways in which a community school garden could provide opportunities for experiential learning in the curriculum, provide a means for involving parents in school related activities, and explore issues related to food justice from the perspective of students' and their families.

¹ This is a pseudonym that we use in this paper.

We first describe each case study, including the objectives and the way the class unfolded. We then include reflection from students and the Instructor on the learning and challenges experienced in the class. The students use their class experience to structure their reflection. The Instructor reflection is based on the Instructor's experience in the classes as well as review of student reflective journals produced as part of class activities. We conclude with a discussion on lessons learned, that were collaboratively developed by the Instructor and students involved in the classes.

Description of Cases

Larch 424/510 is a seminar on community-engaged design/planning offered in the Fall semester. It is an upper level undergraduate and graduate course open to students from all departments at Penn State. This seminar is predicated on the worldview that institutions of higher learning have a responsibility to contribute to the neighborhoods and regions in which they are located through engagement in issues of social, economic and environmental justice. The seminar provides students with the theoretical and methodological tools to work with (not merely for) communities through a community-based project.

The seminar aims to fulfill four primary goals:

- 1) help students understand the theory and methods of community engaged design/planning;
- 2) allow students to apply class content to a real-world problem through interaction with community stakeholders;
- 3) enable students to identify the larger social structures within which their individual projects are embedded; and
- 4) broaden the career choices of students beyond traditional design/planning practice to civically engaged design/planning.

We now describe the two specific cases being examined in this study.

Fall 2015: The Student Farm Initiative

For Fall 2015, the Instructor partnered with the Student Farm Initiative (SFI) at Penn State to develop the community-based project that was the core of this seminar. During Fall 2015, the SFI was "a new initiative to develop a Penn State Food Systems minor and Student-Centered Farm" with the intent to serve as "a nexus for experiential learning about sustainability challenges and solutions in food and agriculture".² The Larch 424/510 seminar facilitated outreach efforts to residents neighboring the proposed Penn State student farm site, faculty at Penn State, and the farm community in Centre County regarding the proposed student farm.

² <https://sites.psu.edu/studentfarm/about/>

The class consisted of 12 students with representation from Landscape Architecture, Architecture, Geography, and Nutrition. Amongst the 12 students, 5 were graduate students, and the remaining 7 were undergraduate students.

Through class readings and in-class discussions students acquired an understanding of the theories and methods of community design/planning and about the community food system in which their project was embedded. Students learned to navigate Penn State's Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements for research, and to conduct interviews (with faculty at Penn State and farmers in the Center County region of PA), develop and administer a survey (for residents of the neighborhood surrounding the proposed student farm site), write a cogent report based on interviews and survey results, and communicate their findings to an academic audience and stakeholders. A tangible product from this course is a report summarizing the outreach efforts to the residents of the community neighboring the proposed student farm site, Penn State faculty and farmers in Centre County. The hope was that the findings and recommendations contained in this report would be used by the SFI as it moved forward towards realizing the goal of establishing a permanent student farm on the Penn State campus.

Fall 2017: Martin Academy Community School Garden

For Fall 2017, the Instructor set up a project with Martin Academy in Philadelphia to help them plan for a school community garden. Martin Academy has a high percentage of students from refugee families (speaking several languages), and the community school garden was conceptualized to not only contribute to experiential and academic learning, but also serve as a means to encourage interaction with student families. The Penn State students (or Penn State Team) worked with the HS students of a particular Environmental Studies class, and a student club run by a local activist organization (working on food security/sovereignty issues in Philadelphia and Camden) at the High School. The Instructor was helped by the Director of the Penn State Engagement Center at Philadelphia in establishing contact and managing the project. This class consisted of 5 students – all from Landscape Architecture. With the exception of one undergraduate exchange student, all others were from the graduate MSLA program. It is also interesting to note that all the students were international students (representing: China, Brazil, Canada, and Australia)

In this iteration of the seminar, in addition to learning about community engaged design/planning (theories and methods); the students learned about Philadelphia (especially its urban core), the school system in the city, the food system, the community garden movement, and issues related to working with refugee youth. We also had the opportunity to meet with participatory action research scholar and activist Caitlin Cahill who helped us

formulate our workshop strategies. During Fall 2017, the class visited the Martin Academy HS thrice and organized and led three workshops. Between the workshops, zoom meetings were held to communicate with the students and move the project forward. Through this series of workshops and zoom meetings, the Penn State Team helped the HS students develop a survey to solicit feedback from the school regarding ideas for the community garden. The Penn State Team agreed to continue working on the project through Spring 2018 as an Independent Study class. The survey was deployed in early 2018, and results collated and shared in April 2018. The students also created a Design Process Book to help the HS students plan and execute a participatory collaborative process of planning for the community garden.

Learning and Challenges in Community Engaged Courses: Student Voices

This section is organized into two parts to allow each student or student group to reflect on the learning and challenges that occurred in the community engaged seminar. Lara Nagle begins with reflecting on her experience in Fall 2015; followed by Olivia Shotyk, Paula Nader and Jiayao Tang reflecting collectively on their Fall 2017/Spring 2018 course.

Fall 2015: The Student Farm Initiative

From the start, the professor involved us in the submission of the IRB, and guided ethical discussion exploring the rights of interview participants and confidentiality of interview and survey findings. We also considered the quality and moral implications of various community engagement and participation approaches, including Arnstein's classic Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969) as well as more recent design primers and literature on program evaluation for community engagement projects. Laying this groundwork set an important tone about the responsibility of the student as a steward of information beyond her own learning, while also realistically framing possible limits to what could be accomplished by our class.

Along Pretty's typology of participation (Cornwall, 2008, pg. 272), we achieved *participation by consultation* through our community-based interview process³. Interview participants answered prescribed semi-structured questions based on the client's interests, i.e. how would the Student Farm Initiative (the client within the university) collaborate or compete with local area farmers? As a member of the Student Farm Initiative at the time, I was conducting a form of action research to help the Initiative and its members design a student farm program that would complement existing local foods activity and agricultural education in the region. However, our findings were not binding in that the client would not have to comply with the recommendations derived from the course study. This condition made me uncomfortable

³ I was part of the group tasked with interviewing farmers in the Centre County region.

throughout the process, as I genuinely sought suggestions from local farmers despite knowing not all suggestions would align with the goals of the student farm. Furthermore, as a student representative of the university, I felt torn by the town-gown animosity reflected in some interview participant attitudes, though it seemed far above my status or jurisdiction to significantly impact this relationship. In reality, the client (the Student Farm Initiative) was also facing challenges in establishing legitimacy within the university at that time, so I empathized with community perceptions of the university, even if oversimplified.

As students engaged in designing and implementing a community-based research project, we exercised greater autonomy within the curricular space. Our personal engagement ranged from *functional* to *interactive participation* in that at most we conducted joint analysis within our working groups and with the professor, enjoyed some freedom to define the research questions, select our study sample, and make final recommendations based on the findings. Yet the project was pre-determined by external actors with a clear institutional agenda, whether by the leadership of the Student Farm Initiative seeking community input or by the professor of the course in meeting learning objectives. I would argue that this project structure was not inherently a limitation for novice researchers and professionals-in-training, as it provided a sense of intention, logistical support, and theoretical guidance to pursue our research questions.

In fact, the pedagogic expectations of students varied by discipline and age, where some students preferred what Freire has called a “banking education” approach (Horton et al., 1990), which I found at odds with the engagement-based course structure. The passive student operates at a lower level of participation for whatever reasons, whether she must prioritize other work and classes, is uncomfortable taking initiative due to skill or confidence gaps, lacks tolerance for creative problem-solving, group work, or ambiguous power structures and project guidelines, or is merely motivated to pass the class, rather than excel in it, to meet degree requirements. Members of a group in problem-based learning environments may tackle workloads at different rates, and go above and beyond the assigned tasks when personally motivated to do so (Rooks & Holliman, 2018). My working group included students with a range of motivations let alone skills and experience, an obvious source of tension among us throughout the semester.

As the semester ended, our working groups presented posters summarizing the three main aspects of the study findings (i.e. neighborhood survey results, farmer interviews summary, and identifying capacity of faculty partners). Despite invitations to join us at the symposium, none of the farmer interview participants attended to my knowledge, and the lag in finalizing the group report due to end-of-semester conflicts meant that some participants

did not receive a copy of our recommendations. This perpetuates the concern that semester-long projects lack adequate time and follow-through to beneficially engage community members, unless the projects are structured as year-long or multi-year efforts building on existing relationships and/or with sustained faculty and staff support (Mathis et al., 2016). In some cases, farmer interview participants expressed slight annoyance with the number of requests to engage with student projects and noted being inundated with questions about local foods as a particular trend that semester. A lack of coordinated effort across the university to engage the community on specific topics may therefore lead to a sense of engagement fatigue (Cornwall, 2008), potentially exacerbating town-gown relations.

Despite some limitations, the community-engaged project learning experience helped me to hone mixed methods research skills and make recommendations to a real client, with the goal of improving the programming of the student farm to better collaborate with the local farmer community. I thoroughly enjoyed collecting, transcribing, and analyzing interview findings, and expect that our conversations with area farmers raised awareness and helped them to clarify their opinions about a student farm. Such clarification may yet spur some in the farmer community to collaborate with the student farm and the local food systems program on campus, or to feel more empowered to express additional concerns about the movement into the future.

Fall 2017: Martin Academy Community School Garden

This community-engaged seminar was instructive and enlightening for us from several perspectives. Its theoretical basis was comprehensive, and we were able to learn about community engaged design/planning, refugees, immigration and the school system in the US, and also practical skills like developing a youth-led survey and participatory methods to design a school garden. Our professor prepared us with substantial knowledge about Youth-PAR (Participatory Action Research) and how engagement takes time and willingness on the part of all parties involved. The fact that our small group (of five) was composed students from different backgrounds, primarily international ones, allowed us to relate to the Martin Academy HS students from a unique perspective. Our group showed a willingness to confront our own cultural biases in order to work compassionately with the Philadelphia youth.

Through this course, we had the chance to interact and exchange experiences with the Martin Academy HS students. Before visiting the school for the first time, we had extensively researched the neighborhood and school and knew it to have a large immigrant population. Despite this, none of us were prepared for just how difficult it would be to communicate basic tasks to the group of students we were working with. The project allowed us to

understand the circumstances of this particular group of high school students and learn from their experiences, especially how they feel about living in a foreign country. As a result, we all learned critical lessons in patience and small breakthroughs both in communication and project progress felt all the more significant. We think this increased our compassion towards these high school students because while we felt frustrated a few afternoons working with them, they must feel this way every day attending school. We recognized the daily struggles of these high school students, having to interact in a foreign language and deal with a completely different context of daily living. For example, some of the students had plenty of green space available outdoors in their country of origin, and now they lived in a highly urbanized setting. With the community-garden project, hopefully, these students would have an option to access culturally appropriate food (which would also allow for savings), and a good venue for a green gathering space, beyond school programmatic activities.

We found that many of the Martin Academy HS students lacked knowledge of their own power to act in their interests. They did not realize that they could have an opinion about or critique their situation and could try to change it. The engagement sessions that we developed had the goal of building trust in order to increase the level of community involvement and empower youth in taking charge of their own education and lives. As Caitlin Cahill stated, engagement serves to “redistribute power within the research process and build the capacity of young people to analyze and transform their own lives and become partners in the building of more sound, democratic, communities” (Cahill, 2007, p. 297). With this in mind, we tried engaging and empowering Martin Academy students to increase their level of participation throughout the process of the project. Again, referring to Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation, we worked to move from the bottom steps of nonparticipation, past tokenism, towards true citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). By building trust over the course of our meetings with Martin Academy HS students, we were able to enhance students’ participation, increase their level of investment in the project, thus, working towards a higher level of citizen power.

We also learned a valuable lesson on trusting the knowledge that local people have of their situation. For example, the students shared their experiences with us walking to school through the neighborhood surrounding their high school and how they believed the community perceived them and Martin Academy. This project and community engaged experience provided a basis for one of us (Olivia) to reformulate the understanding of community engaged development and planning. At a former job, Olivia had worked at a number of community outreach events and had been shocked by the lack of understanding the locals had of the changes going on in their community. The questions and comments posed by the community seemed irrelevant or misguided. Having gained an understanding of the

levels of participation through this class she realized that what she had witnessed was due to poor outreach and consultation, and not a fault of the community. She came to the realization that public engagement required in the private sector is often superficial and barely scratches the surface level of what engagement can and should be. There is so much potential knowledge that remains untapped in the communities we work in – something she will strive to attend to in her professional career.

We also encountered some struggles during the class. The primary one was language. It was a huge barrier, much more than we were expecting. Our group of Martin Academy HS students spoke Arabic, Urdu, Spanish, Vietnamese and Chinese. Communication was difficult, and it was not successful all the time. We improvised and adapted our engagement process and began to use more visual aids to be more inclusive. For example, in developing the survey we prepared visual documents with images of the options of the survey's questions which allowed us to explain the questions without constantly referring to Google translate. In addition, during the third workshop, we – together with the non-profit organization – selected few videos to show to the class as examples of the benefits of community gardens and to provide context as to the purpose and possible impact of a community garden. Timeframe and distance were other issues we faced. Since we were not located in Philadelphia, our face to face time with the Martin Academy HS students was limited. The building of the relationship was (maybe) slower since we had only three workshops. The timeframe of the semester did not align with the project and the schedule of the non-profit working with us.

There was also some tension between the non-profit organization and the Penn State Team. This organization was involved in developing student leaders within their group, and this clashed with our goals of involving all the students that we worked with in the selected classroom. We recognize that the non-profit organization had their own agenda, but this problematized our relationship with the Martin Academy HS students.

One significant take-away from this experience is understanding the utility of seemingly small actions. When we began this project, we thought that only structural and profound change in the system could generate benefits for all. What we learned from this course was that smaller actions sometimes can be more effective than tackling the bigger issue all at once. One school-garden can modify habits for the people involved and improve their lives. This would have a ripple effect if properly cultivated. Therefore, small engagement interventions can lead to collective knowledge production and ultimately result in social justice.

Learning and Challenges in Community Engaged Courses: Instructor Voice

It is heartening to see that students appreciated learning the theoretical basis of community engaged design/planning and the different methods for community engagement. The ability to make connections between theoretical concepts and real-world problems was valued by students, establishing the utility of community engaged work for both professional (Bell, 2004). and civic learning (Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2012). At the same time, the difference between idealized constructs and real-world manifestations of such constructs created some cognitive dissonance in students. For example, in 2017, the Penn State students were motivated to engage with the students at Martin Academy HS utilizing best practices of Youth-PAR. However, the distance between Philadelphia (where Martin Academy HS is located) and State College prevented frequent visits, and the misalignment of the agenda of the non-profit working at Martin Academy and the Penn State Team created tensions. The non-profit organization was working directly with a sub-section of the Martin Academy HS students around issues of food sovereignty, access to land, affordable housing, and equitable development. They identified with this sub-group as their base, and much of their work revolved around this smaller group of students. The Penn State Team on the other hand was working with students of an Environmental Studies class, which consisted of a few students affiliated with this non-profit group and a majority of students who were not affiliated with the non-profit organization. The Penn State Team wanted to involve all the students in this class equally into the project. As the project unfolded, during the workshops, the Penn State Team was concerned to see that the non-profit sometimes responded to the needs of their base and not the entire class. This created some cleavage between students who participated in the non-profit's program and those who did not. Language issues compounded the problem: in the workshops, the non-profit leaders translated the workshop activities into their language; while we (the Penn State Team) did not have the capacity to translate the workshop activities into the other languages spoken within the student group. This was partly predicated on the fact that there was no/little prior planning between the Penn State Team and the non-profit organization in preparing for the Workshops. To make the most of this less than ideal situation, I used these moments of discord to discuss the complexities of community engaged work with my students; it provided the opportunity for discussing the power structures inherent in any activity, and the importance of full participation (Strum, Eatman, Saltmarsh, and Bush, 2011). It is not that the non-profit wanted to ignore students not affiliated with their organization; rather, they did not have the capacity to respond to the needs of all their students and felt that their primary responsibility was to their student group. This situation also stemmed from the fact that there was no time for me, as the Instructor for the Penn State Team to meet with the non-profit team to work out the basic parameters of the project and figure out our respective roles prior to the beginning of the semester. There is a long history of distrust between universities and non-profit organizations⁴ so it is not unreasonable for the

⁴ <https://info.higheredfacilitiesforum.com/blog/how-universities-can-strengthen-town-gown-relations>.

non-profit to be wary of the Penn State Team. This points to the importance of setting up projects well in advance of class. At the same time, because of timing issues (the semesters have a definitive start and end) this is often difficult to achieve – as was the case in this instance. Dealing with this level of complexity while learning about content is definitely a challenging proposition, especially for undergraduate students. Thus, instructors need to take these factors into account when designing a community engaged course. In this particular class (Fall 2017), the students rose to the occasion and were able to use this experience as a learning moment. The fact that almost all the students were graduate students worked to our advantage.

Participatory projects also provide opportunities for learning specific tasks that are important in the real world. In the instance of the Fall 2015 Student Farm Initiative project, students learned how to write up the methods for a research project, how to apply for Institutional Review Board approval, and then how to use interviews and surveys to solicit input from different constituencies. In the 2017 class (Martin Academy community school garden project) the students gained experience in working with youth, and also how to design and deploy a survey. The 2017 project illustrated the importance of cultural competency in working with different groups. Since all the students in the 2017 class were International students, this course also introduced them to US culture and some of the structural inequities embedded in the US school system. Ultimately, all community engaged projects, because they usually involve vulnerable groups, force students from middle and upper class families to confront their own privilege. This can be a powerful experience, and it falls on the instructor to manage the emotional turmoil that some students experience. Faculty in universities are seldom taught how to manage such issues, and it takes a toll on them as they figure out how to create a safe environment where students can openly talk about the feelings that they experience when engaged in projects that force them to confront their positionality.

The alignment of real-world projects with the academic calendar is another major issue in community engaged work. For example, the community school garden project (Fall 2017) could not be completed by December, so we decided to continue working on the project during the Spring (2018) semester. With the exception of the international exchange student (who had to return home), all other students agreed to continue work on the project by enrolling in an Independent Study class in Spring 2018. This was a testament of the commitment of these students to the project. However, undergraduate students often do not have flexibility in their schedules to add extra classes. In such cases the entire burden of finishing up the project falls on the Instructor. In the context of higher education in the United States, where junior faculty have to navigate the requirements of tenure while learning how to

Interestingly, this article presents Penn State as a model for positive town-gown partnership.

manage teaching and research activities, they should be made aware of such consequences as they take on such courses. I am not advocating for junior faculty to not engage in community engaged projects, rather, I am advocating for institutional recognition of the intensity of such courses and the development of support structures to enable junior faculty to engage in such endeavors while attending to the needs of tenure (Ellison & Eatman, 2008). I am of the opinion that such projects are valuable on several fronts: 1) they expose students to real world problems, 2) they provide students with an opportunity to engage in activities that are aligned with civic engagement and ideals of a democratic and just society, and 3) especially for land grant institutions such projects reflect the very mission of the institution. In the past two decades, there has been renewed interest in and recognition of the need for such practices in the academy. The Carnegie Classification of Community Engagement has done much to provide legitimacy to the importance of community engagement in higher education (Driscoll, 2014) as has the Boyer Report (1996) specifically for architecture education.

Many students expressed that they would have benefited from greater structure in the course; both in terms of content and course elements. This was especially the case in the Fall 2015 class which consisted of students with varying degrees of experience with community engaged projects, and different degrees of preparedness in terms of theoretical/methodological grounding for community engaged work. Community engaged projects conducted through courses do present challenges in terms of organization/structure. Real world projects are usually messy, have their own rhythm and subject to twists and turns based on real-life events. This often results in changes midway through the semester and works best when students are flexible and open to shifts in the class structure. This is stressful to students, many of whom have not ever had the experience of working with real-life projects in communities. Such projects also require work, much of it in the form of group work, beyond the class meeting times. This poses problems, especially to the increasing number of students who have jobs that they must attend to in addition to academic activities. For example, in the case of the SFI project (Fall 2015), when the students were distributing fliers for the online survey about the possibility of a student farm adjacent to their neighborhood, many residents were annoyed, thinking that the University had made this decision unilaterally without consulting the community. I (as the Instructor) had to get involved in the process, field questions and return phone calls to assure residents that no such decision had been taken, and the survey was developed to gather input from the community to assess the communities' view on the location of the student farm near their neighborhood. Some students felt they were under-prepared for responding to such questions, and I take responsibility for their feelings. We talked collectively about possible reasons for the residents being distrustful of the intentions of the University. Town-gown relationships in University neighborhoods became the focus of our readings after this event. This reflective

process has reminded me that as the instructor, I need to strive to develop a safe environment for students to learn and grow when engaged in community-based projects (Hou, 2014).

Lessons Learned

So, what have we learned from these two community engaged classes that can inform future community engaged pedagogy in design/planning? The students and the Instructor reflected on their experience and collectively came up with lessons learned discussed below. In discussing the lessons, we categorized them at different levels of intervention: course/curricular structure, institutional support, and professional education.

Course/Curricular Structure

Whenever possible, develop community engaged projects that span multiple semesters, and include students (and faculty) from a range of allied disciplines related to the issue being tackled. Individual students may be involved for one semester, but the project itself should span several semesters. For this to be successful, there needs to be a group of committed faculty willing to take on such projects, and the curriculum should provide for multiple community engaged experiences distributed across the program. The Sustainable City Year Program (which is part of the Sustainable Cities Initiative of the University of Oregon) is one model where the entire campus focuses on the needs of a city for a year⁵. Through this integrated model, the University is able to match the resources of the University with the needs of a city. However, this model works only for cities with the capacity to support 10-15 community-based projects over the span of one year. More importantly cities have to have significant funds (\$100,000+) to participate in the program. So even though this is a great program, it is unable to work with small communities (like many of the communities in Pennsylvania), and the most vulnerable communities with few resources (social/economic). University Community Design Centers play a crucial role in supporting such multi-semester projects, and community engaged design/planning. Depending on their focus, they work with a variety of communities on a variety of issues. Some exemplary design centers in the US include: the Detroit Collaborative Design Center⁶, the University of Arkansas Community Design Center⁷, the Alberta and Tina Small Center for Collaborative Design⁸ (Tulane University), and the Gulf Coast Community Design Studio⁹ (Mississippi State University) among others. It is interesting to note that many community design centers are associated with particular community engaged scholars/practitioners.

⁵ <https://sci.uoregon.edu/sustainable-city-year-program-0>

⁶ <http://www.dcdc-udm.org/>

⁷ <http://uacdc.uark.edu/>

⁸ <http://small.tulane.edu/>

⁹ <http://gccds.org/>

As the reflections discussed earlier clearly indicate, community engaged work done through coursework is difficult, time consuming and often intense. Undergraduate students might be overwhelmed with the amount and type of work needed for successful community engaged projects. One approach to deal with this would be to screen students before they enroll for classes with a community engaged project; only those that are motivated to engage in this kind of practice are invited to enroll in such a class. However, this approach fails to address the question if such experiences should be an integral part of design/planning education. In other words, do we consider work which grapples with issues of social/environmental justice and democratic ideals of a just society integral to design/planning education? We are of the opinion that it is, and as a result all students in design/planning programs need to have some experience with community engaged design/planning. We also advocate for a graduated approach to introducing community engaged coursework in the curriculum. A possible strategy would be to require all students in undergraduate design/planning programs to have at least one experience with community engaged work. This experience could be structured with a community with which there is a longstanding relationship, so that inexperienced students do not have to navigate the bumpy terrain of developing trust with partners while also learning the basics of community engaged practice. Another strategy would be to first prepare students with the theoretical background and methodological skills to engage in community-based work prior to commencing work on a project (Rios, 2011). Graduate students, and those with interest in community engaged practice could engage in projects of greater complexity through classes, capstone projects and thesis. However, this incremental and integrated approach to community engaged practice in the design curriculum can succeed only when there is institutional support for this kind of work.

Institutional Support

Institutional support is a necessity to meaningfully integrate community engaged work in design/planning curriculum. Such support needs to be integrated at all levels in institutions of higher education: department, college, and university. The past several decades has witnessed government austerity measures that have resulted in reduced support for public higher education in the United States, while at the same time, institutions of higher education have increasingly been critiqued for their “ivory tower” mentality. In response there has been a shift towards degrees/curriculum geared primarily towards job readiness and reduced attention to an education that stresses “public qualities” in teaching, research, and service (Boyte, 2015). In this climate, the arts, humanities and design can play a significant role in infusing vitality into our education system and public life. Established organizations like Campus Compact¹⁰, new(er) consortia in the Arts/Design like Imagining America: Artists and

¹⁰ <https://compact.org/>

Scholars in Public Life¹¹ and A2ru (The Alliance for the Arts in Research Universities)¹², as well as independent organizations like Bringing Theory to Practice¹³, are deepening public work and community engaged practices and exploring new ways to connect higher education with public life, civic engagement and democracy. University administrators, higher education leaders, faculty and students need to work together to align higher education with the needs of society, centered on public good, citizenship and democracy.

Professional Matters

Many design programs (architecture, landscape architecture, interior design, planning) are accredited professional programs of study. This means that such programs have to ensure that they are preparing students to join a credentialed group of professional with rights and responsibilities. Most professional bodies dictate general educational standards for achieving and maintaining accreditation. A review of the accreditation standards (ASLA, AIA, APA)¹⁴ indicate that even though there is recognition of the public interest facet of design/planning activity, much of the standards are centered around issues of health and safety narrowly defined. In the past two decades there has been increasing discussion about the public purpose and democratic ideals of design and planning (Bell & Wakeford, 2008; Horrigan & Bose, 2018) and we hope that this herald's a recognition of the central place of community engaged practices in design/planning education and curricula.

¹¹ <https://imaginingamerica.org/>

¹² <https://www.a2ru.org/>

¹³ <https://www.bttop.org/>

¹⁴ ASLA: <https://www.asla.org/ContentDetail.aspx?id=4276>; AIA: <https://www.aia.org/pages/3296-code-of-ethics-and-professional-conduct>, APA: <https://www.planning.org/ethics/ethicscode/>.

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Rundhøj Turning Point - Social Design in a Welfare State

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Abstract

Participation is lacking in the western world and increasing numbers of citizens feel left out of the public discourse. Also in Denmark with its welfare state, where recent centralization of key institutions resulted in a lack of togetherness and a reduced sense of community. Many Danish neighborhoods lack civic spaces to give voice to concrete issues they face on a daily basis. The negotiations between stakeholders of different interests are hindered by this lack: It becomes difficult for citizens to meet and act collectively, which further disconnect the individual citizen from the decision-makers.

This paper is a case study of the specific design and unsolicited implementation of a series of civic spaces in Rundhøj /Denmark, a rather derelict suburban neighborhood of Aarhus. It documents and illustrates the processes and the results, the successes and setbacks of 'Rundhøj Omdrejningspunkt' (Rundthøj Turning Point), a 1:1 participatory architectural project, designed and built with local citizens, especially with minority youngsters. The role as an architect was to be initiator, moderator, facilitator, designer and organizer of the process as well as instructor and co-builder of the physical spaces.

'Rundthøj Turning Point' was built on the site of a demolished petrol station, which separated two very different socio-economic areas and housing typologies. Surrounding social housing and local commerce had suffered a decline over two decades. The building's mere presence document an act of reclaiming public space. The variety of spaces inspires many forms of active citizenship and support user participation for a positive transformation of this housing area.

Keywords: 1:1 architecture, civic space, welfare state, participatory design, unsolicited architecture

Introduction

Although the state organization in Scandinavia after WW II in general and in Denmark in particular is called 'welfare state', there is no single or clear definition what this actually means: 'Welfare State', 'Welfare Economics' and 'Welfare Cities' are highly ambiguous and contested notions, in society as well as in research. In urban sociology Manuel Castells¹ conceptualized the original welfare city as the city of collective consumption i.e. focused on housing, health, education, sports, leisure and transport facilities.

Danish 'welfare cities' experienced a number of significant socio-spatial transformations over the last decades, from the original 'Utilitarian Welfare City' (1960-1972) to the 'Differentiated Welfare City' (1982-1992) to the 'FlexicuriCity' (1992-2001) and finally a transformation to a 'Competitive Welfare Urban Landscape'².

Danish Welfare Society has a very broad scope, going beyond 'basic human needs'³ like food, shelter and healthcare but also include education, culture, work, leisure, mobility recognition and democratic participation. Therefore, welfare in Denmark seems an all-embracing concept and this goes in particular and apparently for urban design as well as for architecture. Inside the diversity of welfare state typologies, which are elaborated in Gøsta Esping-Andersen book classic from 1990 'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism', the social democratic welfare regime has been the prevailing one in Denmark. This typology is committed to universalism, i.e. the provision of welfare as a right for individuals based on citizenship⁴. The regime actively works to minimize market dependency with the intent of maximizing equality. Market dependency is counteracted by granting entitlements independent of market participation. Welfare compensations are generous, and risks are comprehensively socialized. Welfare provision is highly "de-familiarized" due to the participation of women in the wage-labour force. The regime is committed to full employment and maximizing the productive potential of the citizenry⁵.

In the field of urban design and particularly for housing from around 1960, welfare was reflected in the idea of designing and building welfare cities and welfare quarters, which were fueled by the specific Danish form of urbanization, when people moved from country to city,

¹ Castells, M. (1977) The Urban Question

² Albertsen, N. (2016) Transformations of the Welfare City in Denmark 1960-2016

³ Pinch S. (1997) Worlds of Welfare

⁴ Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism

⁵ Ibid. 78- 81

from Western Denmark to the East and from city centers to the new suburbs. The Danish welfare suburbia became an urban landscape with low-rise and low-density built-up areas of detached private one family houses, high rise and denser social housing, green areas for recreation, huge appropriations of land for urban purposes, and automobile-dependency⁶. The state was the main employer for architects and planners, who found themselves in the role of what is commonly called 'social engineers': Functionalism, to a significant extent based on Corbusian ideas of separated spaces for work, residence, leisure and transport, promised utility, efficiency, transparency and geometry⁷

Between 1945 -1975, among the total Danish production of buildings, 70% were public commissions and more than 50% were projects that stayed under the generic class of masterplan, living, education, institutions. The Welfare Capitalism was so covering several roles towards the architectural profession: client, moderator, anchor in difficult times, employer and in many ways, the state could be considered a great influencer for the many architectural companies that blossomed thanks to those prolific conditions at that time⁸.

Compared to many countries in Europe and most regions in the world, social standards in Denmark are very high while economic challenges and societal conflicts happen on a comparatively 'luxury' and comfortable scale. This does not mean that they are non-existent or of low relevance: The scale of inequality of income, the access to education and law, public respect and exclusion of civic life manifest on the national and local level. The Danish government has issued a 'list of ghetto areas', with five points describing the definition of a Danish ghetto⁹. In comparison to the majority of places in Denmark, these housing areas certainly are the most deprived ones. However, when the author was guiding foreign visitors from Asia or America through these areas, they used to be amused and asked 'where is the ghetto?'. They considered these areas still as generous, luxury and healthy on a global level. It might be a consequence of the 'equalizing' welfare state that conflicts in Denmark rather happen behind the democratic facade. However, when it comes to immigrants and refugees, you find a surprisingly high level of open and subtle racism in Danish society and extremely strict immigration laws. It can be argued that this is the back side of the fact that welfare is strongly connected to Danish citizenship. Citizens get all sort of support from the state because they contributed by rather high tax payments over their whole life, which by nature is not the case for immigrants. Nevertheless, it needs to be reiterated that social standards, economic

⁶ Albertsen, N. (2016) Transformations of the Welfare City in Denmark 1960-2016

⁷ Fixot, A-M (1999) Architecture, Urbanisme et Utilitarisme

⁸ Gigliotti, A. (2017) "The odd case of Denmark: the work of architectural practices within the Welfare State"

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<https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/ghetto-listen-2017-to-nye-omraader-tilfojet-fem-fjernet/ghettolisten-definit ion-af-en-ghetto/>

challenges and societal conflicts in Denmark are on a 'luxury level' compared with most countries in Europe and on a global scale.

The Rundhøj Case

While economics and politics of the 'historic' Danish welfare state have significantly changed after 1993 and in the present neoliberal period, the building stock and its infrastructure is far more static. The case of Rundhøj, a housing quarter situated on the periphery of Aarhus, is part of a large stock of Danish social housing. It is not part of the formal list of ghetto areas because it is too small according to governmental criteria. Nevertheless, problems and challenges are serious.

Rundhøj neighborhood is built on the former farmland of Rundhøjgården that can be dated back till 1784. The farm was torn down in the late 1950's to make room for this new development consisting of three-storey housing blocks from the mid-sixties. The social housing is surrounded by a large area of privately owned one-family homes (Figure1).



Figure 1. Aerial photo of Rundhøj neighborhood 2017.

The photo clearly shows social housing blocks as an 'island' in the suburban single home fabric. The red rectangle highlights Rundhøj Torv. Map: Aarhus Municipality¹⁰

¹⁰ <https://aarhus.dk/om-kommunen/kort-og-luftfotos/luftfotos-og-skraafotos/luftfotos/>

This typological and social heterogeneity results in significant different property-prizes by almost factor two depending on what site of the road the property is situated.

The linear social housing blocks were built in yellow masonry with red roof tiles and they house around 800 people in 399 apartments. The ownership of the apartments is half social housing administrated by a non-profit social housing association and half privately owned apartments.

Rundhøjtorvet / Rundhøj Square

Rundhøjtorvet (Rundhøj Square), a square with a local shopping center and a large underground parking garage, was built to facilitate this new area (Figure 2). Children in the area are attending Rundhøjskolen, a public school which was built behind the shopping center.



Figure 2. Aerial photo of Rundhøj square 2017.

The photo shows the classic modernistic organization of square and its location between different housing typologies and local infrastructures. The red dot marks the starting position of 'Turning Point Rundhøj'.

Map: Aarhus Municipality¹¹

¹¹ <https://aarhus.dk/om-kommunen/kort-og-luftfotos/luftfotos-og-skraafotos/luftfotos/>

There exist three public nurseries within the blocs. Adjacent to the square is an abandoned family center, which has been out of use for the past 15 years. Aarhus municipality is currently looking to sell this for redevelopment, but the still valid zoning law from the mid-sixties makes this legally impossible.

Rundhøj square is a common and connecting element between social housing blocks and the diverse one-family homes of the area, where many people do their shopping in the local supermarket or pharmacy. According to the management of the supermarket, roughly 3000 people use the square on a daily basis.

Currently there is also a fitness center, a hair salon, a pizzeria, a pub and few offices. However, four out of 11 of the shops are vacant as of November 2018 while at the start of the project 2016 that number was six of 11. The large underground garage has been closed and sealed off in 2010 after the decline in business and when it became a place of crime.

The square's location close to the public school and the nurseries makes it a natural pick-up spot of children by parents from the wider area. Nevertheless, its decline generated a negative public image of the name 'Rundhøj'. In consequence, the single house owners living around the square avoided associating their neighborhood with Rundhøj.



Figure 3. Impressions of the square September 2016, before the project started.

The poorly maintained shopping center with only six shops left, in front of the abandoned petrol station. Right: the sealed entry to the underground car park.

Photos: Eske Bruun / Walter Unterrainer

In 2009 the petrol station on the square closed down and Aarhus municipality as the owner of the site handed its lease over to a supermarket chain. Consequently, a complicated legal conflict with the existing supermarket started, which had an exclusive contract for the site. This conflict is one reason that the site stayed abandoned and no development took place since then. In the shadow of this conflict, small local businesses such as a florist and a goldsmith moved away and local citizens felt unsafe on the empty square, which became a place of activities for rival drug gangs. The poor street lighting made it a particularly uncomfortable place after dark.

The square was labelled Aarhus's ugliest and dangerous by citizens, the press and the head of the technical department of the municipality.

The project - Turning Point Rundhøj

The initial process started in September 2016 when my office¹² was invited to a meeting discussing how to renovate the road leading through the social housing. We were to come up with an innovative solution of how to pave 50% of the road and spend the rest on creating social spaces between the blocks. The process was to be inclusive with citizens and a collaboration between the Technical Department and 'the active citizen department' of the Municipality of Aarhus. However, the project was stopped by a municipal corruption scandal when the head of the Technical department had to resign and all initiated projects were frozen.

Throughout this initial process I noticed that all meetings with citizens were either held on the first floor of the Nursery or at the central Town Hall of Aarhus, there was no inviting space for discourse with a wider public which could give momentum and allow transparency of the discussions. The citizen group 'Vores Rundhøj' (Our Rundhøj) was almost exclusively educated ethnic Danish citizens above the age of 35 years. In winter 2017, I started an unsolicited proposal to build a physical space allowing public presence on the square. This should become a meeting place, which encourages a far greater representation of citizens, who could collectively address specific local issues and thereby condense a dialog in a tangible way about what really mattered to the neighborhood.

I proposed to the municipality to become the architect for building up this space with a contract over a year. That would create the possibility to gradually develop a participatory project 1:1 including the local residents, businesses as well as the municipality. The role of the architect would be the initiator, moderator, facilitator, designer and organizer of the process as well as instructor and co-builder of the physical spaces. In this process, the architect would gain a deeper contextual understanding for any design proposal which is based on inputs from the inhabitants. Furthermore, the duration of this commitment allowed a mutual trust to be gained between all stakeholders who at the start had much scepticism of each other.

The political frame for the Municipality's acceptance of my proposal was a recent paradigm shift in municipal policies from 'Public Administration' over 'Service Mindedness' and to 'Active Citizenship'. The Active Citizenship Policy¹³ by Aarhus Municipality describes active citizenship as being 'important when we create something together, we feel a sense of

¹² Kondens Arkitekter ApS

¹³ <https://aarhus.dk/media/6603/policy-for-active-citizenship.pdf> (2015)

co-ownership. And experiencing co-ownership makes us want to participate in the community... Participating in and creating inclusive activities · Translating valuable knowledge into valuable practice · Building bridges between generations, gender, ethnicity, income, occupations, neighborhoods · That all Aarhus citizens feel that they are part of the community...¹⁴

Serial Architecture

A serial approach for the spatial development of the square was taken to establish incremental understanding and trust in the community while building on their clearly articulated needs.

Phase 1 – The On-Site meeting place (April 2017 - November 2017)

The first suggestion was to merge two shipping containers for a multi-use meeting space in order to support a collective dialog about the future use of this space. Simultaneously, this intervention on the most exposed corner of the place raised curiosity and made it visible to everyone that something is going on.

Through a direct dialog with the supermarket, we were allowed to build on their leased plot of the gas station. A community group accepted the proposal and agreed to participate in building the project. However, in reality very few from the group turned up to help with building beyond the first agreed upon day. For a while, this meant the architect was left with only 1-3 reliable residents helping to build. When the school year started in August 2017, there was a fortunate and productive turn: Children between the age of 8 and 15 started to hang out near the site and used the square after school. Soon they started helping with building such as insulating the containers with wooden fibres, mounting wooden battens to the façade and painting the building under the architect's supervision. This process was by no means faster, but the engagement and commitment to change the neighborhood was ever present.

I designed the meeting space with easy access to the rooftop of the containers, thus allowing residents to experience a different perspective over their environment. (Figure 4) Later on, in collaboration with the local library, a 'satellite library wall' (Figure 5) was built into one of the shipping containers doors. Additionally, citizen service of Aarhus installed a WIFI connection for the area.

¹⁴ <https://www.skanderborg.dk/politik-og-faellesskab/udvikling-i-kommunen/kommunen-3-0.aspx>



Figure 4. The finished community building at the neighborhood Christmas party 2017
Photo: Eske Bruun



Figure 5. 'satellite library' integrated
into the doors of the two connected shipping containers
Photo: Walter Unterrainer June 2018

In fall 2017, after the inauguration of the meeting space, many key events took place: The mayor of Aarhus moved his office with his staff for two days into this small 'Rundhøj Omdrejningspunkt' building to meet and talk with the local citizens (Figure 6). This move marked an important step to support the concept of the local meeting place as a peripheral extension of the City Hall. In December 2017, the local school and nurseries came together for the lighting of a big Christmas tree on the square and thereby creating a tradition of togetherness with the children that was continued throughout the year.



Figure 6. The mayor discussing with residents at 'Rundhøj Turning Point' Photo: Eske Bruun

From 2017, my office was present on the site every Monday between 16:00-21:00 in order to facilitate and communicate design and development ideas. Furthermore, the municipality hired three persons, an anthropologist, a pedagogue and a cultural consultant to be present on other weekdays. All of this was done to facilitate the enhancement of active citizenship, inclusion and participation concerning the future of the square.

The Citizen department of Aarhus installed two specially designed phone booths (Figure 13) to collect ideas from the residents. A series of questions about the future of the quarter was asked when citizens answered the phone. The local pharmacist, a known voice in the quarter, has recorded the questions and over 300 persons responded to these questions over three months.

With support from three locals with professional background in architecture, my office arranged three workshops for residents relating to the future of the site. The workshops explored the mental space of how Rundhøj collectively could become a better place and overcome its negative image. The results were forwarded to the technical department of the municipality to be used for the future zoning hearings.

Phase 2 – The facility house (May 2018- June 2018)

A major challenge while building phase 1 and afterwards was the lack of public restrooms on the square. Furthermore, there was a need for workshop space for common handicraft activities. My office first investigated the existing petrol station as a potential space for these facilities. However, a closer inspection revealed the existence of toxic materials and the necessity to change the leaking roof structure. It became apparent that the public perceived the derelict petrol station a symbol for what was wrong with the square. For all these reasons, the petrol station was finally demolished except for its concrete foundation. With the help of young immigrants, a new facility house was built on top of this foundation connecting to the existing sewage system (Figure 7). To mitigate the poor street-light situation, the facility house was designed as a transparent and illuminated object in order to become a huge lamp on the square (Figure 8).



Figure 7. School boys and youngsters helping building the facility house Photo: Eske Bruun

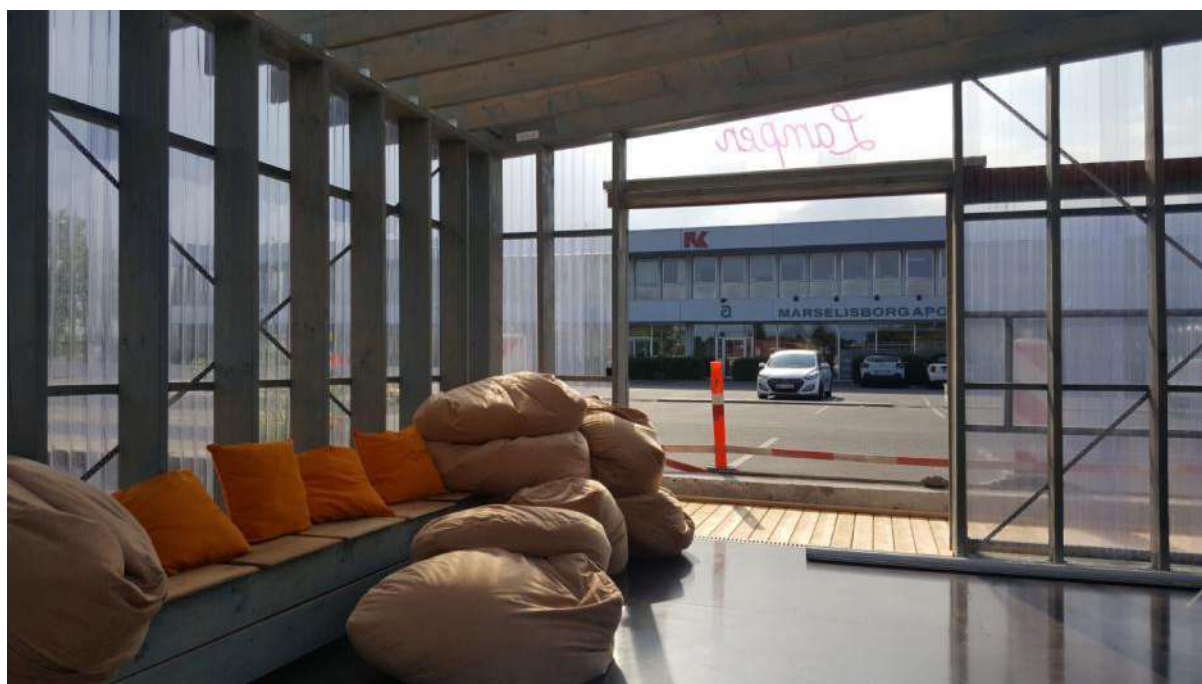


Figure 8: Facility house made of transparent material with cozy and inviting interior and connected to the upper level of the square. Photo: Walter Unterrainer

Phase 3 – The Cultural ramp (start February 2018 - not realized)

In Danish suburbia, in general, and in Rundhøj in particular, there is a lack of cultural spaces and activities. Residents must go to central Aarhus to enjoy the movies, concerts, theatre or other cultural events. Many residents, especially ethnic minority teenagers described their own neighborhood as boring and they daily leave for the city center by bus.

My proposal for another development step was to turn the existing ramp to the closed off parking garage into a cultural space for local theatre, music, cinema events and lectures. The slope of the ramp forms an almost natural angle for an audience of 70 people (Figure 9).

This entire space was designed to be covered by a membrane on steel frames. The municipal project team made arrangements with a local children theatre group at the school, a teenage rap group, Aarhus Open University and a downtown arthouse cinema. The municipality team supported the idea and applied for funding through a private fund but there was little budget with public money. Unfortunately the application was rejected due to a lack in experience of formulating such an application and unprofessional budgeting.

However and in contrast to this failure, many residents expressed their delight with the proposal. So far the municipality had no follow up meeting to evaluate the process and the project seems to be stranded for the moment.

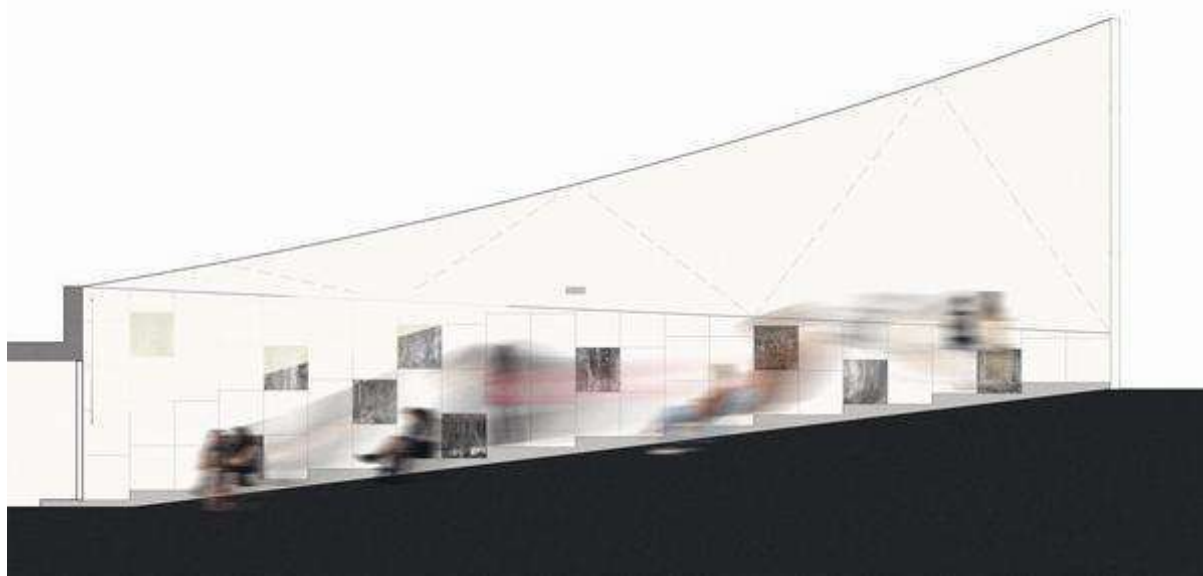


Figure 9. Section through proposed cultural space
using the existing ramp to the underground parking. Source: Eske Bruun

Phase 4 – The Immigrant Kitchen and an inflatable dining room (June 2018 not realized)

My frequent presence during the on-site building activities created strong bonds to the Danish-Somali community of this neighborhood. The Trust was built up with Danish-Somali boys between 5 – 19 years old while they actively participated in building and their mothers would come around and get involved with cooking at events or serve me dinner when I was working late. Food was a tangible dialog starter between different cultural backgrounds: We started the SODA (Somali-Danish) initiative with the Danish-Somali women. The initiative works with supporting the changing perception towards Danish-Somali citizens in the Danish society. Over the past years, this ethnic minority group has been severely criticized in public discussions due to the low employment rate of 21% for women and 34% for men between 30-64 years old.¹⁵

Together we instigated an immigrant kitchen that would be linked with an inflatable dining room on the square. The idea was to invite the entire neighborhood to eat together throughout the year and to create a transition to the labour market close to their homes and children. In terms of employment, other cases in Denmark had proven to be successful with the cooking approach through the installation of street food spaces.

At first the municipality supported the idea and my office started a proposal. But further in

¹⁵ <https://www.dst.dk/Site/Dst/Udgivelser/GetPubFile.aspx?id=20705&sid=indv2017> _ Page 41

the process, this project was cancelled due to the fear that it would be unfair competition with a local pizzeria and another street food place, which the employment department already had placed in the city before. This decision left the local Danish-Somali community extremely disappointed and it missed a sound logic in relation to local empowerment of a minority as well as in supporting the periphery.

Phase 5 – social vertical garden & pedestrian ramp (July 2018 - September 2018)

The parking garage under the square creates a topographic obstacle of 75cm between the petrol station plot and the rest of the square. Pedestrian must make a big detour around the square to overcome this obstacle. When building Phase2, the facility house, a backside pedestrian ramp was already designed to give disability access to these facilities, and at the same time link the two levels of the square. Along the ramp, an 'edible fence' with herbs was erected. This fence, together with the ramp, allows residents to pick up herbs, use it as a bench and read information about the project on an information board. Overcoming the topographic obstacle with a pedestrian shortcut had as a consequence an increase in residents now pass by the project when crossing the square and subsequently, a direct entrance to the facility house is created from the parking lot.

To celebrate the finished ramp and fence, the architect in collaboration with the Danish-Somali community organized an herb planting workshop (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Planting workshop for edible fence in the facility house

Photo: Eske Bruun

Phase 6 – Revitalizing the shopping center (in progress)

In order to bring life into the empty shops of the shopping center, the owner of the property was asked if my office could do a temporary art installation or a sort of pop-up store. The Copenhagen based firm who owned the shops had no interest in renting out single units for shorter periods of time. They prefer a large tenant to rent the whole space and also fix the roof. When I asked for a time perspective of this to happen, the director said it could be in fourteen days or in five years. This was not an encouraging perspective, my office took initiative to find a local developer or a group of developers with a community commitment, who would be interested in buying the shopping center and revitalize it. One possibility could be to establish an immigrant bazaar, which has been done successfully at other places in Europe and Aarhus with Bazar Vest¹⁶. Such a lively shopping, repairing and recycling space would create local jobs. Additionally, its quality food and other products as well as handicraft services could reduce prejudices towards the immigrants. However, at present, finding an investor has not been successful.

Preliminary results - establishing a local democratic framework

After two years of sometimes exhausting group discussions, workshops and intensive building activities, Rundhøj Torv has become a 'Turning point'. The interventions are visible to the whole neighborhood: They consist of two buildings for a variety of resident's activities, a connecting ramp with an edible fence. The transparent building is illuminated overnight and acts like a large lantern making the area safer. The site is temporarily visited by a mobile street-coffee and invites outdoor activities in the warmer season. (Figure 12)



Figure 12. Rundhøj Tovet / Turning point, July 2018 Photo: Eske Bruun

¹⁶ <https://www.bazarvest.dk/>

Beyond its physical presence, the mental significance of the 'Turning Point' is to gather collective momentum and gradually turn the whole neighborhood into a better environment. Apart from being a 1:1 case for building spaces for meeting, interaction and community building, from its start, the Rundhøj project was intended to be a test case for strong participation of very different stakeholders like residents, immigrants, shop owners, the municipality and other representatives of the neighborhood.

After over two years documenting experiences in establishing a local democratic framework, it became evident that to be part of the Danish Welfare State, some cultural shift is needed in order to achieve Active Citizenship embedded in a local context.

In Denmark, as one ideological foundation of its welfare society, the notion of participation is commonly used when it comes to urban developments or to the development of different forms of civil society. However, in political reality, participation is commonly very restricted and even non-existent when it comes to final decision-making. Restrictions happen in two forms: People are invited to planning meetings which are formally very open. Politicians or civil servants inform everyone present about intentions and challenges and people can express opinions and criticism. But then the decision is made behind closed doors by a handful of politicians, without the vote of the ones directly affected by the decision. This process creates an illusion of participation; it formally fulfils the justification of a democratic process according to Danish legislation. However, it is not a mobilizing process for ideas: many engaged people withdraw because they feel rather misused for justification of having a voice.

Another common form of 'pseudo-participation' happens by presenting already fully developed projects, where the background of the project (developed without any participation) cannot be seriously questioned anymore and again a project should only be justified in favor of an investor or a municipality by the presence of a wider public.

In sharp contrast to these common practices, Aarhus's 'Active citizenship Policy' can become a strong driver for change and substantial participation. It all depends how much of the written policy is translated into daily practices. For the future of Rundhøj, this is an undecided process.

Participation fails 'if the process is stuck around individual ideas and does not understand the real needs. Failure is pre-programmed if the political leaders in a municipality are not personally supporting citizen involvement. Furthermore, if participation is required to seek justification and legitimacy for an already finished project'¹⁷.

¹⁷ Nageler, P. (2018) Emerging Architectures – The Changing Shape of Architectural Practices

In Rundhøj, from the start, the goal of the participation process was to give people ownership of the project and of an ongoing process, which step by step could improve their life, empower them and turn the challenges of this comparatively unpleasant environment in Danish context into new opportunities. The information phone booth, the variety of activities in the meeting spaces, the many citizen workshops (Figure 13) and last but not least the co-building activities gave the residents some voice.



Figure 13. Posters of citizen workshops and the information phone booth

Photos: Walter Unterrainer

While the process was a start, and there are strong potentials to integrate more residents for the re-formation of Rundhøj: Over 40 years of service-mindedness in public administration and strong centralization of key public programs have made the majority of residents in the neighborhood rather passive. There was no tradition of 'active citizenship' and the process since 2016 showed that a longer period and stronger efforts will be needed for more citizen to develop from mental support, discussions and passive participation in events to collectively making and co-creating activities and spaces.

The collaboration with the Active Citizenship branch of the Mayors department of the municipality developed from having one contact person in the municipality to having four people employed for the project. Three employees have come from the unemployment system and to begin with were employed with state subsidies for the brief period of three months. Later their employment was turned into part-time. As a group, these employees lacked experience with empowerment processes and the uncertainty about their long-term involvement was not strongly motivating. They had regular office working hours during the weekdays from 9:00-16:00, which was in conflict, as most residents would come in the

evening, after work or school.

The municipality leadership was very concerned with how to avoid complaints from the citizens or negative press over the process instead of how to lead the way with clear and positively defined goals. This 'fear' resulted in tensions in the group between activists and civil servants: The latter rather acted as 'controllers' of the process and were often afraid of unexpected outcomes. Citizens were 'hunted' to document the process with questionnaires. Quantitative data seemed to be more relevant than establishing mutual trust in a dialog. It is an open question how the project will continue when the municipality withdraws its activities by the end of 2019.

The non-realized cultural ramp or the ongoing search for revitalizing empty shops made it very clear, that means such as funding, public subsidies or other financial sources play an important role in turning a policy into a social reality. The stronger the active citizen movement, the easier it will be to find these resources and the budget for 'Active Citizenship Policy' will be the touchstone on how serious the document is taken.

Conclusion

Turning Point Rundhøj can be considered as a first foray into experimenting with Active Citizenship on a 1:1 scale in a deprived neighborhood within the Danish Welfare State. The project needs further evaluation by external institutions and its long terms effects need to be documented. The visible results in form of shareable community spaces on a former unpleasant and dangerous site is a positive sign and step for further transformation.

The experiences from this process are a productive foundation to create another 1:1 experiment in a different context of Aarhus in order to gain broader experience and compare different cases.

The greatest success of Rundhøj Turning Point was its ability to create an inclusive platform for marginalized minority citizen, in particular Somali-Danish women. It was a success when children and youngsters, in particular immigrant children between five and fifteen were interested in using their energies for actively shaping their surroundings. These findings offer tremendous potential for creating an active citizen culture in Rundhøj as well as in similar environments of Denmark, where these minority groups in general are marginalized.

It might have been too optimistic to expect high resident involvement in the actual building activities and we sometimes considered this as a setback. Further studies might raise a deeper understanding and develop advanced strategies to overcome passivity when it comes to

making. My young office was rather inexperienced with co-construction and we certainly had too optimistic timelines, in particular for the construction phases. Prolonged deadlines have negatively affected the collaboration with the municipality.

The shop owners have been positive towards the change on the square and some have been participating in workshops. However, beyond having made minor material contributions, their potential as a cornerstone in the community has not been explored to the fullest and they could get a stronger role in such a process.

The next 1:1 experiment should be conducted with all stakeholders on the same level to begin with and a stronger awareness that this does not change throughout the process. A stronger variety of residents along demographic composition is an advantage.

The collaboration should also consist of a long-term employed professional with education and experience in empowerment as well as clearer but more flexible employment and architect contracts, which incorporate the experiences of the last two years.

The whole project and the process unfold the potentials of a proactive and unsolicited architecture, which contributes to spaces and societal challenges which are not interesting for any client.

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Neighbourhood Environment and the Elderly's Out-of-home Activities in Singapore Public Housing - A Case Study of Yuhua East Neighbourhood

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Abstract

To confront ageing challenges and opportunities, “ageing-in-place” (AIP) is promoted by public policy and preferred by the elderly. Neighbourhood is where the elderly's needs and preferences are accommodated and where everyday out-of-home activities take place. Although there are large volumes of literature about AIP, majority are divorced from places of ageing. Few articles look into how neighbourhood planning and design, and programming contribute to the elderly's active ageing experiences. Taking Yuhua East neighbourhood as a case study, this paper aims to explore the usage patterns of neighbourhood spaces and how neighbourhood environment contributes to the elderly out-of-home activities in Singapore's high-rise high-density context. This study uses observation and interview as the research methods to uncover the interaction between varieties of ageing population and complex neighbourhood environment. The results highlight the necessity of planning neighbourhood spaces as a system instead of as fragmented and lifeless pieces. Neighbourhood planning and design should go beyond functional and utilitarian approach and prioritize people's everyday experiences. Meanwhile, more attention should be paid to the elderly's lifestyles and interests when planning age-friendly neighbourhood.

Keywords: the elderly, out-of-home activities, neighbourhood space, high-rise high-density, qualitative research

Introduction

Population ageing and urbanization are two global trends that bring challenges and opportunities to human beings in the coming decades. As one of the most rapidly ageing counties in Asia, Singapore older residents (aged 65 & over) account for 13% of the resident population by June 2017 (DOS, 2017) , which is expected to be 23.2% in 2030 (Department

of Economics and Social Affairs, 2002). The elderly's daily experiences and quality of life are influenced by different factors at different spatial scales. Neighbourhood is a very important spatial scale for research about elderly persons (Lawton & Nahemow, 1973) as it is where the elderly's everyday activities take place and where the elderly's needs and preferences are accommodated. Considering decreasing old-age support ratio¹ and increasing number of women entering labour force, it becomes evident that neighbourhood not only needs to provide facilities and services for functional purposes, but also needs to promote the formulation of social support networks that partly takes the role of traditional family for providing care (Kong, Yeoh, & Teo, 1996).

There are extensive volumes of literature about AIP, however, studies focusing on neighbourhood as places of ageing are limited (Gardner, 2011). For what is an age-friendly environment for AIP, various frameworks have been proposed, including WHO AFC Checklist (WHO, 2007), AdvantAge Initiative (Feldman & Oberlink, 2003), AARP Liveable Communities (AARP, 2005), Community Assessment Survey for Older Adults (National Research Centre, 2014). However, these descriptive studies from western countries are presented in the form of guidelines and specifications, which are divorced from contexts of ageing and provides limited information about how these guidelines influence the elderly's everyday activities in the neighbourhood. It also accepts the built environment as it appears to be. Meanwhile, more and more quantitative studies have emerged to look into how age-friendly neighbourhood characteristics influence the elderly, including health, quality of life, mental wellbeing, active ageing (Lai, Lein, Lau, & Lai, 2016; Lehning, Smith, & Dunkle, 2014; Loo, Lam, Mahendran, & Katagiri, 2017; Park & Lee, 2017). These quantitative studies tend to reduce the elderly's everyday life experiences to categories and numbers and simply the complex and multiple interactions between the elderly and environment.

The concept of "place" has been discussed considerably by geographers (Massey et al., 1984; Rowles, 1983; Rowles & Bernard, 2013) and the importance of place-based research has gained attention in studies about health (Neely & Nading, 2017). According to Rowles (1978, 1983), elderly persons would develop physical and psychological attachments to places after long-term residency. This "insideness" makes the elderly fully aware of the environment's physical configurations, local services and social networks, and further promotes mobility and independence (Rowles, 1978). Built upon the Rowles (1983)'s theory, Kong et al. (1996) explore how emotional attachments to place, or physical, social, and autobiographic "insidenesses", contribute to the elderly's sustenance of personal identities, continued participation, and adaptation to changing circumstances in Singapore. However, studies about ageing and place from geographical perspective focus on experiences and

¹ Old-age support ratio refers to residents aged 20-64 years per resident aged 65 years & over (DOS 2017).

meanings of place instead of its design and planning aspects (Gardner, 2011; Kong et al., 1996; Rowles & Bernard, 2013). Since majority of studies about places of ageing focus on private settings such as home and residential care facilities, neighbourhood has received less attention (Gardner, 2011; Kearns & Andrews, 2005).

Meanwhile, qualities of successful public spaces have been discussed extensively by scholars in the field of architecture, urban planning and urban design (Carmona, 2018; Gehl, 1987; Lynch, 1981; Montgomery, 1998). However, few articles discussing public spaces at neighbourhood scale in relation to the elderly persons' everyday living experiences. It remains unclear that what are the elderly needs in neighbourhood spaces (i.e., common area in blocks, neighbourhood amenities and open spaces), how neighbourhood spaces are used by the elderly, and how neighbourhood environment influences the elderly's out-of-home activities. Therefore, the objective of this study is to use qualitative approach (observation and interview) to explore the following issues: 1) the rhythms of different types of neighbourhood spaces; 2) how the elderly's everyday experiences are carried out in various neighbourhood spaces; 3) how neighbourhood environment influences the elderly's out-of-home activities.

Context and Method

More than 80 percent of Singapore residents' population live in public housing estates, which are developed by Housing and Development Board (HDB). A typical town is planned to have a total land area of 625 ha, with 40,000 dwelling units accommodating 200,000 people. Town centre is usually equipped with supermarkets, restaurants, cinemas, a branch public library, banks, shopping malls, bus interchanges and mass rapid transit (MRT) stations. Each town is made up of five to six neighbourhoods of 4000 - 6000 units, housing 20,000 to 30,000 people. Neighbourhood centre, with 400-meter service radius, is planned with a hawker centre and market for fresh and cooked food, shops for daily needs, and clinics. This is resulted from the compromising considerations of being as large as possible to "ensure adequate patronage" and not being too large to extend over 5 minutes walking distance. Each neighbourhood is further divided into six or seven precincts, each with 4-8 blocks for 400-800 families. The intention of introducing "precinct" concept is to promote social interactions and community ties among residents. A precinct is designed to be easily recognized by residents with clear boundary and a precinct centre where all blocks are facing towards it. Playgrounds, exercise corner, precinct garden and some commercial facilities are located at the precinct centre. Public housing in Singapore are governed under HDB's hegemonic policies and ordinances. As a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country, racial quota has been implemented to balance ethnicity in Singapore's public housing estates. Different religious facilities have been provided based on population quota. Regular maintenance and cleanliness

are carried out by Town Council. Estate upgrading programmes are carried out by HDB every 20-30 years to enhance the living environment and services in the older estates. The permitted and prohibited activities in public spaces are also clearly prescribed. This top-down interventionist strategy influences residents' perceptions of neighbourhood environment and their everyday out-of-home activities (Field, 1992; Liu, 1975; Tan, Tong, An, Cheong, & Kwok, 1985).

Yuhua East neighbourhood is located in Jurong East town, in the west region of Singapore (Figure 1). Defined by administrative boundary, it is bounded by Pan Island Expressway, Jurong Town Hall Road, and Jurong East Central. Yuhua East covers 93-hectare area of land with 26,330 population, where 16.4% of the residents are aged 65 years old and above and 32.9% are 55 years old and above (DOS, 2017). Yuhua West and Toh Guan neighbourhoods are located to its west and east. Chinese Garden and Town Centre with shopping malls, a public library and hospitals are located to its southwest and southeast. This study focuses on the public housing area within Yuhua East, which accommodate 88.5% of the Yuhua East residents (DOS, 2017). For easiness of discussion, Yuhua East is divided into 8 parcels of lands, built upon the administrative boundaries of Residents' Committee (RC)²: neighbourhood centre (Blk252-256), Precinct I (Blk257-264, in charge by Yuhua Zone 1 RC), Precinct II (Blk241-245, in charge by Yuhua Zone 6 RC), Precinct III (Blk246-251, in charge by Yuhua Zone 6 RC), Precinct IV (Blk232-240, in charge by Yuhua Zone 2 RC), Precinct V (Blk209-219A, in charge by Yuhua Zone 3 RC), Precinct VI (Blk220-231, in charge by Yuhua Zone 4 RC), Precinct VII (Blk101-116, in charge by Yuhua Zone 7 RC).

² RCs are grassroots organizations to promote neighbourliness, racial harmony and community cohesiveness amongst residents within their respective RC zones in HDB estates.

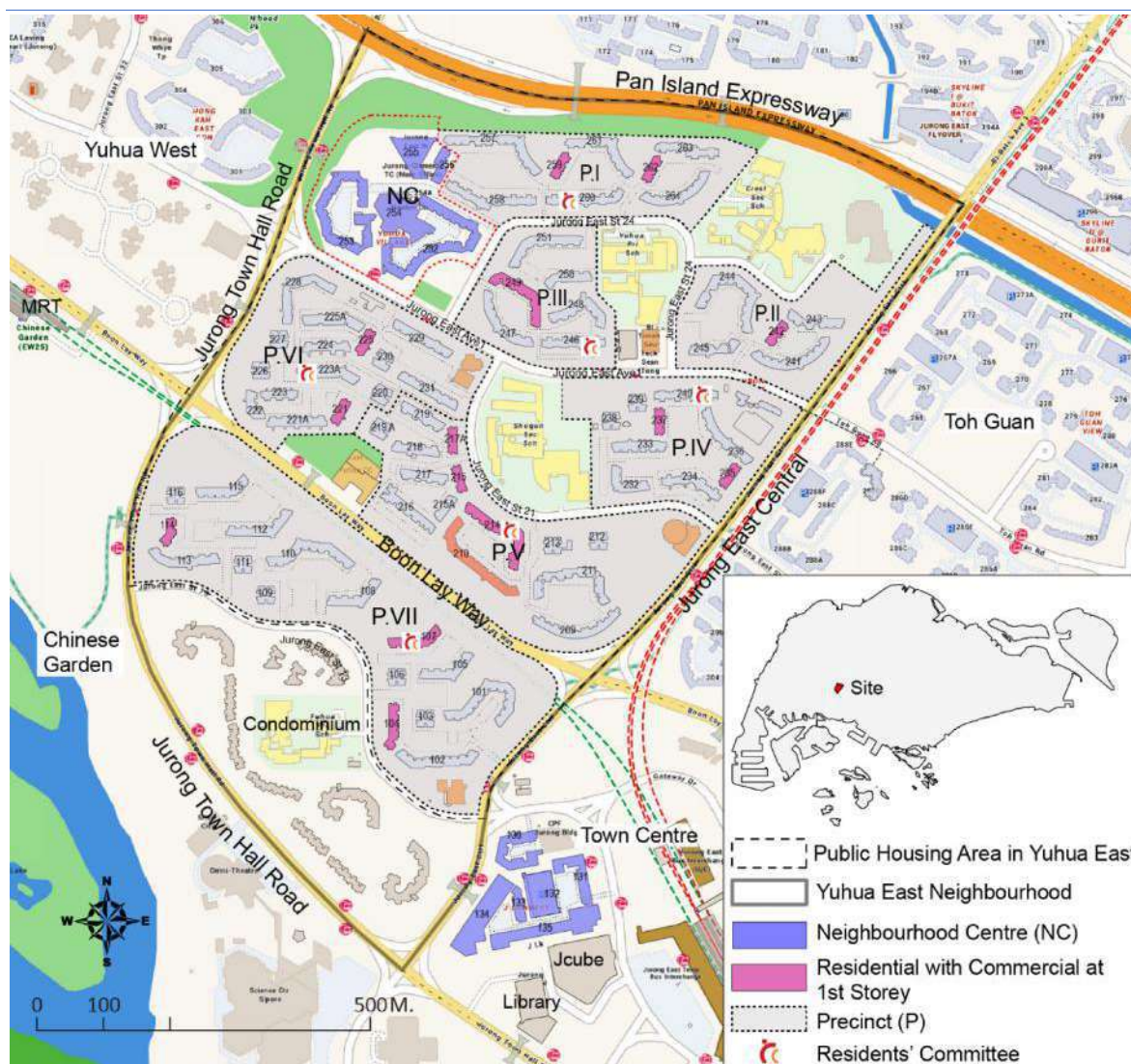


Figure 1. Location and Site Plan of Yuhua East Neighbourhood

Field survey was carried out from January 2018 to October 2018. Direct observation was conducted for 2 days (one weekday, one weekend) from 5:00am to 9:00pm to have general understanding of the neighbourhood. Then semi-structured observations were conducted at selected neighbourhood spaces. Considering limited resources and time period, observation period for each space is 10 minutes per two hours from 5:00am to 9:00pm, for one weekday and one weekend day. Field notes were written as soon as possible after each observation period. Photographs were taken as records when arriving at each neighbourhood space, and when some interesting activities popped up. In total, 164 hours have been spent in observation. Besides, 20 elderly were randomly approached for semi-structured interviews when the researcher walks around in the neighbourhood. This spontaneity allows the researcher to ask questions about specific activities at particular neighbourhood place. Based on observation, five types of neighbourhood spaces are selected for discussion: 1) neighbourhood centre (NC), 2) precinct centre (PC), 3) park/green space, 4) void deck, 5)

community facilities & eldercare facilities and attached open spaces (e.g., community club, RC, social service centre, day care centre).

Results

Neighbourhood Centre (NC)

Although planning model assumes NC is located at geographical centre, Yuhua East NC is located at the northwest corner (Figure 1 & **Error! Reference source not found.**), with Hawker centre & Market (Blk254), Town Council (Blk255), open spaces (OS), and shops and clinics at 1st storey of residential blocks (Blk252, Blk253 & Blk256) .

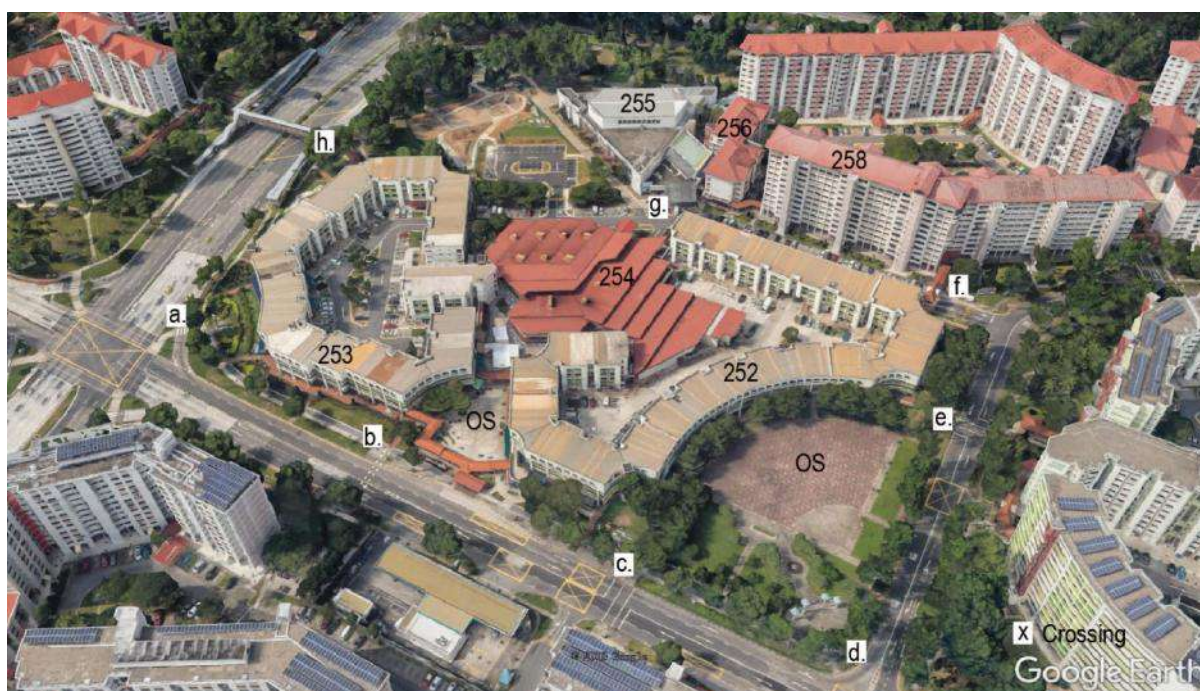


Figure 2. Yuhua East neighbourhood centre and its surrounded crossings

Hawker centre & Market catches large number of elderly persons. In the market, when shop owners are organizing goods in the early morning around 5:00 am, a couple of elders start to buy fresh groceries. More elders will join after 5:30 am and the population increases to 20 around 6:00am. At 7:00am, the market becomes crowded with more than 50 people, as people start to find their ways through crowds and lift their groceries carts to past more quickly. Majority of customers are elders and future elders (aged 55 years old and above), with more female than male. On weekdays, the population increases to 80 around 9:30 am, when aunties just finishing group exercises (e.g., qigong) can be observed. It will go beyond 100 between 7:30am-10:30am on weekends. After 10:30am, population drops to 50, with some meat and fish stores starting to close and stores selling fruits and vegetables still open.

Grocery shoppers consider goods not as good as early morning because they are leftovers. Since 12:00pm, there will be less than 10 customers in the market, when all the stores selling meat and fish are closed. Fruit and vegetable stores are open until 3pm while stores selling spices and clothes, and eggs are open until 5pm.

In hawker centre, stalls selling breakfast and coffee are open around 5:00am. Some elderly persons, majority male, start to have breakfast and drink coffee. Population grows to 70-80 at 5:30am and more than hundreds after 7:00am. Around 9:00am, stalls tend to have long queues in front and it is hard to find seats (Figure 3). After 2:00pm, population drops down and cleaners can take a rest around 4:00pm. Population will increase again after 5:00pm and decrease after 7:30pm. More gathering groups among families and elders can be observed on weekends. According to a 76-year-old female resident, there are fewer people in hawker centre on Monday and Tuesday because many stalls are closed. Hawker centre accommodates activities other than eating and drinking. Some common scenes include elders eating alone reading newspaper or looking at phones, uncles getting together smoking and drinking beer or doing informal activities such as betting on horse racing, aunties gossiping after morning exercise and grocery shopping, and some just looking around with nothing at table. Explained by an 80-year-old grandpa, as hawker centre is owned by the government, they can sit as long as they wish without buying anything. A weekend gathering among the elderly can take more than 5 hours. Another 80-year-old grandpa expressed he and his friends would chit chat for 2-3 hours if there are free seats, but they will give places and do not interrupt business if there are many customers.



Figure 3. A typical scene in hawker centre at 9:30am on weekend

The usage patterns of open spaces in NC is influenced by the rhythms of Hawker centre & market and weather conditions (Figure 4). Social activities take place before 5:30am when

the convenience store owner sets up flexible table for displaying fruits (Figure 4a). The store owner has become part of the neighbourhood social networks since his store has been opened for 10 years. On Sunday night, the owner may drink beers and talk with his long-term customers who have already become his friends. Another social spot is the newspaper stand at the edge of the hawker centre. There are always people standing in front or sitting nearby, chatting with the newspaper uncle. In the early morning or late afternoon, there are also one to two uncles sleeping against cardboards at the sheltered benches, who have no place to go because of family troubles. As there are more customers in NC, fixed benches at the open spaces start to be taken up by passengers, some smoking for a while, some looking at phones, reading newspaper or just looking around (Figure 4b & Figure 4c). Occasionally, the open space is crossed by uncles on bicycles or scooters. On a sunny day, the unshaded benches tend to be empty while those shaded by trees or blocks are occupied. Between 2:00pm to 5:00pm, few people visit these spaces due to few customers and the hot weather.



Figure 4. Open spaces in NC, surrounded by hawker centre and shops at 1st storey of blocks

As NC is surrounded by roads with traffic, with small area of open spaces available, its connectivity and vibrancy are amputated. The carpark located next to Town Council inhibits the potential of a lively car-free street flanked by Blk252 and Blk258. Along Jurong East Ave 1, it has been observed that quite a lot of residents jaywalk at point b (**Error! Reference source not found.** & Figure 5). Eighty minutes observation (10 minutes per 2 hours from

5:00am to 9:00pm) finds 162 people jaywalking on one weekday and 198 on one weekend day. During 10 minutes' observation between 9:00am to 11:00am, 50 people are observed jaywalking on one weekday and 56 on one weekend day. Among these jaywalkers, there are elderly persons with walking aids, grandfather taking grandchildren, aunties with grocery carts. Some jaywalk back and forth within a few minutes for take-away food or buying newspaper. Although fully aware of the danger, they do not want to walk 200 meters more to reach crossings with signal (point a and c). Jaywalking is hard to prohibit because people tend to choose the route with the shortest distance for places they are familiar with and visit on daily basis. Instead of providing a car-free street system that promotes public life, current open spaces are fragmented by traffic and carpark. This is due to current neighbourhood planning are based on functional approaches that prioritize car traffic and efficiency. Evidenced by a 76-year-old auntie living on Blk227 (Precinct VI) who cannot walk long and has to take bus to reach NC for more choices of food, increasing ageing population requires more supportive neighbourhood environment with good connectivity for daily destinations and seats along the routes. More vibrant opens spaces with public life are necessary for the elderly to spare time.



Figure 5. People going back home from NC jaywalk for convenience

Precinct Centre (PC)

With increasing number of ageing population, PCs are more important for satisfying the elderly's daily needs since the 400-meter NC service radius may be too long, not to mention the actual walking distances for some residences are much longer (**Error! Reference source not found.**). In this paper, three PCs (A-C, Figure 6) are selected for discussion to see whether they can satisfy the elderly's daily needs and promote social interactions among the residents.

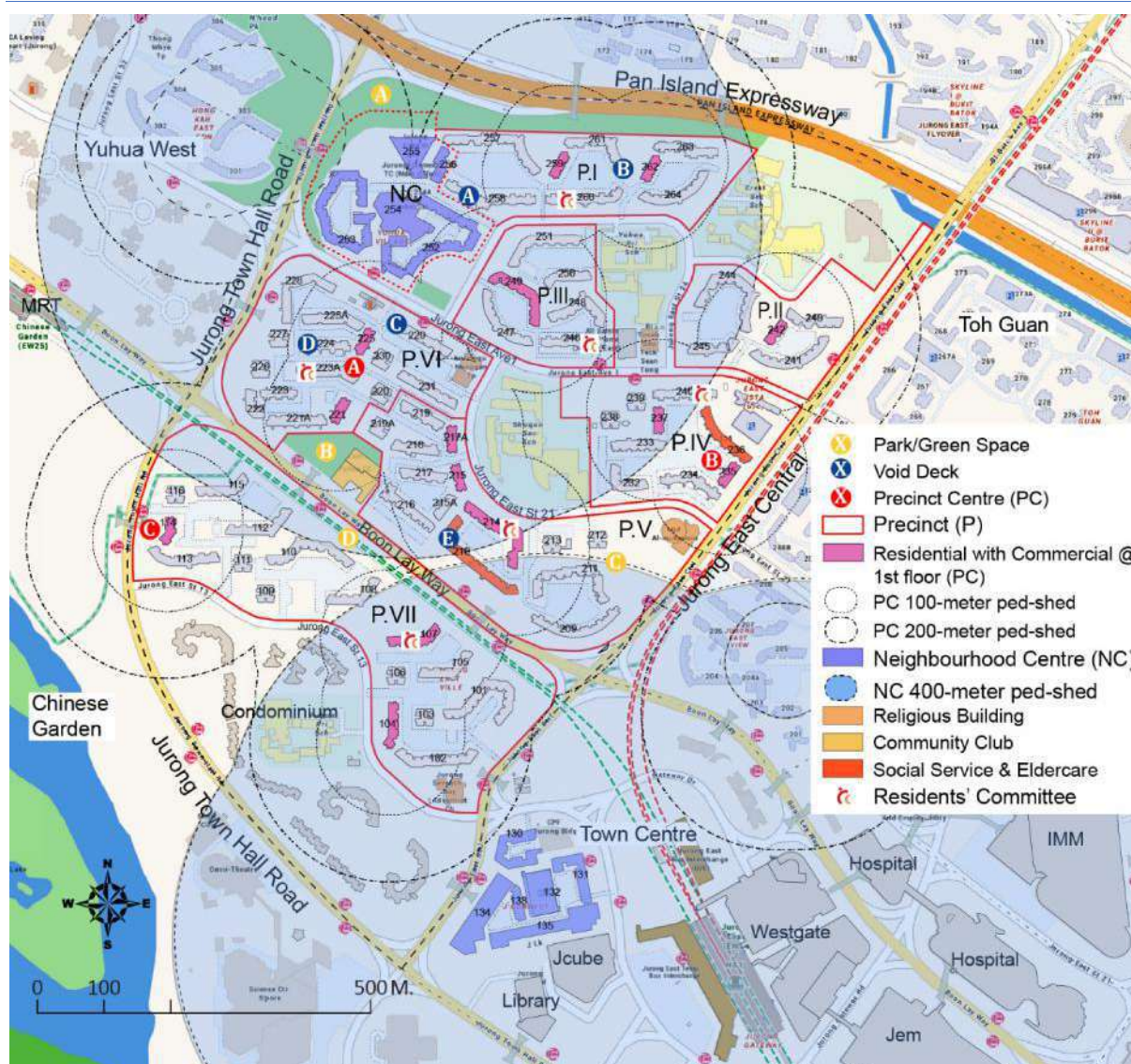


Figure 6. Yuhua East with ped-sheds for NC (400m) and PCs (100m & 200m)

At PC A (Precinct VI), there is an eating house, a seafood trading, two convenience stores, a dental surgery and a clinic at Blk221 and there are two beauty stores and one coffeeshop at Blk225 (**Error! Reference source not found.** & Figure 7). To the east of Blk221, there is a sandpit for ball games and a basketball court. Before 6:00am, both the coffeeshop and eating house have customers and residents start to buy fresh fish in the seafood trading. The coffeeshop is occupied by 20-30 people for most of the time, some reading newspaper, some watching TV and smoking at the smoking area. There are several groups of uncles getting together drinking coffee on daily basis. On Thursday at 10:00am, a group of people, usually 5 to 6, start to play pétanque at the sandpit. Teenagers and male adults play basketball on weekday nights and on weekends. Because PC A connects residents from Precinct VII to NC, people with grocery carts can be seen from early morning to noon, and from late afternoon to night. Elderly persons usually avoid going out between 1:00pm to 3:00pm because it is quite

hot. Even though for those elders coming back from NC, they always grab some food (e.g. bread) from shops at Blk225. However, there is almost no open spaces at this precinct centre. It can be observed from Figure 7 that uncles put flexible chairs at the turning corner and at the sheltered walkway a few steps above Blk225. Although there are large number of passengers and various activities, the lack of open space inhibits more people to stay for long period of time and enjoy public life.



Figure 7. Shops, eating places and surrounding spaces at PC A

Different from PC A, some blocks at PC B (Precinct IV) is 400 meters away from NC (Figure 6). At PC B, there are two clinics and one coffeeshop (Muslim) at Blk235. There is also a playground and precinct garden surrounded by a kindergarten, and a hair salon, a tuition centre and a dialysis centre at Blk237 (Figure 6 & Figure 8). The coffeeshop is open at 6:00am when Muslims come back from the Mosque nearby may stop for breakfast. On weekdays, there will be around 10 customers before 7:00am and gradually increase to 30 before lunch time. During lunch, the coffeeshop hold 80-90 people on weekdays and more than 120 on weekends. Population number will drop to 20 at late afternoon and increase again after 5:00pm. As there are no open spaces attached, no public life take place beyond this eating place (Figure 8a). At the precinct garden in front of Blk237, there are passengers throughout the day, especially around 8:00 am on weekdays when parents send their kids to kindergarten. However, there are few social interactions taking place, except from one couple sitting on the bench for a few minutes after dinner, and three aunties feeding stray cats and chatting at the void deck. The lack of public life is partly resulted from planning and design. The carpark located in between Blk235 and Blk237 interrupts social interactions between residents (Figure 8b). The elevated seating area segregated by thick walls almost has no visitors (Figure 8c). Its slopes and stairs take up large land area and break the precinct garden into smaller pieces. PC B seems to be empty and lifeless since both people and their occasionally out-of-home activities are spread out in time and space and have no chances to grow into more meaningful and inspiring events (Gehl, 1987).



Figure 8. PC B with coffeshop, precinct garden, playground and shops

PC C (Precinct VII) has an elderly fitness corner, surrounded by one mini mart, two supply stores, one hair salon, one vet clinic and pharmacy at Blk114 (Figure 6 & Figure 9). The other two blocks with commercials within Precinct VII are excluded due to long distance. Compared to PC B, residents here need more efforts to reach NC due to the busy traffic at Boon Lay Way. PC C is empty for most of time, except from a couple of residents visiting convenience stores and a few customers in hair salon. Because there are no eating places nearby, an informal stall selling take-away food and vegetables is set up in the morning around 8:00am (Figure 9b). It not only provides breakfast, but also attracts residents to stay at the fitness corner and chat for a while. As the temporary stall is inadequate for daily demands, residents living near PC C visit different places frequently, including Yuhua East NC, Yuhua West NC and town centres. The long distance for accessing amenities poses challenges for independent living among the elderly with reduced mobility.

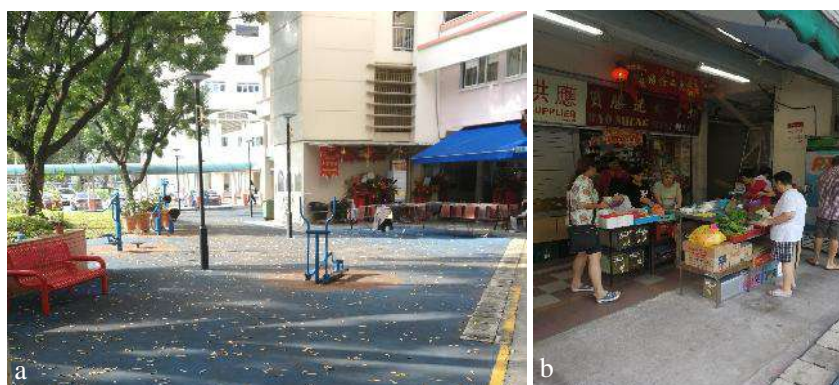


Figure 9. PC C with an elderly fitness corner, shops and a temporary stall

Park/Green Space

In this paper, four types of park and green spaces (A-D, see Figure 6) are selected for discussion. Neighbourhood park (A) is located near NC. Around 6:00am, there are about 10 elderly persons in the park, walking, running, stretching, or having a rest at benches. At 7:00am, two groups of elders (50 people in total, only 2 males) conduct qigong at the hard

pavement behind the mechanic room of Town Council (Figure 10a). There are also increasing number of people doing individual exercises or passing by. Around 9:30am, due to crowdedness and noises in the hawker centre, a couple of uncles may relocate from the hawker centre to the park. Occasionally, they are accompanied by friends who cycle past and stop for a few minutes' talk. Morning exercises stop around 10:00am. Since then, the majority of people visiting park are just passengers. After 3:00pm, kids go back from school and start to play at the playground. The neighbourhood park becomes popular again around 5:30pm when residents come back from work or conduct exercise before dinner (Figure 10b). During 10 minutes' observation, about 40 people are found, including some elders walking, running, walking on pebbles, using exercise facilities, some sitting on benches and watching kids play, and one or two elders pushing swings for grandchildren. Evidenced by the location for qigong, this park is lack of open space large enough for group exercises. The hard pavement space behind the mechanic room does not have nice scenery supposed to be seen in parks. Even though there are underutilized spaces in the park, those aunties have difficulties to find places for their grocery carts and other personal belongs. They actually hang their bags and umbrellas on the handrails of mechanic room. More considerations should be put on how the park works instead of how it looks.



Figure 10. Group and individual exercise among the elderly in neighbourhood park

Compared to the neighbourhood park, precinct park (B) has much lesser users (Figure 6). In the morning around 6:30am, there are about five elderly persons walking, doing Tai Chi, and using exercise facilities. After 9:00am, except from a few kids playing after school time, almost nobody stays in the park for longer period of time (Figure 11a). In contrasting, the pathway is quite popular. Around 8:00am, it can be observed that elderly persons walk past it with grocery carts. After dinner, elders may sit at the benches along the pathway, looking at phones or chatting (Figure 11b). The reason for the underutilized precinct park is probably resulted from low visibility and lack of seating. Hiding behind bushes, pedestrians on the pathway can not see the activities behind. It is also hard for the elderly to stay and watch kids playing if there are no seats around the playground.



Figure 11. Playground and pathway in the precinct park

Green space (C) contains a soccer field, surrounded by walking routes, two pavilions, exercise facilities, a mini football court, and a playgournd (Figure 6 & Figure 12). Similar as the precinct park, this green space has four to five people walking around in the morning and after dinner , and remains empty for most of the time. However, as a neighbourhood space with relatively large area of land, two group exercises taking place in the morning (Figure 12). One groups of people wearing white T-shirt begin at 5:30am everyday, starting from walking around the soccer field, doing voice exercises facing towards street, stretching and jumping at the grass, conducting qigong at yoga mats at 6:30am and then ending their exercises at 7:15am (Figure 12a). If it rains, this exercise (called ““rejuvanation”) still goes on under the pavilion. Another groups of people doing areobics start at 6:30am only on weekdays (Figure 12b). Although the participants are all female, one to two uncles walking or cycling past may stop to watch for a while and join. As these two group exercising going on, one uncle from Blk 210 is enjoying himself with performing martial arts in the pavilion. This green space becomes more meaningful due to these arranged out-of-home activities.



Figure 12. Group exercises at precinct green space and one uncle performing martial arts

Another type of green space is Park Connector Network (D, Figure 6), which is a network of walking and cycling paths connecting various parks and green spaces in Singapore (Figure 13). Since 6:00am, there are residents walking to bus stops and a couple of elders exercising. Similar as parks, morning exercise usually continues until 10:00am and evening exercise starts around 5:30pm. If it is not rainy or too sunny, seats along the park connector will be occupied by those finishing exercising and passengers. Some uncles also park their bicycles nearby and start to read newspaper. Informal social activities take place when neighbours walk past. Nowadays, more people are observed using personal mobility devices, majority of which are young people and food delivery guys.



Figure 13. Park connector for walking and cycling, with seats and greenaries along the route

Void deck

Void decks, as an unique intervention in Singapore, are vacant spaces located at ground floors of HDB blocks, used for communal activities, such as Malay weddings, funeral wakes, playing chess and exercises. Five void decks (A-E, Figure 6) are selected for discussion in this paper. Void deck A @ Blk 258 is located near NC, with fixed chairs, a TV set, and chess tables (Figure 14a & Figure 14b). Since TV is open at 10:00am, there will be two to three elders sitting at the fixed chairs and one to two sitting on flexible chairs against the wall. During the day, this void deck accommodates various activities, such as having take-away food, reading newspaper, sleeping, and placing bets for Singapore Pools. On weekday, one to two groups of male elders play chess around 4:00pm, which continues until 7:00pm-7:30pm, when some of them go back home for dinner. After 5:00pm, there are more spectators as some uncles back from work places will stay for one game before going back home. There are also people stopping for a while on their ways to or back from NC. This void deck attracts not only residents nearby, but also those living in Yuhua West, Toh Guan, and Jurong West. On weekends, there will be more chess players and bystanders since lunch time. Void decks also accommodate other hobbies. Void deck B @ Blk 261 is a birds club attracting songbird keepers (Figure 14c). On Friday night and on weekends, those songbird keepers enjoy their life by buying a cup of tea and sitting on the flexible chairs, watching their birds singing.



Figure 14. Void deck A&B as neighbourhood spaces for fun

Although the above-functioned hobbies can not be observed in majority of the void decks, there are other activities taking place. At void deck C @ Blk 229, there are elderly persons chit chatting and gossiping with one auntie picking vegetables (Figure 15a). Its well designed seating area (called parklet) is always empty because the seats are too low. Void deck D @ Blk 224 has shaded exercise facilities (Figure 15b). The main users are residents nearby with reduced mobility, usually accompanied by caregivers. Although the facilities are not occupied for most of the time, residents may use it for a few minutes during waiting for pick-up or before going back to home. In contrasting to void deck A @ Blk 258, void deck E @ Blk 210 is lifeless, probably due to its location and the never-opened TV (Figure 15c). On Friday morning, this void deck is alive when an organized group exercise takes place. Although seating areas and exercise facilities are found to be underutilized during observaton, there are still elderly residents complaining about the lack of seating at some blocks and expressing their preferences for TV and shaded exercise facilities.



Figure 15. Facilities and activities in void deck C, D and E

Community facilities & eldercare facilities and attached open spaces

Arranged activities and communal events organized at communal facilities (RCs and CCs) accomodate the elderly's interests and promote the elderly's out-of-home activities. These facilities run by grassroots organizations also provide volunteer oppotunities for the elderly in the neighbourhood. Yuhua Zone 2 RC @ Blk 240 organizes Karaoke club from 1:00pm-

5:00pm and 6:30pm to 10:00pm on daily basis. It costs 4 Singapore dollars to participate for 1 session (4 hours). The elderly participants start to queue at the void deck as early as 11:00am. With about 10 elders participating, they take turns and usually sing 3-4 songs during each section. Yuhua Zone 4 RC @ Blk223A organizes more activities, such as free-admission health promotion talks in its activity room (Figure 16a), and group exercises (e.g., chair yoga, aerobics) at the shaded pavilion in front of RC (Figure 16b).



Figure 16. Organized activities by Yuhua Zone 4 RC

Community clubs (CCs) are common spaces for people of all races to come together, build friendships and promote social bonding. CC consists various facilities (e.g., dance studio, multi-purpose hall) and provides venues for courses, interest groups and communal events. In Yuhua East CC, there is a coffeeshop at the first floor for gatherings before and after courses (Figure 17a). Elderly persons reading newspaper and watching TV can also be observed. Various courses and interests groups (e.g., music, dancing, martial arts and calligraphy) are provided for people of different age groups (Figure 17b). For example, there are about fifty elderly persons (aged 55 to 85, one fifths are male) participating in ukelele courses on every Saturday from 2:00pm-3:30pm. They have a great time when playing ukelele and singing at the same time. Whenever there are communal events, the elderly of different interest groups have choices to perform. Two communal events are observed during field survey. One is Multi-racial Dumpling Festival Celebration, with about 200 audiences, and programmes going on at the stage (Figure 17c). Another communal event is for pioneer generation³ with similar programmes. Meanwhile, in the CC hall, information boards and tables are set up by different agencies (e.g., Loving Heart Multi-service Centre, National Kidney Foundation, Singapore Police Force) to educate health and safety issues and inform the elderly about available services.

³ Pioneer generation refers to Singapore elderly residents who were born on or before 31 Dec 1949 and those who obtained their citizenship on or before 31 Dec 1986.



Figure 17. Activities and events in Yuhua Community Club

In Yuhua East, there is also a social centre center (Loving Heart Multi-service Centre @ Blk 210) and a social day care centre (Aspiration Wan Qing Lodge @ Blk 236). Open spaces attached to these service centres have the potential to promote social interactions among the elderly and intergenerational interactions. However, open spaces at both locations are greatly underutilized (Figure 18 & Figure 19). For the one in front of Blk 210 (Figure 18), one reason is probably due to there is nothing interesting to see. Those elderly users prefer to stay in the centre's air-conditioned room with massage chairs and exercise facilities. As for the exercise corner in front of Blk 236 (Figure 19), it is hard to access with steps and one narrow ramp. Instead of providing lifeless open spaces, more considerations should be given about how to attract the elderly to use and stay at these spaces. This issue is pivotal considering limited amount of available lands in Singapore's high-rise high density context.



Figure 18. Green space with seats in front of Loving Heart Multi-service Centre



Figure 19. Exercise corner in front of Aspiration Wan Qing Lodge

Conclusions

The study results indicate that neighbourhood planning and design should go beyond functional and utilitarian approaches and prioritize people's everyday experiences. To promote public life and the formulation of social support networks, it is necessary to plan neighbourhood spaces as a system instead of as fragmented and lifeless pieces. A vibrant neighbourhood centre requires great connectivity and adequate amount of open spaces. With increasing number of ageing population, a precinct centre should be equipped with proper programmes and open spaces to accommodate the elderly's daily needs and promote social interactions. For park and green spaces, more emphasis should be laid on visibility and seating provisions. Meanwhile, more attention should be paid to the elderly's lifestyles and interests when designing age-friendly neighbourhood. Designing neighbourhood of interests is important for the elderly to continue out-of-home activities they conducted at younger ages and to find replacements for lost social networks. The study results hope to give better understanding of the elderly's out-of-home activities in the neighbourhood, the usage patterns of neighbourhood spaces and the interactions between the elderly and neighbourhood environment. The results hope to benefit the development of age-friendly neighbourhoods in global high-rise high-density cities.

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Magic Lanes - A Placemaking Approach for Laneway Spaces in Hong Kong

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Abstract

With one of the highest population densities in the world, Hong Kong's residents suffer from a lack of public space. Despite this situation, open spaces provided by government authorities and private developers often don't meet residents' needs. In this context, this chapter explores Hong Kong's laneways as an alternative open space network and discusses the placemaking project *Magic Lanes*, a pilot project, which engages local residents in the co-creation of community spaces. The chapter concludes with reflections on the role of laneways in the creating and sustaining a more inclusive and healthy environment in Hong Kong.

Keywords: *Hong Kong, Urban Design, Placemaking, Laneways*

Co-creating urban solutions: A study of resident-led initiatives in Singapore

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Abstract

Current practice within urban governments has seen an increasing focus on the role of the “citizen.” Often couched under terms such as public engagement, co-creation, co-production and others, the role of the everyday resident has become elevated from being a passive consumer of public services, and into one that is focuses on initiatives whereby residents identify unmet needs in their communities and self-organise to create ground up solutions. Commonly, such activities are taken at face value and seen as a normative good. While many do indeed exhibit novel forms of organisation and service delivery, less known is the extent to which they embed and diffuse beyond their current application.

As such, we present a framework to evaluate the resident-led initiatives, specifically whether they generate lasting outcomes to shape the urban and social fabric of their cities. This research incorporates an assessment of 33 community initiatives in Singapore and interviews with 10 initiative leaders. We find that many initiatives are effective as a service provider, but have difficulty stimulating more structural change; interview data indicates institutional or societal readiness is an inhibitor for community initiatives to engage in more substantive activities. This tension between trying to stimulate more ground up activity, but not knowing if or how to direct the energy towards potentially disruptive outcomes, deserves more exploration. Particularly, we advocate for a more deliberate look at whether community initiatives are truly ‘co-creating’ the city, and how we can better leverage their potential to improve our cities and services.

Keywords: participation, community initiatives, ground up, Singapore

Introduction

Community initiatives have become increasingly viewed as an important tool for urban governance over the past several years. Ranging from efforts to conduct placemaking in

common spaces, to meal distribution systems for low-income residents, to groups that connect vegetables that have been discarded for aesthetic reasons with food banks – they model locally-informed responses to a challenge or untapped opportunity in the community.

Because of the altruistic and voluntary nature of such initiatives, they are often considered to be a normative good. Less common is a critical approach that examines the extent to which such initiatives are actually successful in providing a public benefit beyond the “feel good” narrative. This calls into question what the objective of such initiatives are, and if they are being viewed through the lens of community building and public engagement, or through the lens of diffusion and generating new methods to improve city functions.

This has also been found to be the case for community initiatives that are supported by government agencies (i.e., co-creation). A literature review by Voorberg et al (2015) found that 52% of the co-creation projects between government and residents had no stated objective, and 7% of the studied projects were used primarily as a mechanism to increase citizen engagement. Further, the majority of the studies reviewed did not discuss the outcomes of the co-creation processes, opting instead to look at the process or typologies of co-creation; only 20% explicitly looked at long-lasting outcomes. These figures contribute to the idea that resident-led initiatives are primarily considered to be a virtue in and of themselves, with less attention paid to their potential as a legitimate mechanism for social learning through ‘new (combinations of) ideals, models, rules, social relations and/or products.’ (Avelino et al 2014 in Wolfram 2016)

In this paper, we develop a framework to understand the pathways by which initiatives can become more effective agents in processes of citymaking. We test this framework with 33 resident-led initiatives in Singapore, using primary and secondary data to conduct an assessment of their impact. We further discuss several goals, challenges and opportunities with regards to impact that initiative leaders identified through interviews and survey data.

Conceptual Framework

For this research, we define community initiatives as an action or series of actions led by non-paid individuals with the intent to benefit a wider community beyond the group’s own members and immediate friends and family. They should not be “owned” by an institution (e.g., an offshoot of a university) and are non-profit in nature. Members of the community are responsible for designing, initiating and implementing the actions, which can lead to solutions to social issues that are better targeted, contextually designed, and more sustainable than more top-down methods (Mansuri and Rao 2004). These initiatives are typically

independent of the government and other corporate or commercial entities, and are led by people who share a common goal (Wolfram 2017).

More often than not, community initiatives arise from a lack or a need in the community, filling gaps that exist in welfare provision or belated responses to issues and crises, and/or serving niche communities and causes (Ghaus-Pasha 2004). Some examples include groups that help older adults who collect cardboard for a living in Singapore (Wong, 2017), and individuals that organise forum theatre events to help residents living in rental flats process trauma and problems at home (Lazaroo, 2017). In this sense, community initiatives are usually unique with regards to the work that they do, serving communities that have unmet needs in ways that differ from the status quo.

In literature and everyday vernacular, the word “community” is often used interchangeably with a number of other words, including: ground-up, grassroot, resident-led, and self-initiated. There is also significant overlap with the concept of ‘co-creation,’ which is defined by Torfing et al (2016) as a ‘process through which two or more public and private actors attempt to solve a shared problem, challenge, or task through a constructive exchange...either through a continuous improvement of outputs or outcomes or through innovative step-changes that transform the understanding of the problem or task at hand and lead to new ways of solving it.’

Governments and citizens engage in co-creation for several reasons including: increasing quality public input and equality; empowering citizens; cultivating a more responsive government and moving away from standardised, one-size-fits-all solutions; increasing citizen awareness towards public challenges; increasing efficiency and effectiveness; reaping cost savings; risk management; value creation through innovation (Hom et al. 2014). Although co-creation is reminiscent of the term ‘public participation’, it differs because people do not join existing ‘pre-determined programmes’ but create initiatives that provide opportunities to ‘build capacities for self-government and develop open-ended civic processes’ (Hom et al., 2014).

Community initiatives set themselves apart from other types of organisations due to their internal characteristics and value-driven motivation. They typically start out at small scales, experimenting with different types of work and operational methods with few financial and physical resources. A by-product of the environmental constraints of community initiatives is the high level of commitment and enthusiasm from members to compensate for weaker organisational resources (Wolfram 2017).

Such commitment can translate into engaging in a process of identity creation and community building for those involved in this process, which further enables members of the community to feel a heightened sense of ownership of the problems that they face (Kim 2016). This not only creates a more proactive society, it also enables local knowledge to become an important source of insight for the work that is being done on the ground (ibid.) Because community initiatives are grounded in communities themselves, processes carried out are typically more in-tune with sentiments on the ground (Chua 2010). These groups are thus experimenting with forms of governance that are less hierarchical and more horizontal, tapping on the collective wisdom of the masses.

Beyond their ability to provide for community needs, community initiatives contribute to creating more pluralistic voices in society. Community initiatives are often diverse in their nature and their causes. Because these groups are not tied to any official bodies, they have comparatively more autonomy to say and do as they deem appropriate. Such forms of self-organisation and problem-solving are first and foremost an indicator of a society where citizens can and do take responsibility for their own welfare and that of their fellow citizens (Evers 1995). This allows for more empowerment of the public, thus resulting in a more active civil society where individuals and communities willingly contribute to improving the state of society. The spaces created by community initiatives further allow for the expression of alternative values, thus adding to the diversity of views that exist (ibid).

However, as community initiatives take ownership over the issues around them, they are also at the risk of sustaining a system that is structurally inadequate and unsound. As effective as these groups may be, they are often lacking resources and have competing priorities that do not allow them to focus all their energy and effort on their community work. At times they are pushed beyond their capacity to do things that are above and beyond the responsibility and ability of ordinary citizens. By lending acceptance and support to groups that provide welfare for the less-privileged, governments are accused of shifting the responsibility of welfare provision to citizens instead of working on radical transformations to improve the current systems and structures in place (Hoekstra and Dahlvik 2017). These groups become a bandage to problems within the system social service provision, and so long as they are in operation, there is less incentive for the government to change the way things are done (Mansuri and Rao 2004).

A typology of outcomes: pathways towards change

To counter some of these issues, we consider potential pathways by which community initiatives can result in more diffused, systemic impact. These pathways are informed by a theory of change approach, which consists of identifying the long-term goals and working

backwards, making explicit how an initiative's activities logically lead to the desired outcomes (Weiss 2000).

Theories of change have been used in programme evaluation to measure impact and determine whether or not the initiative is able to achieve an intended goal (Leviner 2006). In addition to focusing on quantitative measures of outputs, such as Key Performance Indicators, they also question the underlying assumption of the programme itself: Are the actions being taken likely to address the issue at hand? Can the group's work logically lead to policy change? Are they utilizing effective strategies to generate more public action and support for the causes? Additional measures of success include the reach of their work and the sustainability of their efforts, at minimal cost to the community they work with (ibid). Other initiatives may aspire to "work themselves out of a job," essentially through resolving the root cause of the challenge at hand.

In this same way, we question the theory of change of community initiatives themselves. Through which channels and mechanisms might a community initiative be able to effect larger scale social learning and structural change?

Operationalising the criteria

To operationalise this framework, we define three specific types of outcomes. The outcomes are informed by Weber's notion of an ideal type. The ideal type is intended as an abstract model that represents an extreme version of reality. In Weber's conception, the ideal type rarely exists, but can be used as a measuring stick to assess the deviation between an actual initiative and the 'ideal' initiative (Doty and Glick 1994). Similarly, the desired outcomes listed pose an idealistic view of the impact that a community initiative might have, acknowledging that the actual ability of an informal initiative to result in total structural change is limited by a number of factors.

The first ideal type of outcome is one in which an initiative succeeds in directly changing a government (or similar institutional) policy or practice. For instance, a successful community gardening initiative might instigate a government agency to reduce their regulations and red tape for others who wish to practice urban agriculture. Or, an agency might learn from a ground up initiative that provides care for older residents in the community, adapting the initiative's outreach mechanisms and list of identified needs into their own methods of conducting social work. This type of outcome is considered to result in a systemic change, in that there is a fundamental shift in how the issue will be addressed in the future. If the community initiative were no longer to continue, the change they affected would continue to last over time.

The second ideal type of outcome is based on large scale individual-level behaviour change. Specifically, an initiative might influence the public's perspectives on an issue in a way that stimulates systemic change. When consumer behaviour changes, or public pressure mounts, institutions may follow suit. An example is the #metoo movement, which sought to mobilize public opinion on sexual assault and harassment in the workplace, leading to several companies and governments to subsequently change their own HR practices and policies.

The third ideal type of outcome is when an initiative finds a sustainable way to directly provide a form of service, such as distributing meals for the homeless. Thus, the initiative has an impact on a person or situation's immediate circumstances, but may not address the root cause of the issue. To move towards an ideal type, an initiative would need to develop a long-term service provision model, for instance, building a wide network of community members who teach English to recent immigrants, which is likely to be able to sustain itself over time. Initiatives that provide services but which are unsustainable, on the other hand, may risk building a dependent constituency and leave a gap in service provision when they discontinue.

In reality, most initiatives appear to balance multiple approaches, and may utilize one approach to help meet the aims of another approach. For instance, by providing meals to low-income older residents, one might theorize a tenuous chain of action whereby media coverage of the initiative could lead towards greater awareness of the problem of ageing and poverty, which in turn could lead to a response from a public agency to address it. Or, if the initiative is particularly successful in raising public awareness, the initiative's leaders may be elevated as a stakeholder and invited to engage with a public agency on their policies and programmes. In institutional contexts where public agencies have rigid bureaucratic structures, it may be difficult to directly affect change within government, even if that is the ultimate goal of the initiative. Thus, the second approach to change public awareness or perspectives may be seen as the most viable method to influence the political landscape.

Having defined a conceptual framework to understand and assess the outcomes of resident-led initiatives, we then turn our attention to creating a way to operationalise these criteria and test them with several currently operating initiatives in Singapore. This is an exercise with a number of methodological challenges, however, we argue it is a useful starting point to examine the effectiveness of community initiatives.

Outcomes

Among the methodological challenges for making an assessment on an initiative's outcomes are the difficulties in establishing cause-and-effect relationships. This is particularly the case for initiatives that advocate for policy change or have longer-term goals, where it is very

difficult to isolate the role of the initiative in effecting any changes (Jun and Shiao 2012). Second, there is the problematic of standardizing such an evaluation. Each initiative will have different ambitions and goals; how does one compare an initiative that aims to improve recycling habits in a housing block, with one which aims to transform waste management for the country? Should effectiveness be ranked relative to an initiative's goals, or be an absolute measure? Third, is the problem of knowledge. Asking members of an initiative to evaluate themselves would create difficulties in calibrating scores, as each initiative might interpret their outcomes differently; having the researchers conduct the evaluation would help mitigate such inconsistency, but the researchers would not have the same detailed knowledge as the initiative members.

We attempt to address these challenges in the design of the evaluation framework (Table 1). For each of the three ideal types of outcomes, we use a ranking scale of 1-10, and provide four descriptive anchors within that scale: lowest (score of 1-2), low (3-5), medium (6-8), and high (9-10). The descriptive anchors help to create consistency, while providing a small range that acknowledges the fuzziness of the ranking, and enables the evaluator to consider how one initiative ranks relative to the rankings of other initiatives within each category.

Such an exercise also does not assume that each resident-led initiative has the aim or ambition to achieve each of these outcomes (which is evaluated separately). Thus, it is not a judgment on the initiative; rather it is a conceptual attempt to consider whether, and in what ways, resident-led initiatives are having a deeper impact on society and urban systems.

Table 1. Ranking system for community initiative outcomes

Score	Effect structural change in government policies, programmes and/or processes	Change individual behaviours and perceptions; attain a critical mass of public pressure that structurally changes commercial and/or institutional behaviour	Create a sustained model for long-term service provision
Lowest (1-2)	The initiative has not or does not desire to make a connection between their initiative and government policies, programmes and/or processes	The initiative has achieved no or minimal in-person outreach, online presence and/or media coverage to generate awareness amongst the broader public	The initiative does not provide any services, or provides them on a one-off basis

Low (3-5)	The initiative holds limited conversations with policymakers to share their points of view and knowledge of the situation	The initiative has limited in-person outreach, online presence and/or media coverage to generate awareness amongst the broader public	The initiative provides services on an ad-hoc or as needed basis
Medium (6-8)	The initiative has resulted in a shift in the way government agencies are likely to approach similar issues moving forward	The initiative has significant in-person outreach, online presence and/or media coverage; it is likely to have inspired other groups/individuals to further take action for their cause	The initiative regularly provides services on a short- to medium-term basis. It does not have a strategy or desire to sustain over time
High (9-10)	The initiative has led to a systemic change in a government policy or the way the government delivers a service	The initiative has stimulated large scale behavioural change, generating engagement and responsive actions from industry and/or institutions	The initiative has developed a sustainable model to deliver its services and continue their operations in the long-term

Methodology

To test the framework, 33 currently operating community initiatives in Singapore were evaluated and assigned a score between one (low) to ten (high) for each type of outcome. We conducted the assessment, using a combination of interviews, knowledge from personal interactions and online research of the initiative (e.g., Facebook, websites, media coverage). Initially, 50 initiatives were selected for evaluation, covering a range of topics, sizes, and organisational structures. Initiatives were evaluated by one of the three authors; we then collectively discussed the ranking of each initiative, and adjusted the rankings to create consistency across the initiatives. During the evaluation process, 17 initiatives were removed when we determined that they did not meet the definition of a community initiative and/or we did not have sufficient awareness of the initiative on one or more of the dimensions. Thus, a total of 33 initiatives were then evaluated across the three types of outcomes. In addition, we evaluated each initiative on a number of organisational characteristics, including: leadership charisma, leadership commitment, leadership experience, hierarchy, sophistication of outputs, formality, funding, novelty, innovation, ambition, network, public presence, public acceptance and partnership with government.

Once the rankings had been completed, exploratory data analysis, including correlation analysis, was performed using R (R Core Team, 2018). The main objective of the analysis was to identify the types of outcomes that initiatives are engaging in, and assess whether internal organisational factors were positively associated with different outcomes.

We further elaborate on these findings using qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with 10 initiative leaders from the above ranking, again covering a range of topics, sizes and organisational structures. During the interviews, we asked questions about how the initiatives defined impact, the barriers and challenges they face, their long-term goals and how they engage with institutional partners. The interviews were conducted in-person, and subsequently transcribed and coded using NVIVO software.

Findings

Based on the evaluation of the initiatives, there are significant variations in the extent to which community initiatives achieve different types of outcomes (Figure 1). Changing government policies and practices was the lowest scoring type of outcome, averaging 2.8 on a scale of 1 to 10. The initiatives were more successful in achieving change through public awareness, averaging a score of 3.7 out of 10. However, it was clear that the initiatives were highest ranked on their ability to act as service providers within the community, with an average score of 5.7 out of 10.

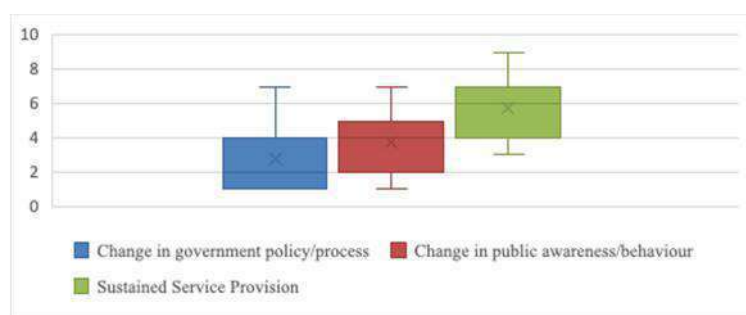


Figure 1: Box Plot of outcomes from 33 community initiatives

We then explored what factors are associated with different types of outcomes, identifying significant correlations between organisational characteristics and different types of outcomes (Figure 1). For instance, initiatives that scored highly on the service provision outcome were strongly associated with having formal structures and processes; having diverse funding sources; and having a strong public presence. Outcomes that ranked higher on awareness, on the other hand, had more positive associations with leadership charisma, a broad social network, and strong public presence. Understandably, initiatives that ranked higher on outcomes related to changing government policies and practices also had broad social networks and strong government partnerships.

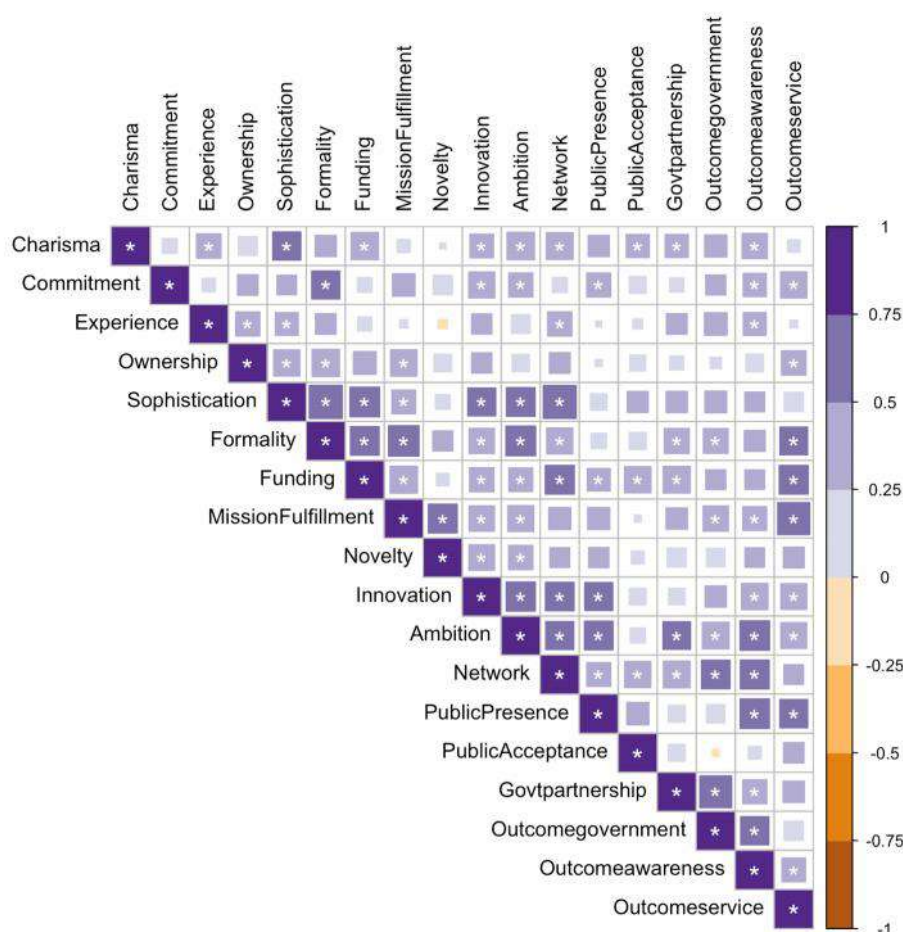


Figure 2: Correlation plot – initiative outcomes and organisational characteristics
An asterisk in the box denotes that the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

While exploratory, these findings suggest that community initiatives, while more able to engage in important service-oriented activities that fulfil unmet needs in their neighbourhoods, tend to lag in their ability to engage in more structural forms of change, acts of social learning and diffusion beyond their immediate actions. The correlations between outcomes and organisational dimensions shed some light into some of the mediating factors, while the in-depth interviews with initiative leaders were important to provide contextual understanding of some of the broader forces at play, which we discuss in more detail below.

Qualitative Insights

Through the interviews with initiative leaders, we find that there is indeed a desire by initiative leaders to diffuse their learnings beyond the immediacy of their initiative; however, their success in doing so depends highly on institutional readiness to engage with them. Several of the initiative leaders, particularly those who work in the social services sector, have tried to engage with government agencies with varying levels of success.

One initiative leader said, *“They came and asked for our records. It got me a bit ticked, because all along we have been asking them for help. So, I said, here’s the thing: I’ll show you the records, provided you join us with 10 of your staff to interview our [beneficiaries]. They never came down. Until now, we have never heard from them again...I hope they would be more open to collaborate with us; hopefully, they would understand the [beneficiaries] even more and know that these people really need help and allow their voices to be heard.”*

Another group had some success in working with the relevant government agency, but found that the engagement was more transactional and focused on resolving immediate issues, rather than strategizing for longer-term solutions. *“It is through social media that we got [them] talking to us. That’s how the relationship was formed, because they realised we meant business. It started that way, but things have progressed to be so much better...over time, [they] have become more responsive and receptive. However, these engagements still primarily focus on the current case load. We have not yet been able to engage them, other than a passing reference, on the mid and long term solutions to prevent or reduce such cases.”*

Aversion to risk was cited as one barrier to collaboration. *“If they were to push out something new, they are afraid people would react badly to it. So, like, they feel like they don’t want to take risky moves, they will just hold on to this for a while to see where it goes. In the meantime, everyone is just trying to push the boundaries a little bit here and there, and it only takes a couple of agencies to actually say, ‘Hey, I think this is gonna work,’ who are willing to take the risk, and that’s what we need more of. That is definitely what is needed.”*

However, it appears even those agencies that were willing to take some risk found it difficult to balance more traditional bureaucratic structures with the more informal needs of community initiatives. One initiative leader talked about the process of working with a government programme that allows community-initiated projects to temporarily close streets to vehicles, e.g., for street festivals. *“The idea is cool and all, but do you know how much red tape we need to get through to get there? We had [agency], fire marshals, traffic police, we have like a whole bunch of people, so that’s why we don’t do it. And that’s why it’s frustrating...even if you’re able to make it an easier process, even if you tell us it’s super easy to you, it may not be to us. So yeah, that’s why there are challenges working with government and stat boards.”*

Public acceptance of informal, unofficial initiatives is also mixed, possibly arising from the perception of Singapore as a “nanny state,” and expectations of the government (rather than the community itself) to resolve local issues and concerns. Hence, community initiatives can find difficulty in gaining legitimacy or credibility. In some instances, they may even be seen

as anti-government, for highlighting problematic issues and giving the perception that the government is not effective. In Singapore, there is a common rhetoric about the government's role in balancing differing viewpoints and considering a variety of consequences, before making an informed decision that is in the best interest of the nation as a whole. Ground up initiatives can be seen as not respecting what is framed as an objective, deliberative process, but rather pushing their agenda "out of turn."

One interviewee stated, *"There are those who would say that we are trying to make Singapore look bad. We are not saying that Singapore is a bad place to stay or the government is bad."* They further go on to say, *"Unfortunately, what I have found is that Singaporeans are not very proactive, not very creative in this kind of thing. So they think that if you see a poor person, the only person that can help is either the government, or I need to go find a group that can help this person. Why not you talk to them, find out more and then see what ways you can help?"*

Similarly, several interviewees cited a "complaint-based" culture, where other residents would question or report their activities through official channels. Over time, this has resulted in a reluctance or hesitance to try new things.

A community member who had initiated a local project which was stopped after neighbours complained to the authorities said, *"We don't dialogue. We don't try to talk to each other, we just complain. That's the easy way out of resolving a problem. We just ban it immediately. We don't even bother to clarify on why and what is wrong."*

This perception was echoed by a local artist, who said *"Certainly one thing that we have been hearing a lot of is that a lot of the enforcement is really complaint driven, so if someone does something to beautify the void deck, or plant flowers or whatever it is, the HDB (Housing and Development Board) and the Town Council are generally okay with it, but what happens a lot of times is that the neighbours start complaining, and then they start cracking down."*

The interviewee went on to say, *"Everything sounds great and all, but honestly, it's only great if someone doesn't complain about it. Let's say, for example, the girl who does the golden staircase, she puts up all these golden sheets in the HDB [as art], and even though a lot of people would say, 'Oh, it's pretty,' she didn't do it with permission, and when someone complains it will definitely be taken down. So, it's really back to the community, la."*

One of the challenges with the complaint-based system is that *"Every complaint is taken as if it has the magnitude of a thousand complaints. You have to realise that not every voice that is*

complaining about something is right in that aspect. One person or one group complains, and everyone gets affected. It always happens this way because they are so damn afraid. So that's just disappointing, if you ask me."

This has led to a perceived sense of censorship, with one interviewee stating, *"Another thing is that when we want to do something outside, we always think that we are gonna be controlled. Like, what we put up is gonna be censored, changed to some degree to fit everyone's beliefs, so that's the fear that we generally get, and it doesn't help that it perpetuates in the community. This mindset will always perpetuate so long as this censorship issue is the case. People will always think the government will tear down what they wanna do."*

In addition, we noted some protectiveness and competitiveness between different initiatives who work in similar areas, which can inhibit sharing and idea diffusion. One initiative mentioned that their biggest challenge was the appropriation of their idea; another interviewee elaborated by saying, *"The feeling I get when other groups are doing the same thing as us is that – oh no, they are taking away our space, because we want to maintain our niche. So, I actually feel a bit threatened if some other groups come up...because we are growing, we want to be the only ones trying to get those collaborations [with sponsors and partners]."* Another person shared their mixed experience in working with another initiative, citing challenges in working out how to share credit between the two initiatives, and finding a way to collaborate without giving away too much information about their operations, another sign that initiatives consider themselves to be competing with each other for limited resources and support.

Others were more interested in collaborating with other groups, but this was seen as an underdeveloped opportunity for many. *"I think we should actually learn to work together. When we get together to tackle certain problems, you can be heard better and we have more heads to tackle a problem."* Another interviewer also took a more positive approach, and said that their biggest achievement was having their initiative replicated by other organisations. *"This group of volunteers, they told us clearly, they want to do [something similar] in the east, and they have their own group. They said they want to learn from us. 'Okay, please learn from us.' After a few months, they said, 'We think we are ready.'"*

Personally, some initiative leaders have found that there is limited support for their model of engagement. *"My family and friends would say, 'Why you do this? You don't even earn so much, than you want to go out and help other people...' They have that kind of mentality. Because in Singapore, we have the mentality that success only means anything if you drive a big car, a big house, then you can go and help other people."*

Conclusion

Recent years have seen the Singapore government shift towards being more open, consultative and collaborative. Buzz words such as ‘co-creation,’ ‘public participation,’ and ‘citizen engagement’ have become fairly commonplace in government forums, which have been supplemented with a generous array of government grants and support for residents to start their own initiatives. This includes the \$25M Our Singapore Fund that was launched in 2016 “to support meaningful projects by passionate Singaporeans—projects that build national identity or meet social and community needs” (MCCY 2018) and the Housing and Development Board’s Friendly Faces Lively Places Fund, which provides up to \$20,000 for residents “to initiate community-driven place-making projects that develop stronger place identity in their neighbourhoods.” (HDB 2018) Despite the engaging rhetoric, it bears consideration of what the role of such initiatives are meant to be, and if they are being adequately leveraged to support and test new urban solutions and forms of citymaking.

Given the relative newness of participatory planning in this context, it is worth mentioning that significant efforts have been made to create platforms for participation, and there is a noticeable energy at events and online forums, of people who are interested in and willing to invest their time and social capital into community initiatives. However, this research finds that the outcome of such initiatives at the moment remains relatively cursory. While many are successful in engaging in different types of service provision (e.g., picking up litter, providing animal welfare services), there remains untapped potential to diffuse the learnings from these novel, on-the-ground models of engagement, and consider how they can be used to inform the next generation of urban policies and practices that are responsive and adaptive to local needs.

Further, while many of the types of technical or monetary support provided to community initiatives are useful and important to support this emerging sector, there remain cultural and societal norms that should be addressed if community initiatives are to truly realise their innovative and co-creative capacity. These include deliberate collaboration between government agencies and community initiatives; consideration of how to mediate conflicts or differences of opinion between community initiatives and their surrounding environments; and a greater openness towards informal, or unpermitted, initiatives that are experimenting with new ways of working. Of course, the Singaporean system has been lauded for its efficient and effective urban transformation over the past several decades – a transformation that is widely considered to be the result of a top down, technocratic approach. How these two approaches can be reconciled with one another is an important topic, and one that needs to be considered as we move into this next era of participatory governance.

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Making SHADE: Community Building and Engagement in Honolulu

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Abstract

SHADE is a Honolulu, Hawaii-based interdisciplinary environmental design practice and public interest training institute. SHADE stands for sustainable, humanitarian, architecture and design for the earth.

Since 2015, the SHADE Institute, a non-profit subsidiary of SHADE group LLC, began its intern training and mentorship program which initiated the Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project, a public interest urban design initiative. Honolulu's Chinatown, the oldest ethnic enclave of its kind in the U.S. is a centrally located and vital district adjacent to Honolulu Harbor which will be served by a mass transit rail station in the near future.

Today, Chinatown retains its social function as a place for multi-ethnic, immigrant housing and businesses. Critical issues of deteriorating buildings, crime, sanitation and persistent homeless occupation of streets and public spaces is rampant. The Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project (CUAP) provided analysis, documentation and a vision plan for mitigating these issues through 12 urban design recommendations.

Critical issues discussed in this paper include what is and why this community building approach was created and how public engagement was initiated, how it was implemented, and what results were realized through it. As a public interest design initiative, the CUAP, seeks to shape policy by physical analysis and design recommendations over time.

Keywords: urban, intern, community

Introduction

SHADE Institute applies a multi-disciplinary, training-based, public interest approach to environmental design practice – combining urban planning and design, engineering, landscape architecture, architecture and environmental graphics – toward critical urban issues in collaboration with government, non-profit and private organizations.¹ The Institute's mission is to provide intern training and community service through public interest design services which emphasizes sustainability and humanitarianism

As an alternative practice model, SHADE seeks to redefine the physical design professions in three ways.

First, it seeks to breakdown the interdisciplinary divisions among the physical design disciplines through the process of *design thinking*² and the need for firms to integrate their methods to achieve a higher level of stakeholder/end-user engagement, sustainable design and resilience.

Second, it provides opportunities and a framework for service-based, professional development through a program of intern training and professional mentorship through the humanitarian-centric practice paradigm of *public interest design*.³

Third, it works in collaboration with state and local government, educational institutions, non-profit organizations and private businesses to solve complex design problems in the civic domain using simple and economical methods.⁴

Training, Mentorship and Community Service

SHADE Institute's training, mentorship and community service is project-based. While there is no set curriculum, its approach to a particular urban issue, its context and stakeholder engagement is strategic, tactical and objective-oriented. Helping to create sustainable, resilient and humane built environments for societies in culturally diverse tropical and subtropical cities and regions is SHADE's general objective.

Training-wise, SHADE provides opportunities for advanced university level students enrolled in professional planning and urban planning and design programs to engage directly with communities, professional mentors and government officials. Project work is typically collaborative (in groups) and supplemented by seminar topics related to and necessary for the

¹ The discipline and practice of environmental design grew out of the social and physical upheavals occurring in America's urban centers during the late 1960s. Fueled by angst within and without our nation's borders led mainly by coalitions of then, politically active youth: baby-boomer majority white college students, oppressed African American and other ethnic minorities, and feminist activists seeking gender equality as the no-win Vietnam War escalated overseas. The author holds a Masters in Environmental Design from Yale University.

² Design Thinking definition see – <https://dschool-old.stanford.edu/sandbox/groups/designresources/wiki/36873/attachments/74b3d/ModeGuideBOOTCAMP2010L.pdf>

³ Public Interest Design definition see – <https://www.publicinterestdesign.com/>

⁴ Urban Acupuncture definition – <http://helsinkiacupuncture.blogspot.com/>

project's implementation and one-to-one mentorship by a design professional who is assigned to the particular intern. Knowledge transfer emphasizes the "what is and how to."

Knowledge of the issues at hand, the historic/present physical context and social composition within/without a community's project site is critical. Every project begins with a process of information gathering which is followed by physical and social analysis as a basis for design. Stakeholder identification and engagement occurs through a strategic process called the Community Design Workshop (CDW). The CDW is a periodic event which initiates and sustains project momentum through collective problem seeking and problem solving and achieving stakeholder commitment and "buy-in" into a project's goals.

Through the CDW process, SHADE seeks to train both community stakeholder and its interns to collectively envision a better designed public realm.

Why Chinatown Urban Acupuncture?

The Chinatown Urban Acupuncture project was initiated because area legislators were notified in 2014 by Chinatown property and business owners about an increase in safety, sanitation and visual blight in their community. At that time, the community's elevated concern coincided with the City & County of Honolulu's Chinatown Transit Oriented District (TOD) Action Plan effort. Working in parallel to and in cooperation with the City's Department of Planning & Permitting's TOD Planning team, SHADE interns investigated conditions in Chinatown, captured data, engaged with community members through the CDW process, and made 12 site-specific urban intervention concepts for the community's consideration. (Fig. 1)

Honolulu's New Mass Transit Infrastructure

This municipal project was conceived and executed primarily as a twenty-mile engineering design and construction project by the city's Honolulu Authority for Rapid Transportation (HART).⁵ While Neighborhood Transit Oriented District (TOD) Plans were drafted for legislation, its purpose is mainly to propose future land use changes within a TOD zone (1/4 mile radius) and Transit Impacted Zone (TIZ) located 1/2 mile radius from the planned rail stations. HART's proposed rail system is an elevated (40-50' from grade), heavy rail, steel wheel on steel track system. Geographically, Honolulu is a lineal city which is wedged between a mountain range and its watershed corridors (valleys) and the Pacific Ocean. Scale-wise, Honolulu is an intimate city. Most buildings in its urban core are in the two to four story height range, with taller buildings in its downtown financial and resort district of Waikiki. (Fig. 2)

⁵ HART see - <http://www.honolulutransit.org/>

Complex Ethnic Enclave

Honolulu's Chinatown is arguably the oldest of this ethnic enclave type in the U.S. It was established in the 1860s adjacent to Honolulu Harbor where contract laborers from China, and eventually Japan and other Asian countries arrived before being transported to plantations across the islands. Chinatown is a fifteen-block commercial and residential neighborhood located in the urban core, is listed on the National Historic Register of Places (NHRP) and is a municipal Special Design District.

Additionally, Chinatown is socially complex. Its unofficial form of governance is both visible and invisible. For example, over one hundred Chinese family societies have a stake in Chinatown. Some own buildings with their names prominently displayed, a few have dedicated family temples, others operate covertly and in very small numbers. More visible than the societies, are the numerous non-governmental organizations formed by various interest groups in the district such as the Chinatown Improvement District, Chinatown Community Business Association, Chinatown Community Center Association, and others.⁶

At the time and still lingering is a persistent homeless resident population which has appropriated Chinatown's streets and public spaces. Perhaps due to its warm climes, Hawaii has the highest ratio of homeless people per capita. Over seven thousand people are living on the streets and parks on all islands. Located squarely in the capital city of Honolulu, Chinatown's rundown buildings, vacant pockets of urban space, and with human service centers such as the River of Life and the Institute for Human Services nearby, it is a magnet for this itinerant population. Transit's naysayers, cite that if Chinatown's homeless problem is not solved, the Chinatown Rail Station will be a bust.

There is no shortage of planning in Chinatown. Prior to and since its NHRP designation in the early 1970s, nearly every city administration has invested in urban and economic planning to help retain the character and vitality of Chinatown. Most recently, the city's TOD Neighborhood Plan was approved by the City Council and the Chinatown Action Plan was drafted to legitimize incremental improvements.

Of less interest to most, but a critical issue to address is Chinatown's vulnerability to coastal hazards. The district's southern face is directly adjacent to the Honolulu Harbor waterfront and the Nuuanu Stream whose mouth is at the harbor, defines its western edge. Another riverine course, the Pauoa Stream was diverted under the northern sector of the district in the early 20th century and empties into the Nuuanu Stream. Most of Chinatown's historic fabric, rebuilt in the early 1900s after a district-wide fire, is not up to current building code for high winds or FEMA standards for flood mitigation.

A clear vision and process to determine and communicate physical improvements in Chinatown between community stakeholders and government was needed.

⁶ List of Chinatown organizations from Council Member Carol Fukunaga

SHADE Summer Institute

The Chinatown Urban Acupuncture project (CUAP) was initiated during the summer of 2015 after a year of community discussion. Months prior to it, area legislators organized community meetings and many focus group sessions. Safety, sanitation, and other problems needed to be addressed. The prospect of a new rail station in Chinatown seemed unimaginable to many stakeholders who were already at odds with the city for various reasons. (Fig. 3)

The CUAP program consisted of weekly lunch time seminars with various subject matter experts; and community design workshop dates were scheduled. A partnership was struck with the Hawaii Heritage Center, an established non-profit organization with a storefront meeting space in Chinatown as a place to hold CUAP seminars and workshops.

Twelve architecture, landscape architecture and urban planning students from the University of Hawaii, University of Oregon and Washington University in St. Louis participated in this 10-week program. Professional mentors were recruited from Honolulu's planning and design community and beyond. In addition to working with their individual mentors; interns learned from numerous experts; worked with city officials; and engaged with over one hundred Chinatown community members.

Method-wise, the CUAP's *urban acupuncture* approach was informed by analysis, observation and interpersonal engagement with community stakeholders through site-specific design interventions.

From the start, the interns were tasked with documenting and analyzing the physical conditions of Chinatown using photography, mapping and three-dimensional modeling. Photos of every façade was captured; a series of analytical diagrams were drafted; and a large scale architectural model of the entire district was made.⁷ To gather social and qualitative data, the interns canvassed Chinatown's ground floor businesses and streets and conducted surveys in English and Chinese languages.

The first CUAP workshop was held on July 11, 2015. Building upon the momentum and interest generated by the city's Action Summit, SHADE was able to draw over 40 participants who responded to a presentation of the documentation and analysis collected and processed by the intern teams.

The Chinatown model was very effective as a prop used to engage with and gather information among the participants. SHADE interns prepared large flagged pins (plastic swizzle sticks) that were itemized on spreadsheets. With clipboard wielding interns stationed around this room-sized model, workshop participants easily understood the object of urban acupuncture and deftly sunk pins into the foam building blocks as an intern recorded the stated problem and its possible solution.

Our post workshop evaluation of stakeholder discussion and model pin-pricks resulted four vision and urban identity concepts for Chinatown. Each development concept was supported by a series of its own tactical project recommendations. The objective of this exercise was to get a consensus on a vision and mission statement along with a multi-point strategy to determine and prioritize future improvement projects.

This information was presented at second workshop on July 25, 2015. Equally well attended, participant feedback was rich, passionate and productive. A vision statement was crafted and strategies were defined. (Fig. 4)

Physical improvements which mitigated safety and sanitation problems through positive uses and economic development was the primary strategy and criteria for project selection and development.

Figures



Figure 1. Aerial photo of Chinatown, Honolulu, Historic District (circled in red).

Draft Downtown Neighborhood TOD Plan

City & County of Honolulu
Department of Planning and Permitting

Chinatown Station Area:

- Retain Historic Character & Scale
- Wide Mix of Uses
- Accommodate Needs of Seniors, Children & Families



Figure 2. Excerpt from Downtown Neighborhood TOD Plan, City & County of Honolulu.

Project Vision & Strategies

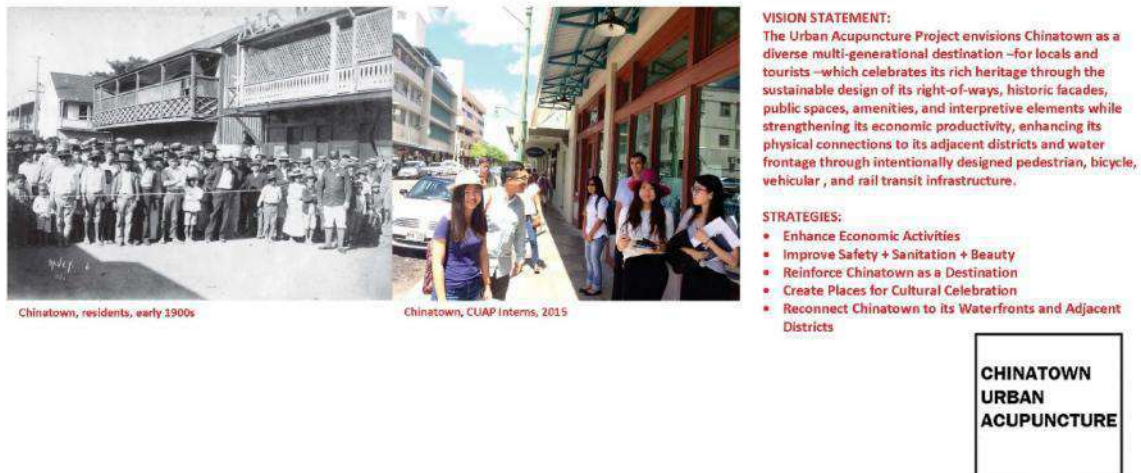


Figure 3. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

Community Design Workshops



Figure 4. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

Field Work - Analytical Diagram Samples



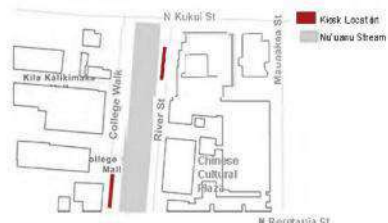
Figure 5. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.



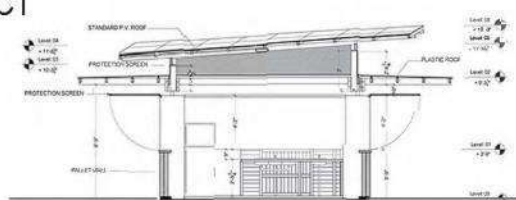
Figure 6. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

4. RIVER WALK MARKET PROJECT

Re-use existing trellis columns along College Walk and River Street to create market kiosks. These inexpensive structures would allow for business creation and expansion. Kiosk businesses should compliment nearby businesses. New vendors could potentially include a newsstand, cafe, ice cream/sHAVE ice, crack seed or police outpost. Energy demands could be provided by roof top solar panels, a new grid connection, or both.



Existing Trellis Columns, River Street



Section



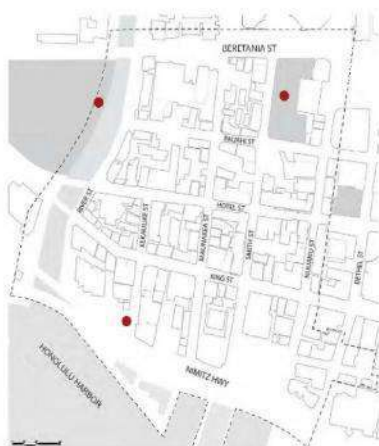
View of new market, looking makai on River Street.

CHINATOWN URBAN ACUPUNCTURE

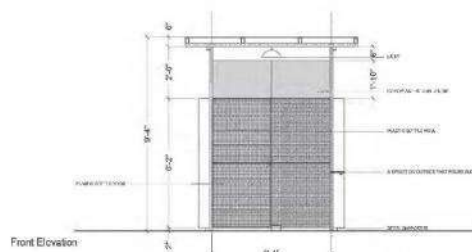
Figure 7. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

5. CHINATOWN LOO PROJECT

Portable restrooms could be placed throughout the Chinatown area. The Chinatown Loo is a simple, strong, and eco-friendly public restroom similar to what has been implemented in several other cities over the U.S. The design allows for limited privacy to prevent illegal activities. Re-use material and system such as plastic bottle and composting toilet are integrated into the design.

 Leo Proposed Location

Proceed. Location of Chinatown Loo.



Front Elevation



3D Rendering of Chinatown Loo

CHINATOWN URBAN ACUPUNCTURE

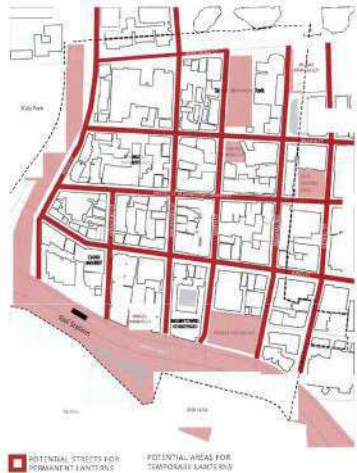
Figure 8. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

7. STREET BEAUTIFICATION

LANTERN PROJECT

Lanterns can be hung under awnings of buildings and temporary lanterns can be hung across trees in open air spaces like in A'ala park, across Nu'uano stream, in parking lots and for special events. We would like to organize a lantern making project that engage the Chinatown community.

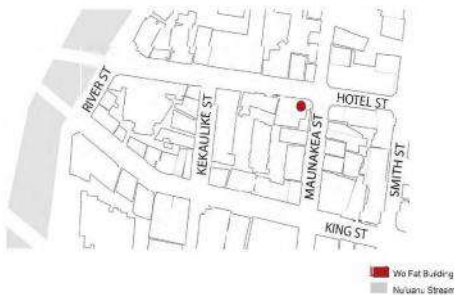
For example, a lantern competition could become a community event, and displaying lanterns made by schools/youth groups attract people to Chinatown.



CHINATOWN
URBAN
ACUPUNCTURE

Figure 9. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

8. FACADE RESTORATION PROJECT



Most of Chinatown's historic building facades are in need of repair and restoration. A visual survey of the Chinatown Historic District found 69 facades showing minor distress (peeling paint, minor weather damage) and 16 facades with major distress. Minor distress includes peeling paint, graffiti, weathering and superficial damage. Major distress includes broken windows, canopies and possible structural deficiencies. Compliance to the Chinatown Special Design District regulations is also a problem. Shown here, is an example of how the facades of the historic Wo Fat Building can be improved and renewed to help retain Chinatown's unique architectural character.



CHINATOWN
URBAN
ACUPUNCTURE

Figure 10. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.

12. HARBOR MARKET PROJECT

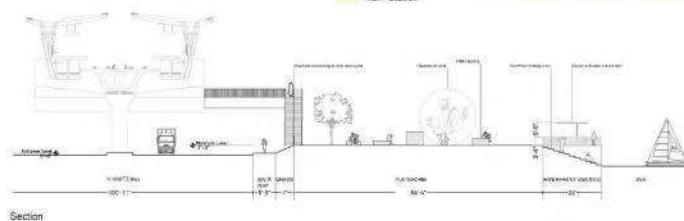
This proposed public space would unify the new Rail Station and historic Chinatown water frontage. It is intended as a multi-purpose, 24/7 place for passive and active use (i.e. strolling, pop-up markets, performance). It could also provide coastal surge mitigation at the convergence of Nuuanu Stream and Honolulu Harbor, and boat docks could be extended from this urban platform.



Plan of harbor resilience

Total Area: 59906 SF

Train Station



Section



Rendering view, proposed Harbor Market Plaza

CHINATOWN
URBAN
ACUPUNCTURE

Figure 11. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture image.



Figure 12. Chinatown Urban Acupuncture project team of interns and community members.

Table 1. Figures

Figure	
1	Chinatown, Honolulu, aerial photo
2	Excerpt from Downtown Neighborhood TOD Plan
3	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
4	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
5	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
6	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
7	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
8	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
9	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
10	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
11	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image
12	Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project image

Results

A Vision Map of 12 Chinatown Urban Acupuncture Project (CUAP) recommendations was drafted and publicized.⁸ (Fig. 6) Project concepts were refined. They include a portable modular composting toilet; information stations; conversion of dismantled trellises along the River Walk into market structures; street beautification using hand-made lanterns; façade restoration of historic buildings and a proposal for a waterfront plaza at the base of the future Chinatown Rail Station. (Fig. 7-10)

SHADE's vision and design strategies were defined and agreed over the course of the CDW events with its participating community stakeholders (Fig. 3). However, as in any communal effort, the attainment of agreement or consensus is limited to those who participate. Execution of this vision and its strategies through the project recommendations will require budget and policy proposal/approval through the City & County's executive and legislative branches.

Establishing wider awareness of this effort was SHADE's next step. In February 2016, the CUAP was displayed at Honolulu City Hall's courtyard gallery. Following this event, SHADE continued its outreach efforts to build partnerships with key community organizations such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Hawaii (CCCH) and the Chinatown Community Center Association (CCCA).

⁸ Vision Map graphic by Stephanie Chang

Ultimately, post CUAP discussions were inconclusive. Advice from CCCH and CCCA leadership revealed political complexities tied to the City's executive leadership and the future rail project construction in Chinatown. For example, Chinatown's legislative representative (City Council Member) is at odds politically with the executive branch (Mayor). The rail mass transit project administration, cost over runs, and anticipated impact on communities such as Chinatown compound this political tension. Metaphorically, Chinatown is like the orphan child who is least burdensome if neglected by its caretakers.

In the meantime, the realization of CUAP recommendations located outside of the national historic and special municipal district borders of Chinatown seemed more likely.

Thus, since then, SHADE acted upon the recommendation by community stakeholders and leaders to further develop the River Walk Market project which is located just beyond Chinatown's contested historic and special district (Fig. 7). At this time, development momentum and community concern along the River Walk corridor increased as construction of a local bank's new corporate campus on the west bank of the Nuuanu Stream began. The River Walk continues to be plagued by homeless encampments, drug dealers, and gamblers occupying both sides of the watercourse.⁹ A new elderly housing project with a community center is planned at the northeastern end of the River Walk.

A CDW event was held in September 2017 with over 50 area leaders and stakeholders attending. Many believed that this small improvement would enhance safety, security and economic development in the River Walk neighborhood. A budget was established to propose the construction of a pair of proof of concept market structures. It was suggested that one market structure, serve as a police outpost, while the second could be a retail vendor site (i.e. coffee, shaved ice stand, and etc.).

The results of this CDW which included visuals, the proposed budget along with a petition of signatures supporting this effort were compiled and delivered to the Mayor of Honolulu. The proposal was declined by the Mayor. Dismayed, but not defeated, community members and the SHADE team understood this decision as part of a larger and longer term process of community building.

Conclusions

While SHADE Institute successfully implemented its service-based framework of intern training and public interest design practice through the CUAP, the local political context beyond that of its community stakeholders was its greatest variable. Development priorities of government leaders do not always align with the concerns of its constituents. SHADE interns and fellows learned this first hand. The experience of working with real community

issues and the opportunity to share their findings and recommendations to envision a safer, cleaner and more prosperous Chinatown have supplemented the education and ethical foundations of SHADE interns and fellows from 2015 to the present. On the other hand, community members who participated in this process (over 300 in three years), have a better understanding of their neighborhoods and its future as a safer, cleaner and economically successful Chinatown.

Acknowledgements

State of Hawaii 2016 Legislature, Department of Accounting and General Services, Office of Technical Services and Office of Planning; City & County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting; City Council Chair Ernest Martin; City Council Member Carol Fukunaga; Chinatown Community Center Association, Wes Fong, Chair; Lum Sai Ho Tong, Howard Wong, President; Royal Kitchen, Liana Benn.

Active learning in a participatory design studio:

Enabling students to reach out to communities

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Abstract

Engaging communities to have a voice in how their home, play, and work environments are designed and activated is a key step toward creating more sustainable places. To prepare future professionals, community-engaged studio projects provide planning and design students an authentic experience to learn-by-doing. However, the short time frame of single semester design studios makes it difficult to give students adequate time to interact with communities in a meaningful way, hindering authentic engagement and design integration. Rather than arranging formal charrettes, design workshops, and public presentations, I argue that less structure can enable students to engage more deeply. This paper describes two landscape architecture community design studios: one design site in Singapore and the other in Bangalore, India. By combining foundational lectures, active learning, and a flipped classroom, students developed their own approach with low barriers to reaching out to community members. In both cases, students initially felt overwhelmed by deciding on their community engagement approach; however, through reflection and iteration, an organic integration of expert and local knowledge inspired design development, and a confidence emerged. There are a few implications for teaching community engagement. The first is that a formally organized service learning project is not prerequisite for students to learn the practice of community based participatory design. The second is that learning-by-doing benefits when the doing is preceded by foundational learning. We can teach students the

benefits of engaging communities; we can also empower students to engage more authentically with communities through iterative, flexible approaches.

Keywords: Teaching pedagogy, community design studio, expert-local knowledge, informal community engagement, active learning

Introduction

As cities attempt to meet sustainable development goals (SGDs) in the face of urbanization, population growth, and climate change, the greatest challenges are often not in technical solutions but in negotiating interactions and relationships within and across multiple stakeholders—particularly the public. Community participation is recognized by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) as an essential component of sustainable planning and development (Motasim et al., 2010) because, “[p]articipatory planning empowers communities and results in better design outcomes that are more responsive to the diverse needs of the different urban groups... Participation also ensures the relevance of plans when faced with limited resources and can also increase effectiveness” (UN-Habitat, 2010, p. 19). Increasingly, city governments are encouraging and even requiring planners to gain community feedback on policy and design proposals. But there are many challenges to engaging communities including the potential for conflict and mistrust, lack of authority or dominant voice, and achieving adequate representation (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Maginn, 2007). Communities, often assumed to have common interests and goals, are dynamic, multi-cultural entities, and represent many voices. Conflicts that arise between planners and the public are not just about the allocation and use of land, facilities, and other resources; they are also about relationships, which involve personality, politics, race, ethnicity and culture (Sandercock, 2003).

Key to creating more sustainable places is engaging communities to have a voice in how their home, play, and work environments are programmed. But, with the myriad challenges to engaging communities, planners and designers are rarely prepared for the often slow and “messy” process. To prepare future professionals, the design studio offers a space for teaching practice that is uniquely suited for synthesis, learning-by-doing, and reflection-in-action, while exposing students to the complexity of real-world problems—and real communities. (Grant Long, 2012). Specifically, service learning studio projects provide planning and design students an authentic experience engaging with communities (Sletto, 2010). Unfortunately, it can be tricky to find a suitable project, to match a real-world project with the relatively strict progression of the studio timeline, and an instructor capable of

balancing the needs of the project's stakeholders with those of the students. This can hinder students' ability to authentically engage, make sense of, and incorporate community feedback in their design process. Regardless, there is genuine need to provide students training and experience to navigate the community participatory process. Even when it isn't feasible to conduct a service learning project, or even arrange a formal charrette, design workshop or public presentation, I argue that less structure can still enable students to engage—and in some cases, engage more deeply.

This paper summarizes and reflects on two landscape architecture community design studios: one design site in Singapore and the other in Bangalore, India. The studio pedagogy was designed to interrogate two important problematic assumptions underpinning participatory planning practice: (1) planner-public dichotomization that homogenizes the community; and (2) expert-local knowledges that underpin problem-framing versus problem-setting. This was achieved through a multi-step process: students were first introduced to foundational lectures on theory and methods for community engagement, followed by a student-led workshop to deliberate and determine the community engagement approach. Students then proceeded to collect, organize, and analyze all community-based data, followed by a visioning workshop to make sense of findings. Focus then turned to developing individual design concepts to integrate expert and local knowledge into a final landscape design. A final student-led class discussion provoke self-reflection. By teaching foundational skills, students were empowered to engage with communities through iterative, flexible approaches, that then enabled a more organic integration into their design process.

The community-engaged design studio: formal vs informal

Community-based participatory design (CBPD) and service learning are not new topics in the design studio. And, there are numerous publications that detail pedagogic approaches and describe case studies of student learning and lessons learned. This paper is not an offensive against the well-organized, stakeholder-backed, real-world project—these experiences are needed and supported by the authors. But, rather, we offer space for a discursive approach when such formal opportunities do not coalesce; an informal program that is correspondingly effective for student learning, which is the core objective of teaching. Formal community-engaged design studios have the competing objective of making a meaningful contribution to the community, which adds value, richness, but also a chance of not meeting community needs. Studio tutors under pressure to deliver to students *and* the community are often faced with prioritizing goals and outcomes for one group over the other. Notably, Bose and Wilson (2014) differentiate tangible and intangible outcomes and the need for communities to see tangible outcomes to stay interested—which isn't feasible in every case. This is particularly

relevant when the tutor's intension is to develop a relationship with a community for future studio projects.

The cognitive focus (intangible outcome) of problem-based learning is for students to acquire, synthesize, and reiteratively apply knowledge; and, to develop meta-cognitive strategies for learning (Shepherd & Cosgriff, 1998). The teacher represents a model for students; a model of thinking, a model of acting (Baum, 1997). But, formal opportunities aren't required to provide students training and experience in navigating the community participatory process—there is opportunity in the informal. In fact, a focus on everyday lived experiences can shift the “professional” perception of students by exposing them to different ways that space can be used, reused, and inhabited (Kallus, 2016). Recently, we have seen an emergent focus in the design studio on informal urban spaces (for examples see: Kallus, 2016; Loukaitou-Sideris & Mukhija, 2015; Rios, 2014); such studios seek to problematize the planning discourse on how centers, nodes, edges, and boundaries are traditionally defined. Rios (2014) begins with the argument that residents, developers, professionals, institutions, the state and other actors simultaneously assess and intervene in the same spaces of everyday life—and there is a need to question how we (designers/experts) think about place related to what is visible/invisible and formal/informal, reminding ourselves that informality is in itself a mode of production of space.

Landscapes of informality are traditionally inhabited by marginalized and poor groups, which is why they “remain contested and are often described in negative terms by planning and design authorities that wish to eliminate, control, regulate, transform or just neglect them” (Loukaitou-Sideris & Mukhija, 2015, p. 579). Shifting students' focus to peer through an informal lens encourages them to participate in a larger critical discourse in professional practice. More than uncovering informality in the city, there is a need to teach students how to read, understand, and integrate the spatial practices they encounter. In an undergraduate design studio, Rios (2014) describes methods for taking students outside of the classroom “to identify sites of spatial appropriation, use, and adaptation that were unfamiliar to them but elicited an emotional response...For many, this was antithetical to how they were taught to conduct analysis” (Rios, 2014, p. 181). Unfortunately, methodology that takes design initiatives to the streets is scarce (Kallus, 2016). To that end, Loukaitou-Sideris and Mukhija (2015) remind us that urban design studios are versatile and malleable pedagogic tools that prepare students for professional practice in a globalizing and unequal world and propose these arguments: (1) there is a spatial aspect of informality that can be responded to through design; (2) urban design pedagogy should prepare future urban designers to understand and positively intervene in informal urban landscapes; and (3) appropriately structured studios can help the next generation of urban designers learn how to respond to informality through

design. To reiterate, the greatest challenges that our students will face are not in technical solutions but in negotiating interactions and relationships within and across multiple stakeholders—and increasingly with those situated in informal spaces. Informal spaces are places of contradiction, where students have the opportunity to encounter authentic challenges to community engagement and develop flexible methods. But before students hit the streets, they need to be equipped with an understanding of underlying theories, discourse, and methods for community engagement.

Challenges of community engagement

Urban planning has traditionally been used to regulate the production and use of space—often reflecting the dominant culture and driven by the affluent and/or politically powerful (Sandercock, 2003). The debate is not whether to include participation, but when and how, as idealized views of participation are rarely reflected in practice, a point of widespread criticism (Brownill & Parker, 2010; Laurian & Shaw, 2009; Monno & Khakee, 2012; Neef & Neubert, 2010; Sultana, 2009). Of the many challenges to successful community participation, two problematic assumptions underpin participatory planning practice relevant to this paper. In the planning literature, methods for community engagement primarily focus on maximizing participation through a “top-down” approach (Baker, Coaffee, & Sherriff, 2007; Mahjabeen, Shrestha, & Dee, 2008). This practitioner-focused approach assumes that community members have equal access and motivation to participate. To begin to unpack the first assumption, we need to ask: who is participating and why? While sociologists, anthropologists, and cultural geographers have acknowledged a view of cultural and geographic heterogeneity across society for quite some time, the planning literature still tends to homogenize communities as the “public” in a planner-public dichotomy. The second practitioner-focused assumption is that the public will view the problem through the planner’s lens, dis-embedded from personal agendas. There persists a valuing of expert knowledge over lay knowledge (Monno & Khakee, 2012). The expert sets the problem, invites the designated “community” to provide some pre-determined level of input, and chooses the “correct” solution using expert knowledge. To unpack the second assumption, we consider the nature of knowledge and problem-setting versus problem-solving.

These two assumptions provide the starting point for community-engaged pedagogy. By questioning the first assumption related to who participates, students begin to develop an understanding of participation that goes beyond counting bodies. Given the diversity, size, and difficulty in defining communities, full participation is impractical—especially if the goal is consensus (Melcher, 2013). Participation and representation have the potential to allow people commonly excluded or marginalized a space for agency (Connelly, 2010). This

point has important implications because if representation can capture many different voices (particularly those most vulnerable or hard to reach), then participatory planning should focus on improving the quality of representation, ensuring diversity of voices, rather than quantity of participation (more voices). Rather than focusing on consensus, a space opens up to develop a rich narrative of community culture and values.

The question of who can participate begins by defining community boundaries—determining who counts as a legitimate participant—which is still defined by the planner (Connelly, 2010). And, when planners offer a means to participate but people don't show up, it is often construed as apathy or having nothing to contribute (McAlister, 2010). Furthermore, poor and marginalized present a unique challenge to planners in that they are difficult to reach. But their homes and livelihoods are often tied to the same places where sustainable planning and development projects target, which makes them a particularly important population to include (Kabeer, Mahmud, & Isaza Castro, 2012). Unfortunately, invited formal spaces for community engagement often become spaces for diffusion of conflict and legitimization of the status quo rather than places of true deliberation (Eguren, 2008; Newman, 2008). Studies that provide informal means of participating (for example, unplanned interaction at a local market) suggest that within-group dynamics, or power relations, have a greater influence on participation than outreach format (Beebejaun & Vanderhoven, 2010; Danieri, Takahashi, NaRanong, & Lan, 2005). It is important to contrast invited spaces and those that people create for themselves (Cornwall, 2008). Thus, provoking conversation around formal-informal and visible-invisible boundaries and who counts.

This segues to the second assumption: the issue of framing. The public has multiple personal agendas (goals, values), which impact the ability to consider the problem framed through the planner's lens. This phenomenon concerns the nature of knowledge. Knowledge is not evenly distributed, yet planners tend to assume that communities either share the planner's knowledge or can be given that knowledge and will come to the same conclusion. Knowledge frames how humans understand and experience the social and physical environment, which impacts decision-making and behavior. Knowledge often varies across individuals and social groups (Meusburger, 2008). Expert, scientific, local, indigenous, and situated knowledge are examples of the multiple ways of conceptualizing knowledge.

When planners create a forum for participation, it often stays within the realm of problem-solving (Monno & Khakee, 2012). The crucial mistake of limiting public influence to problem-solving is that if the public is included after the problem has been defined, planners have already imposed control over the scope of possible outcomes. "Problem-setting, which

is a necessary condition for technical problem-solving, is not itself a technical problem...when we set the problem, we impose upon it a coherence that allows us to say what is wrong and what needs changing" (Sandercock, 2003, p. 66). Sandercock's differentiation between *phronesis* and *techne* calls our attention to the distinction between participatory methods that are inclusive at the problem-setting stage versus the problem-solving stage. Participatory planning recognizes the need for an approach that relies more on layperson or indigenous knowledges to begin with problem-setting. Planning and development can, then, be understood as a socially constructed process of meaning creation and sensemaking of the built environment through interactions between the agency of participants (Peris, Farinas, Lopez, & Boni, 2012).

The studio pedagogy was designed to interrogate these two important problematic assumptions underpinning participatory planning practice: (1) planner-public dichotomization that homogenizes the community; and (2) expert-local knowledges that underpin problem-framing versus problem-setting. This was achieved through a five stage process as described in detail the next section. Two learning objectives related to community-engagement were for students to: Demonstrate effective teamwork strategies throughout the design process. And, differentiate and apply different methods for community engagement and integrate findings in the design development.

Methods

Two master's level landscape architecture community design studios are described: one design site was located in Singapore and the other was located in Bangalore, India. Eleven students participated in the Singapore studio held Jan-Apr 2017, and thirteen participated in the Bangalore studio held Jan-Apr 2018—four students participated in both. Both studios occurred over 13 weeks, culminating in a final juried presentation of landscape design interventions. In both cases, the studio tutor established a connection with key organizational stakeholders involved in the respective community to seek advice, contextual information, and general support. We provide the context for each studio then describe the pedagogic process developed for the informal community engagement comprised of foundation, workshop, experience, analysis/design, and reflection.

Studio #1: The re-envisioning the cultural landscape of Whampoa, an older housing estate with an aging population in Singapore

The Singapore site was inspired by and selected to complement *Curating Whampoa*, an on-going, multi-year interdisciplinary community project to collect, interpret, and present the diverse social life and rich cultural heritage of Whampoa. *Curating Whampoa* was co-conceived by the Tsao Foundation and Prof. Thomas Kong at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, with support from the National Heritage Board of Singapore. Whampoa is a representative Singaporean community in many ways —yet with its own unique past. After independence, Singapore rapidly developed and has now achieved status as a global city. But a result of rapid urbanization and development is that Singaporeans are left without a strong sense of who they are or where they came from. The rapidly growing aging population is a valuable resource to tap into to understand, capture, and re-envision Singapore's cultural identity and heritage. The studio objective was to create a powerful, ecologically sensitive “place” embedded in, and representing, the local cultural identity. Because of the proximity to NUS campus, students were able to visit the site to collect data, observe daily life, and interact with residents regularly throughout the semester. Students interrogated the normative representations of public and semi-public spaces around the residential high-rise buildings with observed activities and cultural practices (Figure 1). The final project was to produce an individual site design that encapsulated the student's interpretation of the cultural identity of Whampoa as a landscape.

Studio #2: Grow Hebbal, integrating productive landscapes in an unplanned settlement in Bangalore, India

The context for this studio began with the premise that disrupted and disconnected urban ecosystems resulting from rapid urbanization have detrimental impacts on the health and wellbeing of urban citizens; particularly disadvantaged social groups. Rapid urbanization pushes urban infrastructure to its limits and often causes increased social inequity, but there is also increasing pressure on rural landscapes to supply the city with resources and food. This studio focused on designing productive urban landscapes in the city of Bangalore, the fifth largest and one of the most rapidly urbanizing cities in India with a population of about 7 million. Within the city, Hebbal was selected because of its history as an unplanned formal settlement, an urban form woven into the urban fabric of many Indian cities (Figure 2). Hebbal is primarily a residential and mixed-use neighborhood, supporting a diverse population in terms of income, education, and religion. The physical environment lacks adequate waste treatment, which has severely polluted the main channelized canal. Students travelled to Bangalore early February 2018 for nine days to conduct fieldwork. The final project was an individual site design that integrated productive landscapes into the built, ecological and social urban systems with the aim of envisioning better work, live, and play environments.



Figure 1. Typical Image of Whampoa (left)



Figure 2. Typical Image of Hebbal (right)

Knowledge base

Both studios began with lectures and discussion defining and dispelling the two assumptions underpinning participatory planning practice: (1) that community members have equal access and motivation to participate—related to the homogenization of *who* is the community, which falsely dichotomizes planner and public; and (2) that the public will view the problem at hand through the planner's lens—related to expert-local knowledges and problem-framing versus problem-setting. Students were introduced to critical theories of knowledge, degrees of participation, and a variety of methods for defining and engaging communities. They questioned their own worldviews—provoked to acknowledge personal beliefs and values underpinning their “expert” lens.

The tutor provided lectures on community engagement methods beginning with the need to define who and where *is* the community; group versus individual interactions including focus groups, charrettes, surveys, interviews, pop-up events, and observation; recording techniques from low to high tech; how to develop questions (*what* and *how* to ask); an introduction to analyzing qualitative, quantitative, spatial, and mixed data; and, inherent bias and limitations to data. The first two weeks of lectures were designed to convey a knowledge base to the students—not prescribe a method for studio practice. Developing the students' knowledge

base occurred concurrently with team-based investigation and preliminary analysis of the ecology, infrastructure, history, politics and demographic profile of the studio site.

Active learning workshops

At week three, the classroom was flipped and students took control of the process of community engagement. Students convened a half day workshop to deliberate details for community outreach including developing a plan for collecting, organizing, and analyzing all community-based data. They self-organized in terms of logistics and division of labor (scheduling, printing, etc). The tutor provided feedback on pros and cons to different approaches, but ultimately all decisions were made by the students related to how, when, and where community engagement would occur. The tutor encouraged but did not require all students to interact with community members; however, in both cases, all students wanted to and did participate.

Informal interaction

Beginning at week four, community engagement was concentrated to a one to two week period for two reasons: the travel to Bangalore was over 9 days, and, in the case of Singapore, students needed a defined stopping point for the purpose of analysis and moving on to design development —although students were encouraged to continue informal interactions with Whampoa residents throughout the semester.

Analysis and visioning

In weeks five and six, concurrent with and following the community interactions, students were responsible for analysing, visualising, and generally making sense of findings. There was the inevitable and persistent question of “*Do we have enough people?*” to which the tutor respond: *Who’s voice is still missing?* And: *What have you learned and what do you still need to know?* A subsequent student-led visioning workshop was held to make sense of the findings. For the workshop, students presented community findings to each other and began to make sense of what emerged. They conducted a SWOT analysis to identify intrinsic and extrinsic issues and assets, and came to a ranked consensus of the top 3-4 in each category. With the tutor’s guidance, they concluded with a general narrative to describe the community and define the problem(s) (i.e. problem-setting).

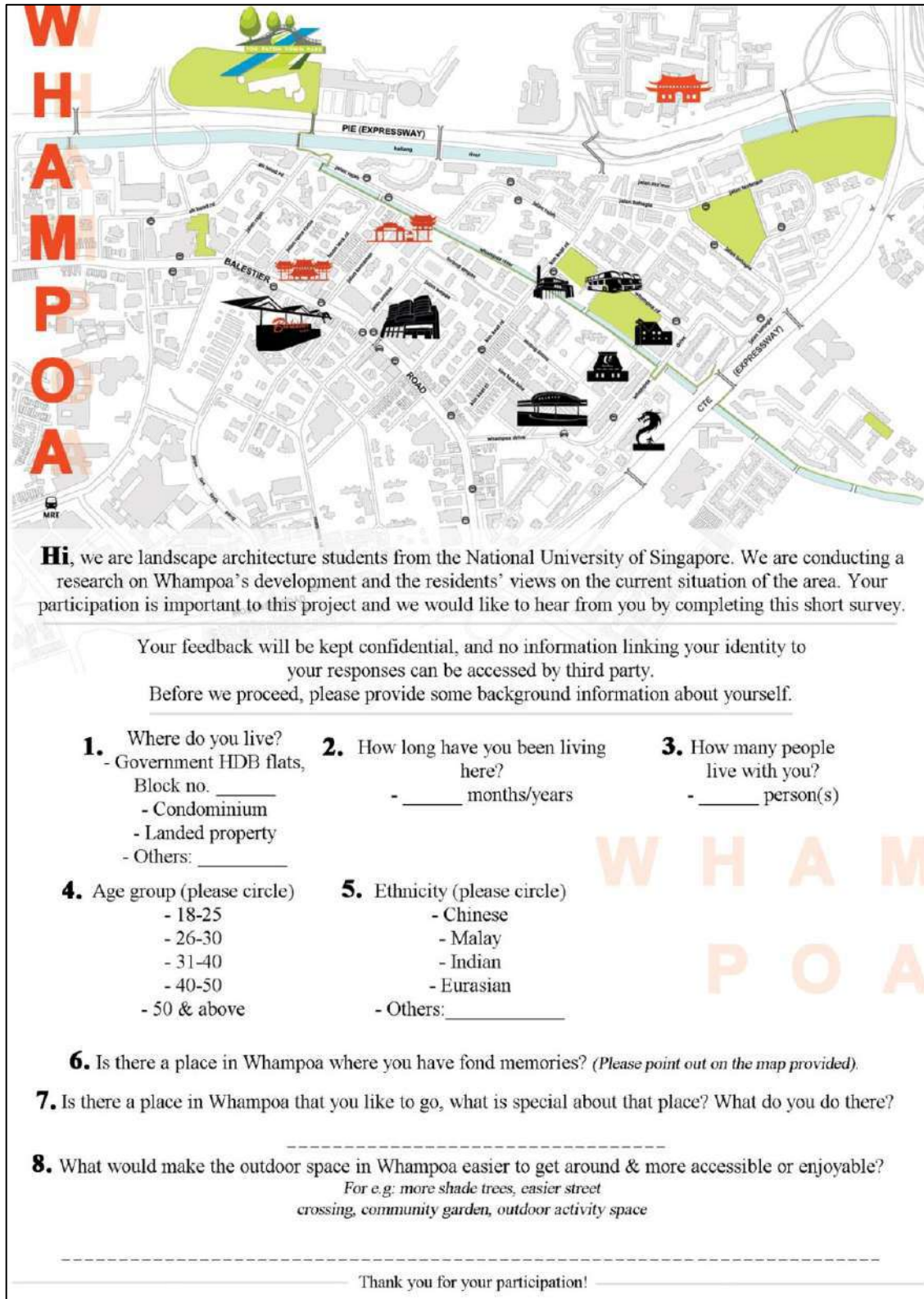
Design integration and final reflection

The remaining half of the semester was allocated for students to develop individual design concepts integrating expert and local knowledge (i.e. problem-solving). Each student developed a vision by refining and personalizing the class narrative. To close the learning loop, a final student-led class discussion allowed for reflection on what went well in terms of community engagement, what could be improved, and how local knowledge impacted individual design development. To conclude the project, the tutor administered a survey through survey monkey to gauge students' attitudes and behaviour based on the informal community engagement.

Results

Whampoa: Learning through participation

For the Whampoa studio in Singapore, the student team of 11 divided into groups to cover four discretely defined "zones." They felt this was the most effective way to cover the entire geographic extent of the Whampoa neighbourhood and collect cohesive and comprehensive data. With the objective to understand the cultural landscape of Whampoa, students decided to conduct a short face-to-face survey (Figure 3) using a map of Whampoa to find out (1) a place with fond memories, (2) a place the residents liked to go, and (3) what would make the outdoor space more accessible. They also asked basic demographic information.



W H A M P O A

Hi, we are landscape architecture students from the National University of Singapore. We are conducting a research on Whampoa's development and the residents' views on the current situation of the area. Your participation is important to this project and we would like to hear from you by completing this short survey.

Your feedback will be kept confidential, and no information linking your identity to your responses can be accessed by third party.
Before we proceed, please provide some background information about yourself.

- Where do you live?
- Government HDB flats, Block no. _____
- Condominium
- Landed property
- Others: _____
- How long have you been living here?
- _____ months/years
- How many people live with you?
- _____ person(s)
- Age group (please circle)
- 18-25
- 26-30
- 31-40
- 40-50
- 50 & above
- Ethnicity (please circle)
- Chinese
- Malay
- Indian
- Eurasian
- Others: _____

6. Is there a place in Whampoa where you have fond memories? *(Please point out on the map provided).*

7. Is there a place in Whampoa that you like to go, what is special about that place? What do you do there?

8. What would make the outdoor space in Whampoa easier to get around & more accessible or enjoyable?
For e.g. more shade trees, easier street crossing, community garden, outdoor activity space

Thank you for your participation!

Figure 3. Whampoa Survey

As part of the process of learning-by-doing, the students embraced many challenges, including language and age group: many residents were elderly of Chinese heritage. Some

residents spoke English less-well or with only basic fluency. The studio team was a multi-lingual group and worked to match students who could converse in the resident's preferred language. The students chose to approach community residents informally at the local hawker center¹, in the parks and plazas, in void decks², and other public and semi-public spaces, which they thought was a good fit for a target group who probably wouldn't have attended a formal workshop or event (Figure 4). Because of the age gap, the students found some residents reserved; however, many were curious and wanted to know what the students were doing in the community—which in turn drew other residents. It created an opportunity for the students to talk to a range of individuals and groups of residents, not just elderly. In the end, students said the challenge was not to get people talking but to write down what everyone was saying fast enough not to miss anything.



Figure 4. Interviewing senior resident tending to his community garden plot in Whampoa.

Students found many older residents had lived in Whampoa for more than 20 years—giving credence to their authority of local knowledge. The students learned where demolished buildings had been located including an important local market that no longer exists on a

¹ A hawker centre is Singapore's equivalent to street food, but located in hygienic open-air complexes. Hawker centres are found in nearly every housing estate and provide affordable, culturally appropriate meals and often have a market selling wet and dry goods.

² A void deck is an open space found on the first floor of HDB blocks in Singapore used for community activities. HDB (Housing & Development Board) is the government institution responsible for public housing in Singapore. Today, approximately 80% of Singaporeans live in public housing provided by the HDB.

now-vacant lot; information not available through secondary data sources, and that the students would have unlikely discovered inside the studio. The conversations also reinforced the importance of the hawker centre beyond food provision as the social hub of the community: many residents selected it as their fond memory and current special place—they felt it was a place where they could spend the morning or afternoon sipping coffee, reading the newspaper, and chatting about their lives. Conversely, the students found the void decks supported more introverted, passive activities for those who wanted to stay closer to home.

The informal interactions and surveys were scheduled over one week, but the students continued to return to Whampoa and chat with residents through the semester. It allowed students to “have an understanding of inhabitants, everyday life, scripts, routines...informal interactions also allows people to express themselves freely, they feel more comfortable with no restrictions, further knowing we are only students who want to learn and get insights of Whampoa, they could share with us whatever they want, even speaking about the state or government, they were not afraid...but imagine if they were speaking to authorities, I’m pretty sure they would filter their words before expressing themselves or they might not have any comments at all as they do not want to create any problems for themselves.”³ Students grappled with community “problem-framing” when the participant started complaining about facilities and the government—which wasn’t part of the survey, but essential for the student(s) to understand the larger context impacting the view of if they were happy or unhappy living in the community.

Whampoa: Design integration and reflection

Half of the students found the community findings inspiring and expressed it through their design. One student found everyday activities inspiring for design development; another student based design interventions on results from the community survey to improve walkability. The community findings also helped the students to prioritize design options. Overall, the theme of the studio was to understand culture, which was not something easily researched from inside the studio; students were compelled to visit the site again and again over the duration of the semester to observe, ask questions, and record the daily activities and stories of the local people. Students liked being able to return to the community and ask follow up questions, to test ideas, and gain new insights. They also liked having “real” issues to address through design that were expressed by the community members themselves.

³ Unless otherwise indicated, all student quotations are from a representative student who participated in both studios and co-authored this paper.

In terms of the challenges they faced in their experience of informal community engagement, most students acknowledged the issue of who might be missing and not have had their voice heard. They also realized some issues expressed by the community could be *addressed*, but not necessarily *solved*, through landscape design; some students found the limits of design frustrating. Some students found it difficult to articulate site issues because of the varying community responses. In reflecting on how to improve their approach to engaging the community, they mentioned improving communication among themselves regarding whom they had informally conversed with. There was also a case made for incentives for people to participate in the survey, and a call for more visibility of the project to the public (exhibition, etc).

When asked if they felt that community engagement was an important part of the design process, all students responded positively; and, all students said that they intend to engage in community-based work in their professional careers. One student put it concisely, “The community are ... the main users of the landscape therefore understanding and catering to their voices is IMPORTANT.”⁴ Another concurred, but with a caveat, “Community engagement is one of the most effective ways to design for a meaningful project... albeit [a] tedious process to acquire much needed information from the target community.” There was also a general agreement that gaining knowledge from the community led to designs that were more relevant and sustainable.

Hebbal: Learning through participation

For the Hebbal studio, the studio team of 13 divided into groups to cover six discretely defined “zones.” Because there were four students who had participated in the Whampoa studio, there was some overlap in approach; however, the context and population was very different requiring even the veteran students to think strategically rather than simply replicate what they had previously done. With the objective to understand the attitudes and behaviors related to gardening and productive landscapes, students decided to conduct a short face-to-face survey (Figure 6) with images to find out (1) shopping and gardening habits and preferences, (2) a place the residents liked to go, and (3) the biggest issue in the neighborhood. They also asked basic demographic information.

⁴ Anonymous student survey respondent.

HEBBAL

We are landscape architecture students from National University of Singapore. We are particularly interested in Hebbal's neighbourhood environment, culture and stories. Your utmost participation & voices is really important for us.

Qns:

1. Where do you shop for food? (Point on Map & Name)
How often do you shop for food?

4 or more times per day | 1-3 times per day | 1-6 times per week | Less than 1 time per week | Never

2. Do you have your own/a garden to grow plants to eat?
YES / NO | If yes, what kind of plants:

3. What is your favorite place? Where do you like to go? (Draw route)




4. Which of these appeals to you?



a) Hobby garden
b) Community farming
c) Farm – grow food for family
d) Farm – grow food to sell
e) Urban agricultural worker (maintenance)

5. What is the biggest issue in your neighborhood?
(Prompt: What do you mean by that? Can you tell me more about that?)

Notes:

Please tick for Qns 4 (Can be more than 1):

Demographics:

Gender: M / F | Age: | Household: # | Occupation:

Religion: Hindu / Islam / Christian / Sikhism / Buddhism / Jainism / Others

Figure 6. Hebbal Survey

The first major challenges the students faced in their informal community engagement in Hebbal were that the site was overseas (i.e. a short, limited timeframe for engagement) and none of the students had ever travelled to India (i.e. culture shock). Data were difficult to find or non-existent through online sources; therefore, it became critical for the students to engage with local experts and other stakeholders. The tutor arranged for seminars with experts on water issues and food security. The limited time to be on-site meant students had to be strategic and efficient in data collection and community engagement methods—antithesis to informal methods.

Language was also a barrier because few Hebbal residents spoke English and no students spoke the local languages (primarily Kannada; some Hindi); a translator was essential. The tutor was able to hire a husband-wife team who worked with marginalized and disadvantaged communities and were able to translate and communicate with cultural-sensitivity. In addition to basic translation from English to Kannada, the survey questions were vetted by the translators and revised for clarity and cultural appropriateness. They noted that illiteracy could be an issue, which prompted the students to add images to the survey—which proved to be a great conversation tool (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Student and translator interviewing local resident at his shop in Hebbal.

In preparation for the community interactions, the tutor took the students to the site on the first day to walk around, explore, gain bearings, and develop a mental map. The visit was a shock, one student recalls, “most of us felt pretty uneasy with eyes glancing at us and as if [under] surveillance from almost every corner or street.” It was the first time the students experienced this particular context, but it was also the first time many of the local residents were seeing so many foreign visitors in their neighbourhood. The students acknowledged that introductions were critically important to set a neutral tone about what they were doing and why they were there. Informal interactions are just that—there is no formal introduction by community or political authorities; trust and respect must be established independently. It was useful that the husband-wife team lived only 2 km away from the studio site in the next neighbourhood. In effect, they also became cultural interpreters and knowledge experts themselves—and provided the students a degree of safety by being accompanied by relative “insiders.”

The students used their smartphone cameras, video, GPS tracking, and other apps liberally—some students were questioned by residents as to why they were taking photos, some residents even forbidding it. This provoked self-reflection and adjustment of tactics, “when wanting to

capture pictures of them, it's important to ask for their permission, once permission is granted, we could go ahead taking photos, and then it is important to show them the photo you took, in order to make them feel included with the activity and after showcasing the photo you could suggest to take a 'selfie' with them...It is a bonus because it helps us to build a closer relationship with them in order to gain mutual respect and understanding.”⁵ The experience of photo-taking was a learning opportunity that is difficult to replicate inside the studio.

The students found that the biggest issues in the neighbourhood, according to the residents they talk to, were access to clean water and waste management. When asked how to improve the conditions, many preferred to have no comment. The students interpreted this as fear that the students would share the community members views with authorities—there could be social exclusion or internal politics that we as outsiders are not aware of. Despite this fear of “outsiders”, one important finding from the community survey was that many residents preferred community farming over individual gardens or other ways of growing food. The students interpreted growing food together was a facilitator for exchange of information and skills and could enable a stronger, more cohesive community. The informal interactions allowed the students to “be flexible and be quick thinkers on the spot on what to ask, how to ask and when to ask the right questions at the right time...it helped stimulate our thinking and developing a ‘street smart’ factor in all of us.”⁶

Hebbal: Design integration and reflection

Eleven of the 14 students found the community findings inspiring and expressed it through their design. Some students found that talking and interacting with the local residents enabled them to understand the issues and articulate problems that were important to the community. It also uncovered the diversity of the community in terms of socioeconomics and backgrounds. For example, one student reported, “Their views and concerns helped to shape the way I was able to understand the problems that were more prominent and relevant in their community.”⁷ The income disparities and religious diversity forced them to carefully observe and come to an understanding of which activities were allowed, by whom, and when. This enabled students to determine which design strategies would be most feasible.

In general, students valued the direct interactions with community members. One student said, “During the survey we can know lots of details of an individual story, which gives me inspiration, and I can feel the user's perspective and can image what might happen after

⁵ Representative student quotation.

⁶ Representative student quotation.

⁷ Anonymous student survey respondent.

design intervention.”⁸ There was also a sense that they were able to gain useful information that they would not otherwise have discovered. One student expressed it this way, “Experience is very important. You need to become the person you need to design for. You need to live in their daily life, thinking about what their life really [is] and then help them solve the problems or increase them.”⁹

In terms of the challenge of informal community engagement, similar to the Whampoa studio, students found that the issues expressed by the community could be addressed, but not necessarily solved, through landscape design—particularly related to local politics. Students also acknowledged the limitations to having a translator act as a middle person, who might influence the response of the person being interviewed or even change some of the meaning during the translation. The need to have a translator also limited the number of people the students could interact with. A few residents spoke English, but many did not—and the students who were able to have conversations with English-speaking residents acknowledged the potential bias of the things they learned. Language and culture were notable barriers for the students. However, the primary limitation of the community engagement was the short period of the site visit: nine days. There wasn’t an opportunity for students to ask further questions or test ideas. There was also the issue of culture shock since none of the students had travelled to India prior to the studio trip. There was the expressed interest to collaborate with local students or engage a host institution.

When asked if they felt that community engagement was an important part of the design process all but one responded positively; and, eleven of the 14 students intend to engage in community-based work in their professional careers. One student said, “Understanding the community is and should be the utmost importance in designing a landscape.”¹⁰ There was also an acknowledgement that not everything can be learned in the classroom (or office), and that “local knowledge” can be used to design places that are more liveable, sustainable places.

Discussion

There is a need to provide students training and experience to navigate the community participatory process. Service learning studio projects provide design students an authentic experience to learn-by-doing; however, there are many reasons why it is not always feasible to offer such an opportunity. Although the design studio offers an ideal space for teaching community-engaged practice, the short time frame of single semester design studios makes it

⁸ Anonymous student survey respondent.

⁹ Anonymous student survey respondent.

¹⁰ Anonymous student survey respondent.

difficult to give students adequate time to interact with communities in a meaningful way. Furthermore, CBPD studios often expose students to community interactions through formal charrettes, design workshops, and public presentations; nevertheless, we argue that less structure can still enable students to engage deeply. And, less structure can enable students to engage meaningfully and in a way that is impactful for their personal and professional development, which translates to design interventions that are better suited for the context. By combining foundational lectures, active learning, and a flipped classroom, students develop their own approach with low barriers to reaching out to community members. Through reflection and iteration, an organic integration of expert and local knowledge inspired design development.

In both cases, students initially felt overwhelmed by designing their own community engagement approach. They didn't grasp the nuances among different methods related to formal versus informal approaches, sampling and bias, participant fatigue, etc. As they began engaging with the community, the main concern repeated was "do we have enough people"? But, through the process of students co-creating their participatory approach, dealing with logistics, actually going into the community, and then reconvening and articulating findings, a confidence emerged.

The studio pedagogy as described in this paper was designed to interrogate two important problematic assumptions underpinning participatory planning practice: (1) planner-public dichotomization that homogenizes the community; and (2) expert-local knowledges that underpin problem-framing versus problem-setting. Students developed an applicable understanding shown through the methods they developed for informal engagement. Despite the fact that many students reflected positively on the experience, not all students were as invested in community conversations and a few reported that they did not consider resident feedback in their design intervention.

Lessons for teaching community engagement

There are a few implications for teaching community engagement. The first is that a formally organized service learning project is not prerequisite for students to learn the practice of CBPD. The second is that learning-by-doing benefits when the doing is preceded by foundational learning. Introducing students to theories, concepts, and methods first, better equips them to make decisions. They are more aware of the current discourse and have more options to choose from. Just as communities are not homogenous, students are also not homogeneous—their varying personalities, backgrounds, and own worldviews impact their

design process. As educators, we have an opportunity to create conditions that enable a diversity of student learners.

A notable limitation to teaching informal practice is the limited application to practice; most landscape and design firms rely on formal design workshops and charrettes to interact with community members. And, even though city governments are encouraging and even requiring planners to gain feedback from the community it still occurs through formal platforms including public meetings and online forums.

Conclusions

We can teach students how to engage communities; but more importantly, we can empower them in the process so they learn not just how, but why participation matters. Engaging communities to have a voice in how their home, play, and work environments are designed and activated is a key step toward creating more sustainable places. To prepare future professionals, the design studio offers a space for teaching practice that is uniquely suited to provide planning and design students an authentic experience engaging with communities. Even when it isn't feasible to conduct a service learning project, or even arrange a formal charrette, design workshop or public presentation, we demonstrate that less structure can still enable students to engage—and in some cases, engage more authentically. We heed Loukaitou-Sideris and Mukhija's (2015) call for studios to help the next generation of urban designers learn how to respond to informality through design, but with the caveat that before students hit the streets, they need to be equipped with an understanding of underlying theories, discourse, and methods for community engagement.

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Evolutionary Community Building

Boston's Chinatown – a Case Study

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Abstract

The global city is a dynamic evolving place, and disadvantaged communities marginalized by ethnicity, race, or class will face changing needs and challenges. These communities need longitudinal commitments from the activist professionals, who can continuously re-evaluate and adjust modes of engagement and empowerment based on the ever-changing events from inside and outside the communities. For the activist professionals, having political accretion, flexibility, collaborative attitude and patience are essential; and they must immerse with all aspects of the community to gain its trust.

A resilient community depends on its vibrant and adaptable social, economic and political structures. The physical form of a community will reflect its evolution but will not guarantee its growth or survival. Therefore, it is important that the activist professional is aware of and engaged in the non-physical aspects of community building.

This paper traces the author's three and a half decades of involvement in the Chinatown community of Boston, Massachusetts, USA, where he has taken on different roles as housing advocate and community organizer, as participant in drafting zoning and housing policies, and as the architect for various community projects. With examples and reflections, the author encourages the readers to share tactics and strategies for a sustainable future for disadvantaged communities in the global cities.

Keywords: Community Building, Empowerment, Engagement, Boston's Chinatown

Longitudinal Community Building through Participatory Design and Planning

Modern participatory community building traced its beginning to the turbulent post World War Two era when vast urban areas were rebuilt and was energized during the 1960's in Europe and the USA amidst the social and cultural revolutions. In architecture and planning, the formation of TEAM 10 in 1955 to challenge CIAM's (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) dogmatic approach to functional city planning, began the movement for direct participation of the people in the decision-making process. Since then most participatory design projects were singular interventions limited to short period of engagement, and it was rare to have a place based longitudinal engagement by a design professional in community building.

One early pioneer was the Italian architect Giancarlo De Carlo. As a member of Team 10, he argued that considerations for growth and change in planning must included the people. In 1958, De Carlo developed a participatory-based master plan for the historic town of Urbino in Italy, based on his believe that "the aim of urban planning is to improve the condition of the anonymous forces of society, the real protagonists of human events; and it is the aim which cannot be realized without their consensus and participation". And from 1957 to 2010, he was an integral member of the community and shaped policies to balance the expansions of the Free University of Urbino and the needs of the town residents. De Carlo also designed many buildings for the university that followed the guidelines and principles set forth in the 1958 master plan, as well as hosting international workshops in Urbino for students modeled after the open dialogue format of Team 10.

In the USA, the dominant planning strategy in the 1950's was Urban Renewal, when the government cleared out large sections of existing neglected urban neighborhoods for new developments. To counter this top down approach, volunteer organizations such as Urban Planning Aids were formed to assist impacted communities. In one eight city blocks area of the South End neighborhood in Boston, a group of mainly rural immigrants from Puerto Rico organized themselves to resist city hall's plan to demolish their homes. Starting in 1968, the architect John Sharratt, as a member of Urban Planning Aid, began walking around the neighborhood with the organizers and listening to the wishes of the people while asking for their political supports. He then documented the physical and social structures of the neighborhood in order to formulate credible counter development proposals with full participation of the community. The community group, Emergency Tenant Council (ETC) finally gained control of the land in 1972, changed its name to "Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion" (IBA) or "Puerto Rican Tenants in Action" and selected John Sharratt as the architect for Villa Victoria. From 1970 to

mid 1980's, over four phases, Sharratt designed a vibrant and distinctively Puerto Rican neighborhood comprising of over 600 units of mix income housing, ground floor retail spaces, and a community plaza. Villa Victoria remains to date a model of tenants controlled affordable residential development that also offers small business developments, social services, arts and cultural programs, adult education and childcare.

A more current example of place based longitudinal community building is the Rural Studio of Auburn University, based in Hale County in the State of Alabama. Started by the architect Sam Mockbee in 1987, every year teams of students and teachers designed and built homes and civic facilities for this impoverished rural area of Alabama. Since the death of Mockbee in 2010, Andrew Freear continued the missions of the program by "much more deeply marbled into the west Alabama community". The students learn to build trust with the community, seek scarce resources for their projects, engage in political struggles to construct their designs. In addition, they gain invaluable experiences in the design/build approach to architecture.

Boston's Chinatown and The Inequities of the Global Cities

Throughout histories, cities survived through cycles of decline and rebirth. In American and European cities, some regained their dominances with the start of the digital revolution in the 1990's and fueled by the explosions of information technologies and e-commerce. While in other parts of the world, the last two decades saw large population migrations from rural areas into the cities because of better job opportunities, escaping conflicts and impacts of climate change. The United Nations predicted that by 2050, 68% of the world population will be living in urban areas.

With the rise of the global cities, we also see the negative effects of intense capital accumulations in urban areas. The widening gap between the haves and have nots, the displacement of low-income neighborhoods by gentrifications, and the lack of affordable housing for the majority of urban dwellers. As the urban economist Edward Glaeser noted, cities will always attract the lower income population because of the abundant of low skill jobs, and the public transportation networks for mobility; and these cities thrive because of the diverse mix of people, from different ethnicities, regions, economic and social classes, which creates the vibrancy and complexity of urban living. Ironically, this multi cultural kaleidoscope also attracts the influx of the affluent classes, resulting in the displacement of the less affluent!

Ethnic neighborhoods are natural gateways for new immigrants who supply low wage workforces for the restaurants and service sectors. Before the revival of the cities around late

1980's, immigrant enclaves like Boston's Chinatown were treated as backwaters and not subject to real estate pressures. This changed quickly once cities were "re-discovered" and gentrifications began to transform once undesirable neighborhoods. In this decade, residential developments around transportation hubs are deemed ideal for the "live-work-play" life style for those who can participate in the new economy. This trend put tremendous pressure on these adjacent low-income and often ethnic neighborhoods.

Boston's Chinatown is one such low-income community, geographically located in the middle of a booming city that has continuously evolved since 1875. The settlement of Boston's Chinatown mirrored others in most US cities, with the first wave of immigrants arriving as laborers and settled around train stations and waterfront docks. With the Exclusion Act of 1883 which barred all Chinese from entering the United States, the population of Boston's Chinatown remained unchanged till the end of the Second World War with most residents working in low paying jobs and were isolated by language and cultural barriers from the rest of the city. Family organizations such as Boston's Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) formed in 1875 to provide services to the immigrants became the de facto liaison and power broker to the outside world and the city government. The elimination of immigration restrictions to the United States from China after the war brought increased residents to Chinatown, and peaked in 1960's during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Since then, the Asian population continues to grow in Chinatown, Boston and Massachusetts.

Beginning in the 1970's, a number of college educated second and third generation Chinese Americans who grew up in Chinatown returned to the neighborhood to provide social and health services to an increasingly diverse Asian population, in age, ethnicity, and income. These newer organizations, such as the Chinese American Civic Association (later renamed Asian American Civic Association, AACA) and the Chinese Progressive Association (CPA), represented a growing segment of the community and became more active in the community's welfare. Gradually they succeeded to share power with CCBA and other more established family associations in dealing with the outside world. This new political and social realignments set the stage for the community's resistance to the events in the 80's.

Boston's Chinatown is a small neighborhood with irregular boundaries, comprising of roughly 39 square blocks; bounded to the north by the city's financial district, to the east by major regional highways, to the south by a depressed highway and an increasing gentrified South End neighborhood, and to the west by the city's cultural district. In the middle of the neighborhood are Tufts University downtown campus and the New England Medical Center (formerly know as

TNEMC). The commercial and retail center of Chinatown is separated from the residential core by a main city thoroughfare and the institutions. (Figure 1 & 2)

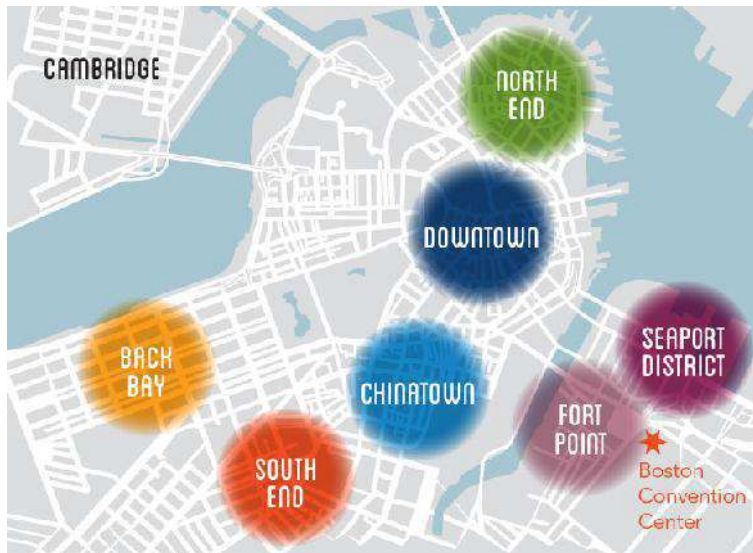


Figure 1. Location of Chinatown in Boston

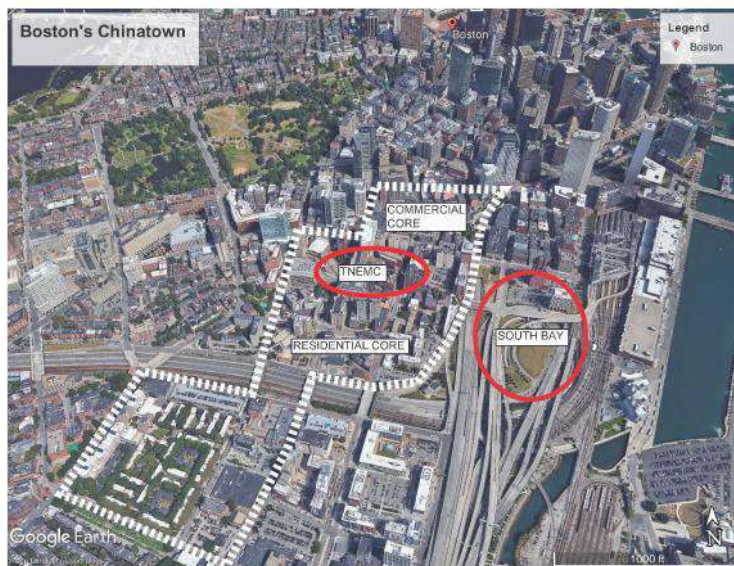


Figure 2 Aerial view of downtown Boston

The neighborhood today remains mainly a low-income ethnic community with the highest population density in Boston. According to the Boston Planning and Development Agency, based on 2010 census, Chinatown has over 4,400 residents with 76% Asian and two third of that population were immigrants; it has a poverty rate of 39% and unemployment rate is 50% higher than Boston average. Physically, the neighborhood has over 2000 housing units, mainly

concentrated in rental multi story projects built between 1970 and 1995, but a 2007 survey found that 34% of these units were overcrowded; and demands for affordable units far exceed supplies. Recently, there has been an effort to increase low-income home ownership opportunities as a way to stabilize the community further. Most residents work in low paying sectors such as food, hospitality, and retail services.

It is important to note that Boston's Chinatown is one of the few Chinatowns in the United States that has a stable and sizable residential component thanks to the low-income housing blocks built, which provided the necessary population for mobilization and exerting political clout. This allowed Boston's Chinatown to avoid the fate of some American Chinatowns that have become food-centric tourist destinations devoid of residential, social, and cultural identities.

Architects and planners have been answering the plights of these low-income communities in distress. While in graduate school, the author was influenced by DeCarlo's writings and criticisms; using the question "who controlled the resources?", he challenged how we might change the strategies in social housing production. Upon graduation in 1980, the author volunteered at the Chinatown Housing and Land Development Task Force and stays active in various capacities since. Thus, looking back at how Boston's Chinatown evolved since the 1980's, the author speculates a cyclical evolutionary community building process, each cycle can be loosely defined in four phases - community in crisis, community in restructuring, community in growth, and community in transition. The following sections described these four phases of community building in Boston's Chinatown from 1980s to today, together with the author's changing roles in each phase. By documenting how the architect's contributions have to adapt to changing conditions, the author argues for an unconventional roadmap of participatory community building, one which is devoid of any predetermined theoretical framework.

1980 – 1990 Crisis and Mobilization

From 1950's to 1970's, Boston's Chinatown's land area had been reduced by halve due to highway construction while its population grew by 25%. But its central location in Boston was the object of competition between city, state and the Tuft-New England Medical Center (TNEMC). In early 1980's, TNEMC published its master plan and proposed multiple facility expansions, threatening the displacement of low-income residents and taking away land for the production of much needed affordable housing. The community mobilized in opposition.

It was during this period that the author volunteered at the Task Force and was asked to do

door-to-door organizing and participate in street demonstrations. And for the first time in Boston's Chinatown history, a coalition of old and new community groups, including the Task Force, organized meetings and protests against the institutional expansions and demanded government interventions. Supported by growing public pressure, the coalition succeeded in getting the city to request the institutions to amend the master plan and negotiate community benefits in exchange for limited expansions. The author presented alternative development options and engaged in media debates; and was later selected by CCBA as one of two non-member representatives of the new voices, to a seven-member negotiation team with the institutions. The outcomes were the transfer of a parcel of land from the institutions to the community for affordable housing, funding for job re-training for former garment workers, and assistances for small businesses. This experience of working with CCBA allowed the author to later bridge competing agendas between the "progressive" and "conservative" fractions of Chinatown.

Building on the power of unity, the Chinatown Neighborhood Council was created by the city in 1985 with members elected by the community to represent Chinatown in city hall. The Neighborhood Council together with other agencies and activists, secured funding from philanthropic organizations to prepare a grass root community plan as an alternative to the institutional expansion plan. In acknowledging the increasing power of the grass root movement, the city integrated the community planning effort into its citywide planning work. The author worked with other professionals to lend expertise and credibility to the community plan, and as the liaison to the city's planning department. Developed over two years with numerous community workshops and meetings, the plan pushed for a much-needed overhaul of outdated zoning regulations, advocated for increased production of affordable housing and economic opportunities for the residents, drew the boundaries around the institutions to limit their expansions, identify potential sites for affordable housing, and recommended policies for economic growth. The city officially adopted the "1990 Chinatown Community Plan: A Plan to Manage Growth" as the framework for the legal zoning regulations for Chinatown.

1990 – 2000 Coalition Building and Power Redistribution

During the development of the 1990 Community Plan, one sizable land parcel became available with the relocation of an existing overhead subway line. As one main goal of the Plan was to increase production of affordable housing, the city issued a Request for Proposal for a community-based group to be the developer.

With only one existing community development entity with blemish records, and in direct challenge to the existing power structure, the author and two other activists formed the Asian Community Development Corporation (ACDC) in 1987 and recruited others to join the nascent organization with the sole purpose of submitting a competing proposal. The selection process pitted the progressive and conservation fractions of Chinatown and lasted over a year, during which the author left ACDC once it became clear that he wouldn't be considered as the architect. Ironically, the author was then asked to help the city to resolve the contentious competition between the opposing community fractions. The result was a "Gordian Knot" solution - the site was divided into two parcels, one for each community development entity!

After a long and fortuitous route, in 1992 the author returned to ACDC as the Project Manager for the housing proposal. But when the original architecture firm resigned from the project due to internal upheaval, the author was tapped to be the architect and worked with ACDC to secure funding and shepherd the project through the lengthy process. Finally, Oak Terrace with 88 units of affordable housing was completed in 1994 - the first new affordable housing built in Chinatown since the late 1960s.

The success of the grass root movement spurred renewed social and political activisms. Acknowledging the democratic process and how local politics functioned, comprehensive community wide voter registration was carried out for the first time, targeting especially the sizable elderly population in Chinatown. Together with forging alliances with other groups across Boston, Chinatown was brought out of its isolation and became an increasingly powerful voice in issues such as gentrification and displacement.

One example of this new political prowess was the campaign led by CPA to stop a proposed garage for the hospital on Parcel C, right in the heart of Chinatown that was supported by the city and the more established community organizations. After years of protests and demonstrations from 1993 to 1998, but also with savvy political lobbying and legal challenges, the Parcel C Coalition forced the city to transfer the land to CCBA for housing development. It is worthwhile to note that during the Parcel C struggle, the author and ACDC were sidelined because of the city's not too subtle threat of noncooperation in the development of Oak Terrace if we were involved in opposition. However, when CCBA failed to come up with a feasible development proposal after three years, the final chapter of this long struggle was a mix income housing completed in 2004 by a joint venture of ACDC and a for-profit developer.

To address continuing real estate pressure on Chinatown, the Parcel C Coalition became The

Chinatown Coalition and hosted community planning sessions and secured funding to update the 1990 Community Plan. This led to the formation of The Chinatown Initiative (TCI), which “incorporate all of Chinatown’s stakeholders in shaping a shared vision for the future of Chinatown” and to address the failure of the 1990 Plan, which was the lack of specific implementation strategies for the stated goals and objectives.

The author worked as pro bono advisor and organizer for this endeavor. “Chinatown Masterplan 2000 – Agenda for a Sustainable Neighborhood” was published in December 2000, with the goal to “guide the development and growth of the Chinatown community while preserving its cultural identity, history, and its function as a social, economic and service hub”, and “this community planning process must include the development of the community’s capacity to participate in the discussions, planning, and negotiations around Chinatown’s future”.

2000 – 2010 Growth and Staking Claims

With success in gaining more housing within the core of Boston’s Chinatown, the community began to look for expansion opportunities beyond the district and to gain a voice in influencing the surrounding real estate developments. In 2002, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts offered South Bay, a 20 acres parcel of land adjacent to Chinatown and close to the main rail terminal for major redevelopment. The city and State formed a community advisory committee, comprising of representatives from Chinatown and the adjacent Leather District neighborhood, to work with the government agencies and their consultants to produce a master plan. The author served as a pro bono technical consultant and led design charrettes for the plan. The South Bay Planning Study was published in 2004; but the plan was driven by the desire of maximizing return of investment, resulting in an overly ambitious vision with unrealistic goals. Eventually the Plan was deemed infeasible when no developers stepped up to submit a proposal.

Frustrated by the misguided objectives of the South Bay Planning Study, several community groups and The Chinatown Coalition secured funding to sponsor a counter design vision for these 20 acres. As a member of the Coalition, the author served on the technical advisory committee and worked closely with the consultants. After several visioning exercise and design charrettes, The Chinatown Gateway Charette was published in 2008. In addition, recognizing that the planning process did not end with the South Bay parcels, the Coalition decided to update and re-evaluate the 2000 Master Plan. “The Chinatown Master Plan 2010 *Community Vision for the Future*”, published in December 2010, identified key gateway areas for the expansion of the neighborhood (figure 3) and laid out 10 goals, including “foster a more sustainable and greener

community” and “cultivate a healthier and cleaner environment and promote the health and well-being of its residents”.

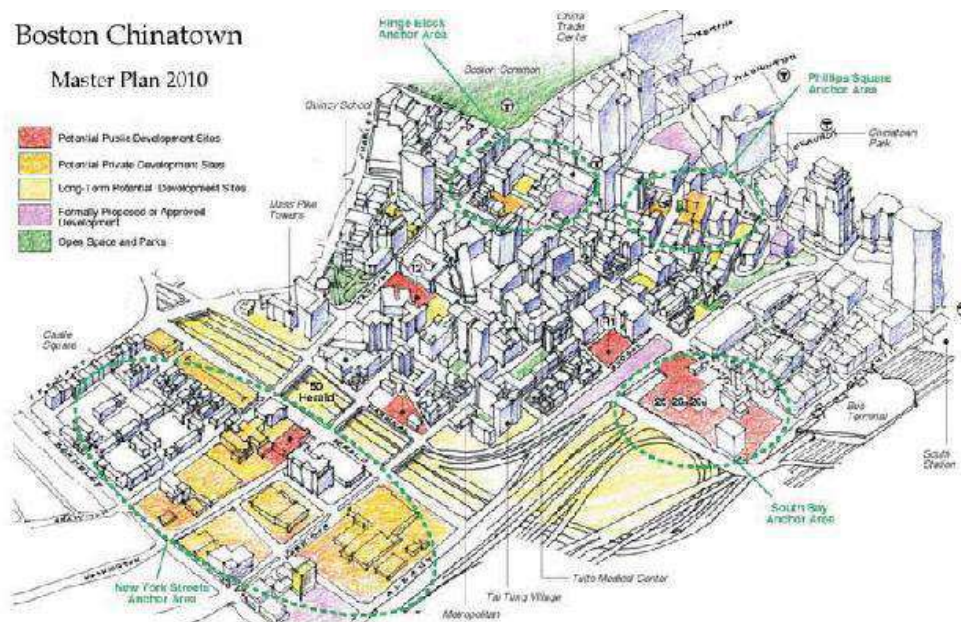


Figure 3 Expansion nodes identified in Master Plan 2010

The new millennium also saw an increase outflow from Chinatown of new immigrants and long-time residents to more affordable towns outside of Boston such as Quincy and Malden, but also Asian empty nesters returning from the suburbs to where they grew up. This trend was identified in the 2000 Master Plan, which proposed establishing stronger connections between these new Asian residential sub-centers to Chinatown by sustaining existing and creating new cultural and social networks and destinations.

In 2000, two of the oldest social organizations in Boston’s Chinatown, Kwong Kow Chinese School and AACA decided to build a permanent facility that they would co-develop and co-own. Though the two organizations had their disagreements in the past, both recognized the benefit to combine scarce resources to achieve this goal. With previous working relationships with both groups, the author was selected as the architect by the joint venture. It was a long process involving negotiations with city agencies and the university to secure the site. The two organizations then had to compromise their ideal programs based on available funding, and the author sometimes acted as mediator to settle competing agendas and demands. Only after the alliance between the two organizations was finalized could the facility be designed and built. The Chinatown Community Education Center opened in 2008 to offer language and cultural lessons,

social services, job trainings, and day care under one roof, further reinforcing and enhancing the social and cultural ties within the community and with the sub-centers.

2010 – 2020 TRANSITION

In this decade, the overwhelming threat to Boston's Chinatown continued to be the encroaching real estate development pressures with multiple new luxury housings being constructed surrounding the neighborhood. Also the rebuilt regional highway nicknamed the Big Dig raised concerns over the air quality and environmental health of abutting neighborhoods, resulting in Chinatown participating in a study organized by Tufts University called Community Assessment of Freeway Exposure and Health (CAFEH), which "aims to educate inner urban communities of color and of low income on the risk of air borne pollutants, with the goal of establish measures to properly located uses and technical means to mitigate the effects". One concrete recommendation of the study is to require future housing developments near highways to incorporate high performance filters in the HVAC systems.

In 2015, ACDC in partnership with a for-profit developer completed another large-scale mix-income housing project in Chinatown with a street level commercial space dedicated for community uses. The Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center (BCNC) envisioned an art and cultural center that will be anchored in the Chinatown community and yet connected to other communities in Boston and around the world. BCNC entrusted the author as development advisor and architect to transform this commercial space into the Pao Arts Center, which opened in 2017 "to leverage artistic and creative resources in Chinatown to strengthen the neighborhood and contribute to the vitality and identity of Boston". The Art Center's mission reflects one of the goals of the 2010 Master Plan and confirms the transformation of Boston's Chinatown from an isolated enclave to a well-networked neighborhood in a global city.

Currently the author is a founding member of the Chinatown Community Land Trust, looking into ways to have the community owning the land but have separate individual ownership of existing housing units above, in order to ensure their long-term affordability. This relatively new organization was formed to close a loophole in the current zoning regulations and to resist an explosion of speculations of existing properties in Chinatown, especially the remaining rowhouses that historically have been homes for low income families. One example of this pressure was the conversion of a small row house by a speculator into three Air B&B units, while another row house was turned into luxury apartments after several low-income residents were evicted. The Land Trust also advocates for tenant-owned developments, and demands the city to

agree to the basic principal of “public land for public good”.

In 2018, the community persuaded the city to include Chinatown in its new downtown master planning process, while simultaneously is getting ready to update the Community Plan for the next decade. This next chapter will be the fourth edition of Boston’s Chinatown community plan and will pay attentions to emerging issues on public health, threats from rising sea level, improving level of youth engagement, and the integration of big data in planning.

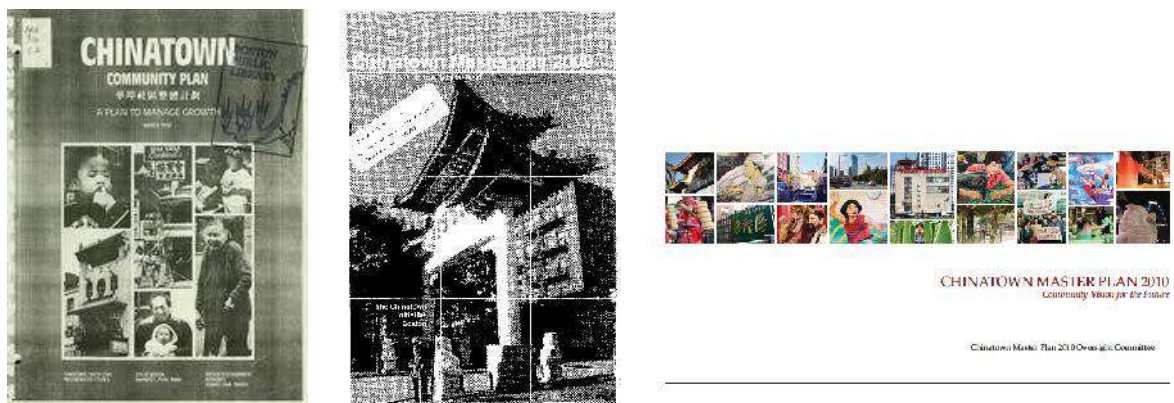


Figure 4 Chinatown Community Plan 1990, 2000, and 2010

Conclusions

As Michael Liu, a long time activist in Boston’s Chinatown observed, “for its residents, particularly its recent immigrants, Chinatown provide important support, social and organization networks, daily comfort and routines to survive urban challenges in an unfamiliar environment. For long term residents, the neighborhood holds a shared meaning and shared aspirations. For Asian Americans throughout the city, it remains a significant space for political, social and cultural mobilization.” This is true for many ethnic communities in cities around the world, and it is true that these communities will face threats of displacement and gentrification as cities evolved.

Disadvantaged communities will not disappear from the cities; in fact, they are critical to an “open city”, as defined by the urbanist and sociologist Richard Sennett. In contrast to the segregation and regimentation of a “closed city”, the “open city” welcomes differences and diversities, where citizens can use urban “disorder” to stimulate cooperation and understandings.

For architects and planners working with these disadvantaged communities, it is useful to reference Giancarlo De Carlo’s definition of “architecture of participation” - as “when everyone

takes part equally in the management of the power structure or when the power structure no longer exists because everyone is directly or equally involved in the process of decision making”. To help achieve this redistribution of power with the community, the activist professional needs to embed in the community to gain trust, be accountable, and to understand the power dynamic within the community and the city. More importantly, one must be a concerned citizen first, and a professional second.

As shown in the experiences of DeCarlo, Sharratt, The Rural Studio, and the author, longitudinal community building processes differ between urban and non-urban areas. In Urbino and rural Alabama, the communities worked to regain their vitality after economic downturns and to promote redevelopment of vacant land, thus De Carlo and The Rural Studio focused on incremental growth and implementation to support the visions. For the two examples of distressed community in Boston, both under pressures from redevelopments and gentrifications, Sharratt and the author worked with the residents first through periods of resistance before having the opportunities to implement the community’s visions.

One also has to distinguish the impact of singular participatory design intervention and of longitudinal engagement in community building. A design charrette or workshop has a stated goal or theory and a fix time frame, and the activist professional can design a process and seek out the stakeholders to be participants. In contrast, as Andrew Freear observed that for longitudinal engagement, the students and teachers are “in Hale County for a long haul, we know we have to prove we are good neighbors. We worked hard to build trust and show that we feel accountable and responsible for all our actions”. This resonates with John Sharratt’s experience with the Puerto Rican community in the formation of Villa Victoria, as he stated, “the primary objective of neighborhood preservation and development should be to maintain the individual human dignity of the residents while preserving/developing the physical and social character of a neighborhood”.

Longitudinal participatory community building demands the activist professional to be a participant in an evolutionary process interspersed with multiple purposeful design interventions. But often we are asked to step out of our comfort zones and engaged in social and political activities, beyond what we learned in the academy or in practice. Changing the scale from singular intervention such as a design charette to long-term community building, one has to be flexible, adaptable, resourceful, leverage capacities of other engaged professionals, and perhaps un-learn one’s education. Lastly, one must learn from the residents.

Over this past 35 years of immersing in the evolution of Boston’s Chinatown, the author has been

an agitator, facilitator, negotiator, politician, and occasionally in a paid position as the architect; starting as a “trouble maker” to now one who was asked to record an oral history. Staying objective and professional allowed the author to collaborate with different fractions within Chinatown to advance the goals of the Community Plans. Through this process, the author has gained invaluable skills outside of professional education and training, but ultimately, the design education provided the foundation to be a creative problem solver.

Again as Michael Liu observed, “Chinatown’s capacity to mobilize has grown. It built skills to work on a variety of fronts: media, regulatory, planning, grassroots mobilization, and lobbying. During this evolution, the neighborhood has also developed greater ties among the various factions, allowing for more effective coalition building within the community”. Community building process is unpredictable, incremental, provocative, and messy; while level of resident participation will ebb and flow. It is never a linear process where one can apply a theory to predict or describe its evolution. But let’s step forward and be engaged nonetheless.

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Revitalising Ubin Kampung Life – one structure at a time

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Abstract

Pulau Ubin is an island of about 10 square km off the north-east of Singapore. It is currently known for its nature of rich biodiversity, wetland park and as a “rustic” place for a weekend visit. Few know about its rich heritage and social history. It once had a thriving community of 5,000 population of Chinese and Malay descent with its own schools, community centre, clinic, market, religious buildings and cemeteries. The population has since dwindled to about 38 full time residents (National Parks Board, 2017) with the closure of the granite quarries in the 1980s and younger generation relocating to the mainland for better education and job opportunities. The livelihood of the islanders has evolved with the economic opportunities offered by the island from early days of fishing, rubber, fruit plantations, quarry mining, prawn farming to the current dependence on weekend visitors. The remaining islanders still live a kampung (village/rural) lifestyle which they wish to keep that no longer exist in urbanised mainland Singapore (Lim, 2015). Research has shown that there is a rich and diverse social network of the island that extends beyond the families living on the island. The kampung (village) houses are also the last remaining Malay and Chinese timber vernacular architecture in Singapore.

Civil society groups have been working together on how to revitalize kampung life and keep the living heritage for future generations (Singam & Thomas, 2017). One of the projects is on restoration of kampung structures and enhancing community. The first is a pilot project to rebuild a 25-year old drink stall operated by an 80- year old resident who lives alone on the island. This will be a test bed for future restoration projects. The design was through a participatory process and the construction involve local villagers transferring local construction knowledge to the students who are building it. This paper will share the lessons learnt from inception to the construction of the project, the complex relationship of working with multiple stakeholders (government agencies, civic groups, villagers), the tension between a stringent building regulatory framework and the way of building vernacular structure and its way of life. The findings are relevant to others who work in restoring vernacular buildings and its way of life.

Keywords: Grassroots Advocacy & Activism, Cultural Heritage, Community building and engagement

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The Potential of Food to Present the Form of the Future Cities

- A Case of Urban Planning and Community Activities in Tokyo–

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Abstract

Facing the climate change and the population growth, more cities around the world are thinking of food systems as an urban agenda to enhance sustainability and resilience. This is an interesting phenomenon because urban planning is historically incompatible with food. This study aimed to clarify how the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national governments have thought of food and dealt with it in urban policies and to consider whether the perspective of food contributes to improving urban planning. For the purposes, we examined the policies, plans and laws of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national government related to food, land use, agriculture and taxation, and also examined community activities related food. It is found that urban agriculture was gradually being understood as a necessary content of the urban good environment, but no policy has a comprehensive vision about farmland and the food systems in cities. Also, the topics of food dealt with in the acts and policies are limited. In addition, this study points out that food is closely related to land use and that it sheds light on the negative aspects of society and brings strong sympathy for people in need. Therefore, it is argued that the food has potential to present the ideal physical and social form of the future cities.

Keywords: Food systems, Land use, Urban farmland, Tokyo, Japan

Introduction

In the face of the climate change and the population growth, more cities are thinking of food systems as an urban agenda to enhance sustainability and resilience. It is recommended in many international documents, such as the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact in 2015 and the New Urban Agenda by the UN Habitat III Conference in 2016. The Sustainable Development Goals also have the goals related to the sustainable food systems and cities; Goal 2: Zero hunger, Goal 11: Sustainable cities and communities, and Goal 12: Responsible consumption

and production. Those consensus and goals have stimulated discussion about the food issues around the world and the concept “City Region Food Systems” has got attention as a way to pursue the goals. The City Region Food Systems “encompass the complex network of actors, processes and relationships involved in food production, processing, marketing and consumption in a given geographical region” (FAO, 2016, p.2). Toronto in Canada is a leading example of the City Region Food Systems and the Toronto Food Policy Council has taken the initiative for more than twenty years. Because of their efforts, the City of Toronto adopted the Food Charter and showed how the city council protects the food security¹ for its residents. The city’s official plan and various policies refer to the Charter and states how they contribute to the food security. All divisions in the city government come to the same table and discuss how to promote urban agriculture (Honzawa and Dohi, 2018). Other cities are also taking initiatives in strengthening the local food system to make themselves sustainable and resilient and to protect the food security.

However, that movement is considered to be contrary to the concept of urban planning. The modern urban planning was formulated in the late nineteen centuries and has separated cities from rural areas and agricultural land use. Food has not been regarded as an urban issue which local governments should make specific plans for and tackle with. Urban planning is historically incompatible with food.

Tokyo is one of the big cities in the world and has about 13 million populations. However, only 1% of the food they need on a calorie basis is produced in the city, and the food systems rely on food production areas outside of Tokyo. As for land use, agricultural land use is mixed with residential land use even in urbanization promotion areas which the City Planning Act basically defines as where farmland should be changed into residential use. Coexistence of farmland and residential areas creates unique landscape. Although there are a lot of research about policies of land use and agriculture in Tokyo², no study has looked at the relationship of the land use planning and the food systems in Tokyo. Now that more cities are thinking of their roles for the food systems, it is important to reveal how the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national government have dealt with food in their policies.

This study examines the policies, plans and laws of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national government related to food, land use, agriculture and taxation³, and clarifies how the governments have thought of food and dealt with it in urban policies. In addition, this study argues that the food has potential to present the ideal form of the future cities, by analyzing community activities occurring in Tokyo.

¹ According to the FAO’s definition, the food security “exists when all people, at all times have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 2010, p.8).

² For example, Takeuchi (2013) revealed how the farmland has dealt with in urban planning of Tokyo.

³ Since the policies of land use, agriculture, food and taxation cannot be determined entirely by local governments, we investigated the national legislation.

Land use and urban farmland in Tokyo

In 2018, Tokyo is 2,193 square kilometer and has about 13 million people (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2018). Japanese urban planning is governed by the City Planning Act. The Act determines the City planning areas where the Act is effective. The City planning areas can be divided into two areas; the urbanization promotion areas and the urbanization control areas. The urbanization promotion area is where urbanization is highly promoted and planned systematically. It consists of an area that has already urbanized and an area that should be urbanized within about 10 years. On the other hand, the urbanization control area is where urbanization is not recommended. As a rule, development activities are suppressed in this area, and construction of urban facilities is not basically carried out. The Figure 1 is the map of City planning areas in Tokyo. The red areas in the map are the urbanization promotion areas and the blue areas are the urbanization control areas (Figure 1). Both areas are included in the City planning areas.

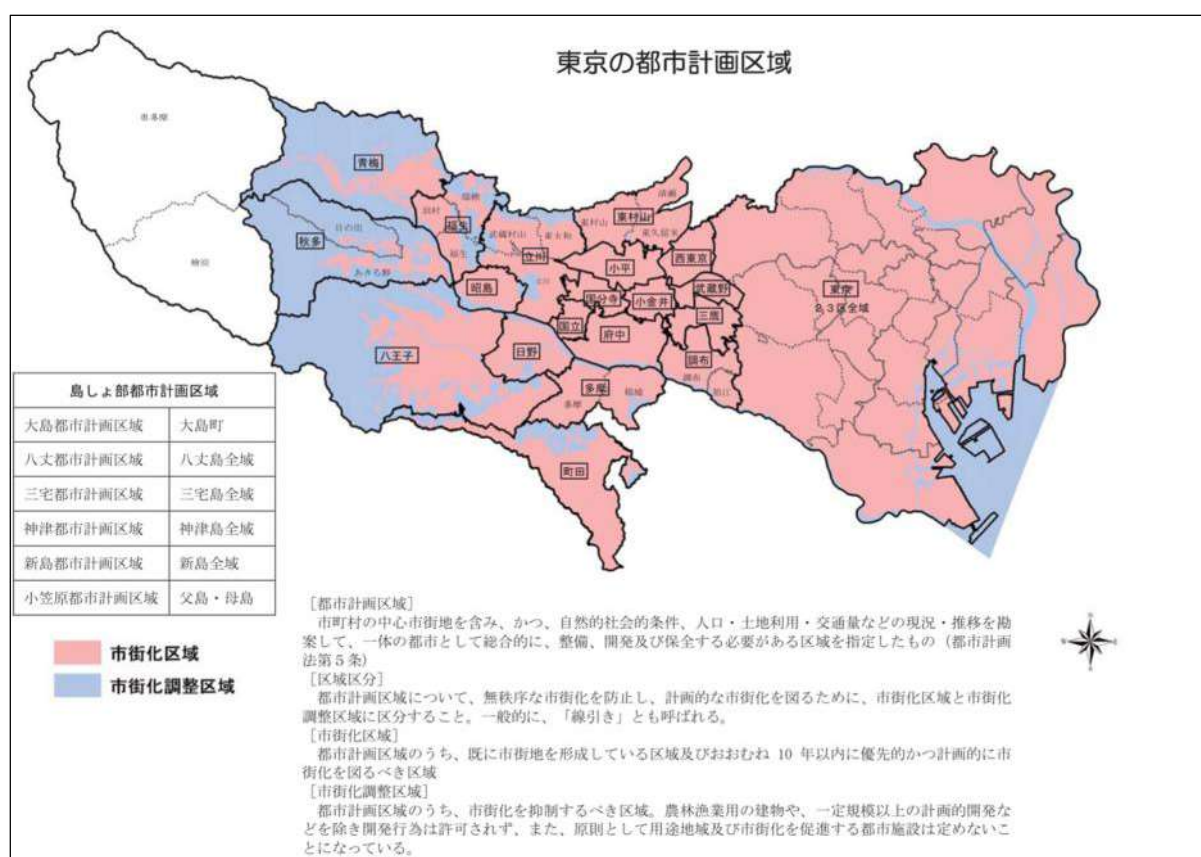


Figure 1. The map of City planning areas in Tokyo
(Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2014, Figure 4)

There are three types of farmland in the City planning areas of Tokyo; the Productive green zones, the farmland taxed as residential areas, and the farmland taxed as farmland

(Figure 2). The Productive green zones and the farmland taxed as residential areas exist in the urbanization promotion areas, and the farmland (taxed as farmland) exists in the urbanization control areas. Since the urbanization promotion areas are supposed to be urbanized, the taxation for the farmland in the areas sets as high as the one for the residential land use. The farmland is encouraged to be turned into residential land use by the taxation. The Productive green zone is one of the districts defined by the City Planning Act and the Productive Green Space Act and basically satisfies the following three conditions⁴.

- (1) The area has a considerable effect on protecting good condition of neighbourhoods and is suitable as future sites for public facilities.
- (2) The area is 500 square meters or more⁵.
- (3) The area is suitable for agriculture or forestry.

The owners of the Productive green zones must engage in agriculture on the zones for 30 years.

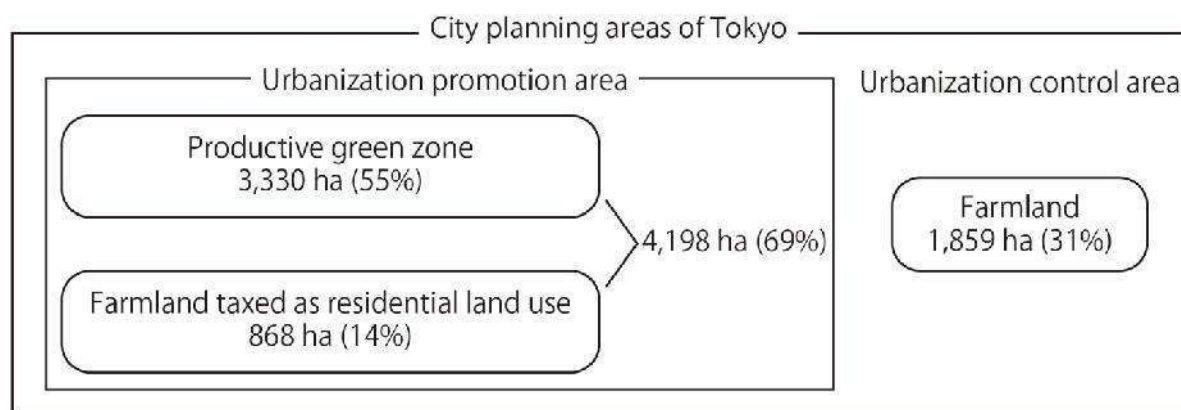


Figure 2. Three types of farmland in the City planning areas of Tokyo

The area of farmland has been decreasing in Tokyo. According to the statistics, 2300 hectares of the farmland were lost between 1997 to 2013 (Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the Municipalities, 2016). About 70% of the farmland exists in the urbanization promotion areas and 55% of all the farmland is designated as the Productive green zones (Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the Municipalities, 2016).

The relationship among food, land use and agriculture in the policies

This chapter clarifies how the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national government have thought of food and dealt with it in urban planning by examining the historical development of policies, plans and laws of those governments. The Figure 3 shows

⁴ Those conditions are stated in Article 3 of the Productive Green Space Act.

⁵ The minimum area can be changed by regulations of municipal governments after the amendment of the Productive Green Space Act in 2017.

the result of the policy analysis. The specific period of the policy analysis is from 1968 to the present because the current urban planning in Japan is governed by the City Planning Act adopted in 1968. In the Figure 3 and the following chapters, alphabets and numbers are prefixed to important acts and policies as shown in the legend of the Figure 3. By the policy analysis, it is found that two features formed the relationship among food, land use and agriculture in policies and plans.

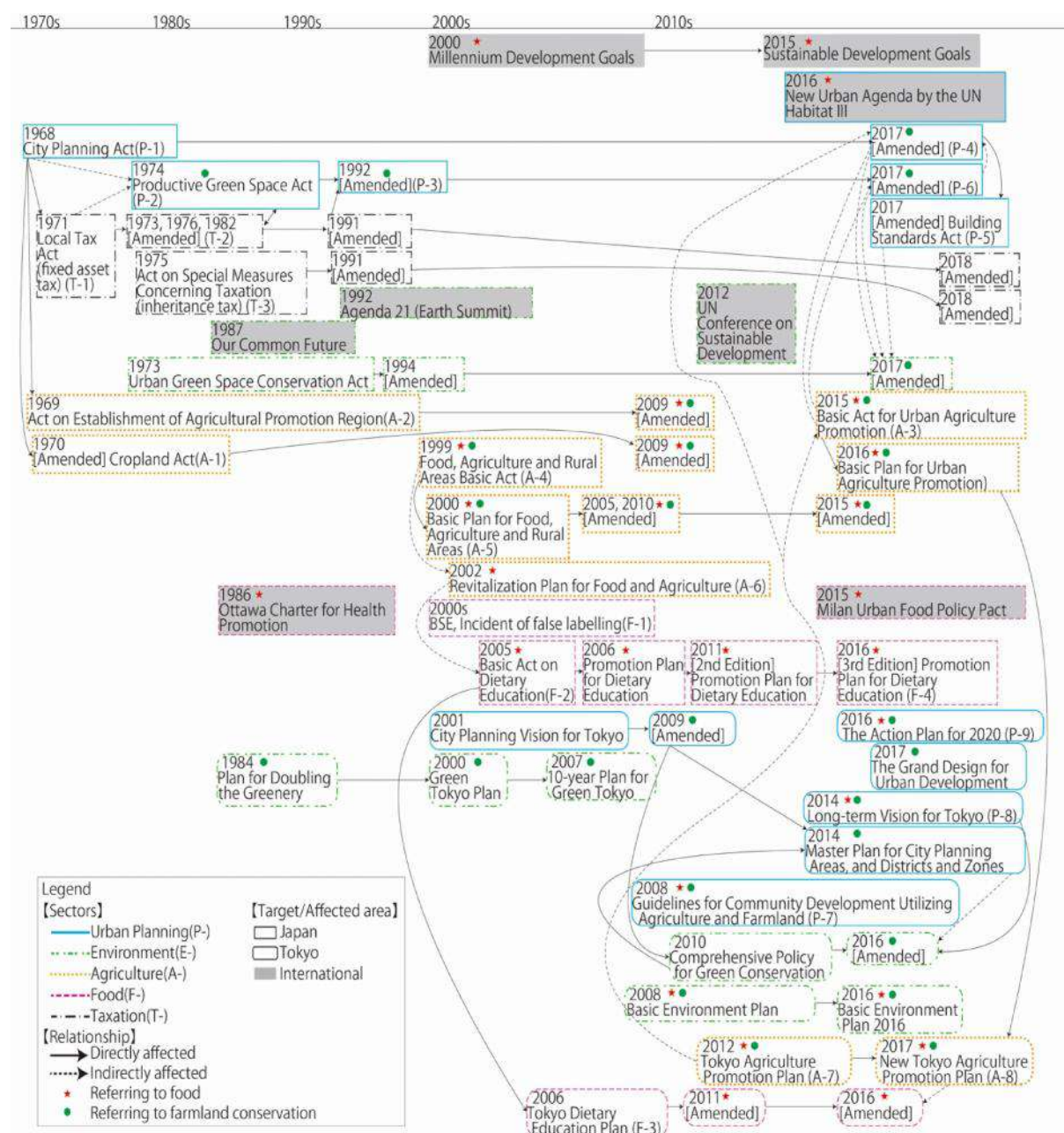


Figure 3. The historical development of policies related to land use, agriculture, food and taxation

Firstly, no policy has determined how agriculture should be interwoven in cities and where and how much farmland should be allocated in the urbanization promotion areas. The jurisdiction of urban agriculture is Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism and Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. Historically, both of them have excluded agriculture from the urbanization promotion areas. As mentioned before, the basic of the current urban planning was formulated by the adoption of the new City Planning Act in 1968 <P-1>. The Act has set the urbanization promotion areas and argued that the farmland in the areas should be changed into residential areas. Corresponding to the Act, the national government amended the Cropland Act in 1970 <A-1>. In principle, the Cropland Act protects farmland from being converted into other land uses. However, the amendment makes it easy to convert farmland in the urbanization promotion areas. Farmland in the areas can be urbanized if it is reported beforehand to the agricultural commissions of municipal governments. In 1969, the Act on Establishment of Agricultural Promotion Region was adopted <A-2>. While the purpose of the Act is to designate the agricultural promotion zones, the zones must be set outside of the urbanization promotion areas. By the two Acts, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries stepped back from the issue of agriculture in the urbanization promotion areas. In addition, the taxation strengthens the exclusion of the urban farmland. The Local Tax Act was amended in 1970s <T-1,2>. Since then, farmland in the urbanization promotion areas have been imposed the fixed asset tax as high as residential area. This leads to increasing the inheritance tax of farmland <T-3>. Due to the high taxes, farmland is being forced to go away.

The opposition from farmers, agricultural cooperatives and local governments to such taxation led to the creation of an exception- the Productive green zones <P-2,3> (Nakata, 2000). The fixed asset tax of the Productive green zones is same as the one of agricultural land use. As for the inheritance tax, the tax payment is postponed if the land owners keep engaging in agriculture until they die. The Production green zones are the system to preserve farmland in the urbanization promotion areas, but the conditions for the designation and postponement of tax payment are severe for land owners. In this way, urban planning in Japan has tried to urbanize farmland and protected some of them as the Productive green zones by land use and taxation. This system corresponds to individual farmland, and does not have a vision regarding how agriculture should be interwoven in cities and where farmland should be allocated in urbanized areas.

However, such situation has been slightly changing since the Basic Act for Urban Agriculture Promotion was adopted in 2015 <A-3>. The Act recognizes that urban agriculture has various functions such as providing fresh produce to residents and contributing to ecosystems. Based on that recognition, it aims to promote urban agriculture and create good urban environment with the farming. Urban farmland had been treated as unnecessary land until the Act was adopted, but now it is recognized as necessary content of the urban

environment. That is a big change in urban planning history. In response to the Act, the City Planning Act and the Building Standards Act were amended and the rural residential zone was established in 2017 <P-4,5>. The rural residential zone shall be the area specified to protect the good residential environment in harmony with the agriculture. The Productive Green Space Act was also amended to protect and promote urban agriculture <P-6>. For example, the amendment makes it possible to reduce the area requirement of the Productive green zones to 300 square meters by an ordinance.

Although the necessity and importance of urban agriculture are gradually recognized, whether the farmland in the urbanization promotion areas should be conserved or not is decided for each individual farmland, and it depends to the farmers' opinions. While the high taxes are still imposed on farmland in the areas, the land owners have to engage in agriculture if their farmland is designated as the Productive green zones. Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism still do not have any long-term and comprehensive plans about farmland in urbanized areas. The agricultural promotion zones are still unable to be designated in the urbanization promotion areas.

The second feature is about how the acts and policies have referred to food. Around 2000s, there were many incidents that threatened the food safety, such as the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy and false labelling in Japan <F-1>. The food safety got more attention and became the priority which national government should deal with. Many acts and plans about food were adopted at that time. For example, the Food, Agriculture and Rural Areas Basic Act was adopted in 1999 <A-4>, and it aims to secure a staple supply of food. The Basic Plan for the Act set the target rate of food self-sufficiency <A-5>. Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries made the Revitalization Plan for Food and Agriculture in 2002 <A-6> and states the food safety needs to be guaranteed by the authorized food labelling system and the dietary education. According to the preamble of The Basic Act on Dietary Education <F-2>, the dietary education is “to raise a person who is able to acquire knowledge about "diet" and ability to choose "diet" through various experiences, and realize healthy dietary habits”. The dietary education focuses on educating children about the food literacy. The Basic Act on Dietary Education was adopted in 2005 <F-2>.

Affected by those acts and national plans, food was incorporated into plans and visions of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. In 2006, Tokyo Dietary Education Plan was adopted to promote the dietary education <F-3>. The importance of the dietary education and the farm-to-table (a movement to consume locally grown food) is argued in the Guidelines for Community Development Utilizing Agriculture and Farmland <P-7> and the Tokyo Agriculture Promotion Plan <A-7>. Since 2014, the farm-to-table movement has been actively promoted in the visions of the city, such as the Long-term Vision for Tokyo <P-8> and the Action Plan for 2020 <P-9>. Considering from the fact that the food was not

historically treated as an urban agenda, it is a great step that Tokyo is now thinking of the food issues in the plans.

What should be carefully considered here is that the limited topics of food are dealt with in the acts and national and metropolitan plans. The main topics are raising the rate of food self-sufficiency and promoting the dietary education and the farm-to-table. The dietary education is connected to the farm-to-table because many public elementary and junior high schools offer the school meal with locally grown food as a part of the dietary education⁶. Thus, the three topics of the food lead to expanding the consumption of local food and this can revitalize the domestic agricultural industry. This could be considered as a reason many acts and plans state the three topics. Although all the topics are significant for food security, it is necessary to think of the food systems as a whole. The food literacy should be learned by adults, and the relationship between land use and ecosystems needs to be taken account of because food is produced not only by farmers but also by the earth.

Results and Discussion

In the previous chapter, two features of how the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national government have thought of food and dealt with it in policies and plans were clarified by the policy analysis. The first feature is that no one has discussed where and how much farmland should be allocated in the urbanization promotion areas. The second feature is that many acts and policies have referred to food since 2000s though the limited topics of food are dealt with. Urban agriculture is gradually being understood as a necessary content of the urban good environment, but no act and plan has a comprehensive vision about where farmland is incorporated in urban land use and how the food systems are improved for the sustainability and resilience of the city.

This chapter argues that the food has potential to present the ideal form of the future cities, based on community activities occurring in Tokyo. Community gardening is one of the community activities becoming popular in cities in Japan. The numbers of the gardens have been increasing (Figure 4). According to the statistics, Tokyo had 466 community gardens as of 2016 (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2018a). This number is the second largest per prefecture in Japan. An opinion poll run by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government shows that about 86% of people living in Tokyo want urban agriculture and farmland to be kept in Tokyo (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2015). 62.9% of the people expect urban agriculture to provide fresh and safe produce, and 35.4% think the urban farmland is important as the place for agricultural experience and the dietary education. The establishment

⁶ The Promotion Plan for Dietary Education <F-4> requires all prefectures to use local produce at least 30% of school meals (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2016).

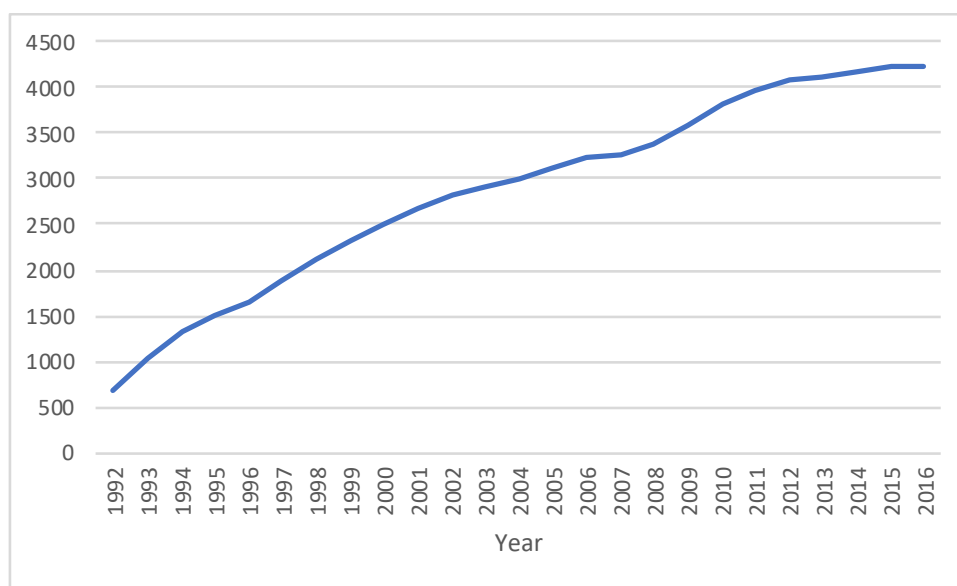


Figure 4. The number of community gardens in Japan
(Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2017)

and management of community gardens becomes business, which is successful. Growing food in community gardens is an easy way to get safe food and stay healthy.

In addition to the great effect to human health, food offers the perspective of fairness. In Japan, 6.46 million tons of food was discarded in 2015 though the food were good enough to eat (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2018b). Considering that 4.67 million tons of fish was caught and cultivated in Japan in the same year (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2016), the amount of food waste is huge. On the other hand, more people need food aid. In 2013, 40 food banks existed in Japan, and four years later, the number increased to 77 (Distribution Economics Institute of Japan, 2017). The food desert where people have difficulty in getting access to affordable and healthy food exists even in Tokyo. While food is thrown away, less people have access to food. It suggests that the food systems have a distorted structure. Food sheds light on the negative aspects of society, such as poverty, vulnerable neighbourhoods and structural defects of food business and agribusiness. Everyone needs food to live. This fundamentality of human beings brings a sense of crisis about the harsh reality on the food issues and also strong sympathy for people in need.

Faced with the negative aspect of society regarding food, many solutions have emerged at the grass roots level. Children's cafeteria is one example. Children's cafeteria is a place to provide warm and nutritious meals mainly for children in poor. The meals are offered for free or at a low price. As of 2015, 13.6% of children younger than age 18 live below the poverty line⁷. Responding to this situation, the number of children's cafeterias has increased more than

⁷ The poverty line in 2015 is that an annual income of a household is less than 22 million yen (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2017)

seven times in recent two years⁸. The cafeterias are run by community groups, non-profit organizations and temples. Most of them depends on volunteers and donations from communities. Some community gardens offer their produce to the children's cafeterias (Kawai and Nakatsuka, 2016). By this example, it is assumed that the farm-to-table is not just a movement of eating local food, shortening the food miles to reduce environmental impacts and ensuring food safety. It enables caring and kindness be spread with food in communities and cities. This is not new, as shown that the origin of the word "companion" is a Latin word meaning "people sharing bread with". As for the rate of food self-sufficiency, the national government just set the target rate of food self-sufficiency in the Basic Plan for Food, Agriculture and Rural Areas <A-5>. In order to raise the rate of food self-sufficiency, it is necessary to clearly determine the ideal area of farmland and its location. Thinking of how to feed people is to decide the allocation of land use. What do or should people in cities eat? Where is the food produced? By whom? If people do not have access to nutritious and healthy food, what is a root cause? How does agriculture coexist with cities? Where should farmland be allocated in cities? Thinking of food determines the physical and social form of cities for better future.

Conclusions

In this study, we examined the policies, plans and laws of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and national government related to food, land use, agriculture and taxation. We found that urban agriculture was gradually being understood as a necessary content of the urban good environment, but no act and plan had a comprehensive vision about farmland and the food systems in cities. Also, the topics of food dealt with in the acts and policies are limited. These findings are important in showing how the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the national government have dealt with food as many cities in the world are thinking of their roles for the food systems. In addition, this study points out that food sheds light on the negative aspects of society and brings strong sympathy for people in need. This study therefore argues that the food has potential to present the ideal physical and social form of the future cities.

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Boundary Negotiation and Identity Formation Under the Camera: Film-making for Community Building in Taipei

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Contextualizing community building and filming initiative in Taipei

The past two decades has witnessed a transformation of “community building (社區營造)” as policy by the city of Taipei in terms of both its nature and related institution. Initially taking shaping as a government effort to support the making of neighborhood plans, community building has been conceived as a policy to empower community more than to create physical planning. Over the years, the related programs have migrated from Department of Civil Affairs and Bureau of Development (1996-2011), to the Urban Regeneration Office (URO) of Taipei city government (since 2012), which reflected how the business of Community Building has been reconsidered institutionally. Under URO, the goals of community building have been reconsidered in the context of urban regeneration and most likely, with a focus on bringing about urban renewal. In reality, however, community building is not always aimed at urban regeneration from the community’s perspective. The inherent irony can be seen in the case studies and moreover, in the way urban renewal has been critically received if not totally challenged.

Since 2008, URO has supported documentary filming of community building processes in Taipei and made open calls for submission from lay people every year. The filming initiative was to replace its predecessor, community mapping program, which engaged mapping as a key method to facilitate community building that had been effective from 2003 through 2007. The mapping program was considered a success, which generated 41 community mapping projects throughout the city. Moving from map as a static product, the program of filming was formulated with a goal to allow for more dynamic representation of the community. Over the past decade, the filming initiative has resulted in more than 120 short films that bring

together stories of civic engagement in placemaking in the city, especially in old neighborhoods where urban regeneration is considered to be necessary. It has also been copied by other cities in Taiwan lately. In recent years, the operation of the initiative has, however, shifted from “filming ourselves” to “matching – bringing together young, enthusiastic community filming learners with communities.” Meanwhile, the notion of “community” in policy making has evolved over time, with equal focus given to issue-based communities as to place-based communities today. Examining the changing program and its results over time, this paper would like to pay attention to the active role of film-making in the process of community building as it is far from being only a tool to document what is *out there*.

Examining the changing program and its results over time, this paper would like to pay attention to the active role of film-making in the process of community building as it is far from being only a tool to document what is *out there*. The paper deals with the shifting boundary of “community” and identify (re)formation under the camera, especially when the cameraman or camerawoman is considered an outsider who may not have long-term commitment to the particular community. The private intermediary agency Never Perfect Originality Studio (N.P.O.), which has been continuously commissioned to facilitate the program implementation since 2010, has also taken on interesting role in community work and advocacy agenda setting in a few recent cases, whose work diversifies the ways of communication and negotiation between the city government and the civil society. As a professional who has been invited by URO to be one of the consultants to oversee the implementation of the program for the past four years (2014-2018), I adopt both participant observation and in-depth interview to carry out the ongoing research. With the help of N. P. O., this research was able to connect with different individuals or groups who participated in the filming initiatives supported by URO and conducted in-depth interviews with them. The interviewees include community members and individuals who formed the filming groups by themselves or by N. P. O., film makers who provided technical supports to the filming group, and the director and staffs of N. P. O. It is worth noting that after this research is undertaken, URO also considered a comprehensive review of the implementation of the initiative, which was then taking place in October 2018. There could be collaboration between the review and this ongoing research next year.

My goal is to provide a review of the program in order to understand in what way filming is related to planning in Taipei? How it is located on the spectrum in between town-planning films as propaganda, participatory video or “digital ethnography” (Attli 2007, Sandercock and Attali 2010, Sandercock and Attali 2014). Digital ethnographies, as Sandercock and Attali defined, are “self-reflexive analytical practices aimed at portraying lives and stores, transgressing objectified urban representations, and creatively expressing meaningful

narratives.” (Sandercock and Attili 2014, 26) My preliminary observation of the way in which filming is engaged in community building policy in Taipei has similar goal other than its underlying agenda of urban regeneration. Nevertheless, it might be challenging for the filming process to be as deeply ethnographic as it was considered by Sandercock and Attili due to the limitation of annual policy budgeting and pressure to produce a product in relatively short amount of time.

Drawing on theories of communicative planning (Healey 1997; Sandercock 2003; Forester 2009; Innes and Booher 2010), this paper follows Sandercock and Attili (2014, 2010) in their use of film as a mode of inquiry, a form of meaning making, a way of knowing, and a means of provoking public dialogue around planning and policy issues. Engaging film in conducting social research and provoking community engagement and policy dialogue has allowed them to take advantage of the aesthetic and involving dimensions of film as narrative “to evoke and to provoke” (Sandercock and Attili 2010) in a culturally diverse neighborhood in the city of Vancouver.

While Sandercock and Attili considered their use of film as digital ethnography as social research (especially when the researchers were making the films), community engagement and policy dialogue (Sandercock and Attili 2010), in this case, I observe that film is used as policy dialogue (as the Taipei City Government considers), community engagement (as the community organizers consider) and reflexive planning (as understood by the participants involved in film making). *Filming as reflexive planning*, to be more specific, includes *filming as a cause of action* and *filming as reflexive practice*. It goes beyond a mode of inquiry as discussed by Sandercock and Attili. In several cases, the initiative of filming triggers momentum for planning actions otherwise there is no action to be documented. Filming serves as a cause of action for plan making. Moreover, the editing and screening of the film allow the participants involved place-making to review their roles in relation to others in the process of community engagement. Some of them thus had a chance to reflect on their own participation and then adopt a slightly different approach to addressing the challenges in communication given that films, as Barbar Myehoff (1982) notes, show themselves to themselves. Moreover, “At once actor and audience, we may then come into the fullness of our human capacity.” (1982, p. 105) Sometimes they then have a way to unpack their misunderstanding of others. In a way, filming as reflexive planning also demonstrates how film can be an effective catalyst for creating a therapeutic space as Sandercock and Attili (2014) argue.

Those who were attracted to participate in the initiative most likely do not explicitly think about urban regeneration, at least that is the case for the beginning. Based on the reasons provided when the participants submitted their proposals (availed from the information

presented in the final report of each year and also interview with the selected participants), it is clear that nearly one third of them is considering filming a way to promote a place or to recruit young people in community organizing work. Another one third of them more or less were looking at gathering stories by filming. Few of them – those who were already well organizing themselves in neighborhood planning, indeed, more specifically aiming at using film to enable communication in their work. Few of them expressed hope for bringing in “outsiders” to enable alternative conversation in their communities in order to trigger changes. Filming, as a kind of action that still requires some media literacy as concerned by the community workers, is considered as a way to bring in new possibility to showcase the place that the community would like to celebrate or take issue with.

Uneven participation in making civic urbanism

Despite its achievements, as of 2017, roughly 60% of all the neighborhoods (里, 435 neighborhoods in all) in Taipei City have never participated in any of the programs supported by community building initiatives under URO over the years. In terms of numbers of application/participation for mapping and filming, some districts stood out (such as Da-tung district and Chungcheng district) while some appears to be disconnected in particular, such as Neihu (See Table 1 and Figure 1). Interestingly, those stood out mostly concentrated in the Western part of Taipei, that is, the more historical part of the city, as compared to Neihu, a relatively newly-developed district since the 1990s. As following is the list of the documentation from 2003 through 2016.

Table 1 List of documentation from 2003 through 2016 (as categorized by N. P. O.).

District	Numbers of neighborhoods	Community heritage	Social Innovation and Urban Regeneration	Urban Ecology	Diversity for Policy Reforms	Accumulated numbers of applications	Rate of Participation (in terms of participating neighborhoods/total neighborhoods in the district)
1	31	14	4	1	2	21	68%
2	25	9	4	3	3	19	76%
3	42	1				5	20%
4	33	4				7	21%

5	53	4	10	17%
6	36	5	16	44%
7	41	2	7	17%
8	51	7	9	16%
9	21	5	13	62%
10	39	1	4	10%
11	20	2	6	30%
12	43	6	11	26%
Taipei City 1				
as a whole				
Numbers of neighborho ods (involved)	61	26	24	38
	147			
	435			

As categorized by N. P. O, there are four themes appearing in the application over the years, including community heritage, social innovation and urban regeneration. urban ecology and diversity for policy reform. Among the 147 selected applications from 2003 through 2016, the participating teams has shown more interest in community heritage than others. Films that fall into this category mostly documented historical buildings and alleys that the communities considered as significant shared heritage. A lot of them, nevertheless, are threatened by redevelopment and the participating teams would like to document the debates over them and in some cases, using the filming process to engage with more people in the conversation. Most of them might appear ordinary from the perspective of architecture historians as they are mostly ordinary, vernacular buildings, which were the reason why they were mostly not listed as heritage by the city government. Some of them are just wooden, residential houses built by the Japanese during the colonial era. Few of them are courtyard houses, built by brick or stones, as a result of earlier settlement by the mainlanders but have been significantly moderated by addition over time. The communities recognize their values for the memories

they accommodated much more than the architecture style of them. Some of them are just specific roof gardens or street corners where community encounters took place. The films mostly demonstrated the invisible quality of these spaces and expressed their desire to save them. As for those falling into the “diversity and policy reforms,” they addressed the issue of accessibility from the perspective of disabled communities or the issue of ethnic minority’s right to the city. Most of them do not focus on only one site within a definite neighborhood. Taken together, the uneven participation in community filming, whether in terms of districts or in terms of themes, reflected a growing aspiration for saving civic memories in place in the midst of urban changes. These built environment served as important background or sites for community activities. In other words, they embodied a kind of civic urbanism that is closer to everyday life.

Meanwhile, there are fewer cases in which the participating teams expressed their experiences or visions related to urban regeneration and social innovation, a label that reflects the goal of the URO to see social enterprises adopted as a strategy to regenerate old areas of the city. Whereas urban regeneration is indeed happening in some parts of Taipei, the communities in there are not necessarily have momentum to participating in filming. In addition, it is arguable how much social innovation could be visibly presented by filming. Reviewing the published reports of the selection process, it is clear that cases in these category are more likely to be outed by others as they are not easily presented.

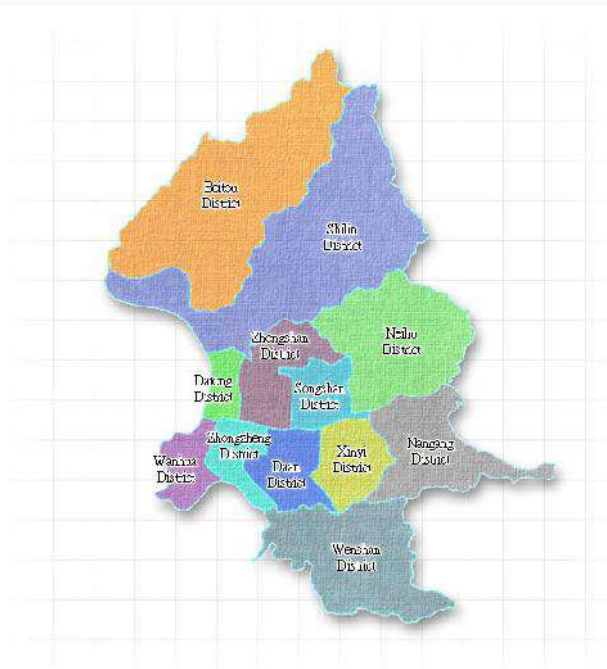


Figure 1 Districts in Taipei

Source: Taipei City Government

The community filming program took a turn in 2018 as the URO decided to temporarily stopped sponsoring production of new films and at the same time hiring the same team (I studio) to carry out research into the impact of the film making over the past decade. According to the director of I studio, “it is about time for us to look back and also envision how Taipei can transform itself the next decade.” (Interview, 12 October 2018) Learning of my ongoing research, they expressed their interest in collaborate with my team in some way. As of the time of writing up this paper, we are still discussing how the collaboration could take place as the team, along with URO, are still trying to set up a consensus how they would

like to evaluate the program. The director, nevertheless, himself opines that the key drive behind him and his team is a belief that filming is an effective tool to nurture “a society that questions” as opposed to rushing into placemaking without necessarily any reflection on the existing social issues within the communities, which is considered one of the main problems of the community building programs led by the governments on both municipal and state levels (The Control Yuan, 2004, Liu 2008). Meanwhile, significant issues as resulting from urban regeneration, such as displacement by gentrification, are rarely effectively addressed through state-sponsored community building programs in the urban environment.

Cases of community making differences through filming

In the following I am going to present cases of community making differences through filming. Among the 140 films resulting from the initiative over the years, some of them successfully engaged with communities and brought forth collective actions while others finalized the films as a record without necessarily actions in the following. All of them, more or less, tell interesting stories that are not easily available from a top-down painting of the city of Taipei. For example, one film talked about how a handicapped community has been trying to find free space for them to practice dancing in Taipei. Another film illustrated how motorcycles have been adopted by alternative, largely elderly taxi drivers in Beitou, Taipei, to serve the community living on the hilltop away from the terminal of metro. It would be impossible and unnecessary for me to list all of them here. Here, I will focus on those successfully engaged with communities and brought forth collective actions. Among others, I will engage with two cases for they are documented in more than one film/one submission and therefore had developed better in terms of filming and also action plotting/implementing over the years. In other words, the filming teams behind them, despite some minor changes, have applied for the same initiative for more than one time. Some of them changed their roles from camera man or camera women to storytellers in different years, of which themselves have had interesting reflection on the role changes. In-depth interviews with four teams, including the film makers, community members and the professional film makers were carried out in 2018 with help by my research assistant Omos Dongi. In the interest of time, I selected the two cases along with I studio, that is, Huanan-Shin Village and Taiping Elementary school to present more details of the case studies.

Huanan Shin Village

Located on the Southern foothill of Taipei, Huanan-Shin Village is a neighborhood occupied by two-story-high brick and concrete buildings that National Chengchi University (NCCU) built to accommodate its faculty members and their families in the 1950s. Taiping Elementary school is a historical elementary school established in 1898 under the Japanese colonization. It is located in the former Taiping Machi under the jurisdiction of Datung, west to the city center. Among others, I studio saw the listing of “Huanan-Shin Village” as a group of

historical buildings by the City of Taipei as a successful outcome resulting from the community filming. “It took three years...they (the community members) have changed a lot throughout. I still can recall how three of them came with their shyness.” (Interview with I studio, 12 October 2018) Starting from three residents, including two of them are couple, they were able to gradually extend their network in the process of filming despite frustrations in the middle of filming. “Sometimes people became friends or even partners working for the same goal after filming.” Filming, in a way, works as a medium through which individuals with their different backgrounds could interact, negotiate and connected.

With filming, a series of thematic workshops were often organized to unfold the conversation within and beyond the existing community. I studio was also present in some of these workshops. In the very first year, the neighborhood chief did not join the events but observe it on the side. It was clear from the first film that he had ambivalent sentiment towards the village. On one hand, he thought it is necessary that the University developed what it planned and promised (the new Law School Building) to the larger community. On the other hand, he personally had some connection with the village given his fun childhood memory in the village. It was through the workshops that he gradually changed his mind and then became one of the most enthusiastic participants. Later, the neighborhood chief actually submitted a proposal for review the historic value of the property, which requires some confidence against the property owner, NCCU. In fact, the listing of the village as heritage fundamentally challenged NCCU’s previous plan to redevelop the whole area into high-rise buildings to accommodate teaching and researching activities (for the Law School).

The filming team behind the Huanan New Village case did not exist before the few individuals signed up the introductory workshop of the initiative. Four college students, then sophomores of NCCU with their major in Journalism, was attracted by the funding for film making availed from the initiative. They came without any understanding of community building in mind. They were then matched with the three individuals (two of them were former residents of the Huanan New Village), who wanted to create a film to bring attention to the endangered village. It was only until the second year when the team was working on their second films under the same initiative did the young students realized what did it mean by community building. Although they did not have any attempt at preserving the village and intended to keep a distance at the village/villagers in the beginning, they became more and more involved and eventually found themselves satisfied with the village being listed as a municipal heritage in January 2018. Now they mostly agreed that filming was just a vehicle through which the community was built rather than the aim per se. For those former students, they saw the process of filming as an effective way for them to connect individuals and interest groups into a network for the same goal. The act of filming allowed them to shed

light on many personal memories and moreover, to stitch them together into a quilt of wartime diaspora and post-war memories of settling down in to Taiwan. The migratory memories of these mainlander professors and their well-educated families distinguished them from the local community, who had been mostly practicing farming there for more than half a century. The contrast and sometimes conflicts between the neighbors, with their different social class and dialects, were best exemplified by the children's quarrels in the past. The ambiguous class relations between the two group has shaped the wider conversation on whether or not the village should be preserved with public money. Some of the neighbors, now grown-ups recalling their childhood memory, expressed how their attitudes had been changed from opposition to support after being engaged in the filming.

Another import lesson learned from the process of filming, according to the students, is that most NCCU students had no idea of the village even though it was close to the campus geographically. With the screening of the film and the listing of the village, more and more NCCU students and teachers have been bringing their teaching into the village through guided tours by the former residents or the expert supporters of the filming project. Some of them argued that the village serves as a field school for NCCU, which in a way implicitly demonstrated the educational value of the village.

Interestingly, non-human actors such as stray cats in the village became one unexpected element that bridged over different group towards preservation movement. Cats have gathered in the alleyways of the village given that there is less traffic and more serenity than the more urbanized area. Moreover, stray cats have been well fed by the existing residents and those who purposefully came here to take care of the cats, including some college students from the university club "Friends of Cats," those former residents who used to play with cats in the village when they were younger, and some alumni who also happened to reside nearby the village. These individuals, most of whom were women, came together because of cats and gradually were involved in the filming because cats also became important objects of filming. This line of engagement has brought the case to those who were not interested in historic buildings and resulted in unprecedented momentum for the campaign of preservation. Again, through filming, these practices in the dark (literally and figuratively) became transformative visual narratives that attract more and more young students. Accordingly, more and more NCCU students and alumni were brought to join the conversation on the future of the village to the point that the university cannot conveniently say that the village stands in the way of the university. In general, moving from the first film to the second film and many shorter films that follows, the community has been (re)built while the purpose of filming shifted from saving the village to envisioning future activities in the village given that most formers residents are gone.

Taiping Elementary School

Over the years, there have been four films created for Taiping Elementary School. The very first proposal was submitted by one of its alumni, who learned of the initiative through alumni network and simply intended to learn filming. It was only later she observed that some elderly alumni frequently gathered at a particular corner of the school. She was attracted to the phenomenon and decided to make a film to make sense of it. Nevertheless, she had no idea about community building at that time. It was through filming, she and two other members, including one alumni and a person who was simply attracted by filming, have been gradually involved in conversations relate to community building. In the beginning, filming was only for recording the community's action. Increasingly, filming became "an interpretation practice," through which the community made sense of the phenomenon in bringing meanings to them (Denzin & Lincoln 2005). With the third film that featured a pedestrian bridge nearby the Taiping School, they successfully prevented the demolition of the bridge and moreover, decided to make the fourth films that illustrated their visioning of the neighborhood in relation to the bridge.

"Lighting up Taiping Ting" is the latest one of the four films mentioned above. Part of the background of the particular film making was to do with the Taipei City Government's request when it was decided that the bridge could be saved. "Yes, we don't necessarily have to demolish the bridge, but you guys need to come up with a plan (note: so that the bridge would not be abandoned.) Starting from a lamenting of the planned demolition of the pedestrian bridge in between two elementary schools in opposition to one another, the film ends with a fine plan of lighting up the neighborhood by reutilizing the bridge and moreover, with the bridge saved as a collaboration between the two schools. In effect, it was within the process of filming, and a series of actions taken along with filming, that the two schools started to talk to each other, which rarely happened before. There are several cases of back-to-back schools in Taipei as a legacy of the baby boom generation. There is usually serious competition between them and most elementary school alumni remembered it well. A lot of them recalled the memories of endless competitions between the two schools, from student recruitment, annual celebration, sports, etc. Some of them even remembered that there were moments when students fighting on the bridge, which was the reason why the bridge serves as important landmark for them.

To take action to address the question about what to do with the saved bridge, the film makers and the community members sought assistance from the Taipei Neighborhood Empowerment Center. They then agreed to organize a neighborhood planning workshop, in which they identified resources, issues and threats in the neighborhood in order to get people share with

one another their living experiences in relation to the bridge and the two schools. Some of the neighbors complained about the disinvestment in the neighborhood as compared how it was, which could be exemplified by the deterioration of the buildings, the vacant shopfronts. More specifically, some women voiced out about the lack of lighting in the neighborhood, especially around the street corner in between the two schools. After several conversations in this line, they reached an agreement that they would like to propose a plan to refashion the bridge to become a lighting installation. They organized a drawing competition for children to present their visioning of the bridge. Artists were also invited to render the imagined landscape after lighting added. Beginning with a simple desire to save the bridge by few individuals, the filming process has brought about a series of actions for a reflexive planning exercise. The two communities behind the two elementary schools, unexpectedly, also found a chance to talk to each other and even to collaborate on the planning exercise. It also demonstrates the power of film making as an interactive, interpretive, and therefore healing process. The realization of the proposal, nevertheless, requires public investment, which is yet to be approved but currently pending given the upcoming mayoral election on 24 November 2018.

What do we mean by “community”?

Film can be “a service as well as a record.” (Myerhoff, 1988, p. 282). Indeed, film-making can play an active role in the process of community building as it is far from being only a tool to document what is *out there*. Most participants found it is more like a process of making visible the initially invisible community or to revise our stereotyped understanding of “community.” On one hand, the community (or communities) been remade into a community throughout the process of filming. On the other hand, filming oftentimes visualizes a broader context of how the community came to being and allows the individuals of the community to see how they themselves are part of a larger history, which can bring about realization and pride that give rise to psychological empowerment (Sandercock and Attili 2010).

The process of filming also helps the communities (re)establishes their attachment to the places and in so doing reorganize the communities. In the case of Huanan-Shin Village, the village had been gradually vacated under the university’s policy before the issue was brought to the public. Though most of the retired professors and their family managed to move into apartments in the same neighborhood (Wanxing, 萬興里), the community organizers found it difficult to reach out to them because there is literally no public space or small business that could have served as semi-public space in Wanxing. Therefore, it was hard for them to meet with their neighbors not to mention engage them in a discussion considering the future of Huanan-Shin Village. “It is a purely residential neighborhood. There is no grocery or appliance store for us to casually meet up.” (Interview, 6 November 2018) While it is impossible for them to change the built environment of the neighborhood in short term, they

found it helpful to use filming as a way to reconnect with neighborhood. One by one, the neighbors learned about the issue as they observed the filming team appearing in the neighborhood frequently. Screening, moreover, created a temporary public space for the unconnected neighbors to get together and have a chance to express themselves regarding the planned demolition and redevelopment.

Still, there is a major difference in between participating in community filming and community building. While the broader sense of filming may include being filmed, participating in discussion about the filming project and the acts of taking up camera for filming, the latter is referred to intentionally building up community for collective identity and actions, which requires different levels of commitment and investment. Among the varied actions related to filming, it is easier to attract people to participating in the beginning talk of the film making. Yet, they tend to drop out one by one when it comes to the real work of producing the film that involves more techniques and labor. This tendency is observed in several cases according to our interviews with the film makers. Thus the level of mobilization oftentimes went down over time.

Though the process of remaking community has been energizing as most of the interviewees expressed, the government and the public resources allocated through the related authorities have adopted stricter if not totally outdated understanding of “community” as residential neighborhood (鄰里) in the sense of jurisdiction. In the case of Taiping Elementary school, a strong community has been formed through creating the film. Yet, it is not considered as qualified for joining a URO-sponsored event that highlighted community building because the URO only recognized community as place-based, residential community rather than interest-based community. The director of the film that feature Taiping Elementary school was very much disappointed by the rejection. “Considering the head counts (of facebook group page), there are much more people supporting our community (than any other recognized communities in Taipei). Why wouldn’t they recognize our community?” (Interview September 6, 2018) Her doubts remain after the conclusion of the project. Quite some participants resonated with her anxiety. To follow up with the idea of seeing filming as reflexive planning, the URO may want to apply it to itself in the research that it is planning to commission to review how the authority might uncritically contradict itself in its limiting and freezing conceptualization of communities.

Conclusion

In the public space s of the city, stories create publics and by creating publics build democracy.

Robert Beauregard (2003)

In this ongoing research, I came to a tentative conclusion that filming does facilitate the process of storytelling, which can make visible the community in several senses and moreover, may build democracy in the process of community remaking if they are effectively mobilized to go beyond their myopia towards public sphere. It may invite them to renegotiate the boundaries of communities. Moreover, it encourages us to look for “publics” that is not necessarily existing in public spaces. What can be seen in the cases of community filming project in Taiwan is also redirecting us to pay attention to more mundane urban landscape outside of the well-defined public parks or plazas. They might be existing in the interstices of old schools or on the rooftop garden. While I agree with Robert Beauregard’s quote mostly, it is important to note the civic urbanism that enables the making of publics should include smaller-scale, more ordinary urban landscape as those recognized and documented by the community film makers.

With this ongoing research, I look forward to have collaboration with the URO in some kind soon but still keep the interdependency of the research. It is however important to gain more insights from their perspective, which is something that I have only been doing through participant observation rather than interviews due to the limit of time. Lastly, it is also important to note that there are many other cases in which filming is engaged but they are not supported by URO’s project, such as the Magic Carpet Films documented by Min Jay Kang (2017). Yet, I think it is important to distinguish URO-led filming initiatives from others because they represent the meeting of the public authorities and the participating film makers in together making visible “communities,” which, indeed, are dynamic, vulnerable, and rife with shifts in a city where historical interstices are disappearing quickly. The “meeting” does not guarantee consensus in urban regeneration, as we can see in Taipei. But before any concrete plan for urban regeneration can be laid out or implemented, it is helpful to allow all the stakeholders to better situate themselves in a larger whole, that is something we may call, the city. Filming together seems helpful for us to generate a roadmap to get there.

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Historical Geographic Information System Applied to Community Tourism Planning in Public Participation Action Research - A Pilot Study in Zuozhen District of Tainan City

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Abstract

As urbanization has gradually been making rural culture disappear, community tourism constitutes a unique asset of today's tourism industry. One of the trends is “heritage tourism,” which focuses on the exploration and experience of history and culture. This study focuses on Zuozhen District as a potential region for developing heritage tourism. The action research study incorporates the concept of public participation and focuses on participatory planning and historical geographic information system (HGIS).

This action research has three stages: the information collection, the plan implementation, and the effectiveness evaluation stage. Through an in-depth understanding of the content of HGIS and the main points of local heritage tourism, the researchers explore the operational dimensions of a combination of HGIS and heritage tourism. Furthermore, the study examines the factors affecting the application of HGIS in community tourism planning. Additionally, we explore whether the use of HGIS can help increase the level of public participation in community tourism planning. Finally, a questionnaire is used to evaluate the implementation. The value of using HGIS in tourism planning is evident, especially in heritage tourism. A new application method for cultural history preservation is also presented.

Keywords: Community tourism, Public Participation, Participatory planning, Heritage tourism, Historical Geographic Information System (HGIS)

Introduction

In recent years, Taiwan's public and private sectors have actively promoted community tourism, making community tourism a popular leisure choice for people to get away from the hustle and bustle of the city. However, it is a challenge for rural areas to find ways to attract tourists. They need to find resources and re-plan community tourism to give visitors a real rural experience.

According to Silberberg (1995), heritage tourism is defined as “visits by persons from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in the historical, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/heritage offerings of a community, region, group or institution”. Under the discussion of community tourism and cultural preservation, heritage tourism will become a promising model for development.

The Zuozhen area has special natural resources and abundant cultural values, and it contains many potential sites. Moreover, due to Taiwanese government's Rural Rejuvenation Plan, efforts of some college teams and local public and private organizations have already started many industrial transformations and the development of tourism in the region. In addition, in February 2017, the Executive Yuan passed the Tainan City Forward-Looking Infrastructure Plan. Under the project “Reproduction of the Cultural Capital History,” the Tsai-Liao Fossil Park of Tainan City is one of the cultural construction areas, and it is also one of the five major cultural parks in Tainan's 10 Flagship Projects. In the past, tourism promoted by the community was composed of scattered resources and lacked a strong local identity. After the Tsai-Liao Fossil Park of Tainan City is completed, it may face the same crisis. Therefore, we need to follow the theme of “Reproduction of the Cultural Capital History,” and find potential resources around the Tsai-Liao Fossil Park area to maximize the benefits of tourism.

In recent years, public participation has been widely discussed and implemented, but it is still rarely used in tourism planning. At present, Taiwan's tourism planning is mainly led by the government sector or outsourced to planning consultants. The public participation during the planning process usually takes place in public briefings or symposia. Communication with the public is mostly one-way. The planning sector and the local people do not have essential discussions to reach consensus. Such form of communication cannot truly meet the needs of the local communities and achieve any real results. The lack of coordination and cohesion in highly fragmented tourism is a well-known problem for planners and managers (Gunn, 1988). This study explores how to meet the needs of local stakeholders in the process of community tourism planning and how to implement participatory planning.

A key point of public participation is to enable all stakeholders to exchange information. Creighton (2005) believes that if people do not have complete access to objective information and have an influence on the decision making, they are not truly involved. The spatial interpretation function of GIS makes it an indispensable and frequently used tool in spatial planning. In addition to helping participants understand planning issues and learn more about community information, the information can be continuously superimposed through an interactive process. HGIS contains a large amount of historical information and can be used to operate a heritage tourism project.

Based on the literature on public participation in community tourism planning, this study selected Zuozhen as the research field and used HGIS for heritage tourism planning. This study's purposes are as follows:

- (1) Understand whether the introduction of HGIS can encourage participants to construct local knowledge and improve the efficiency of tourism planning.
- (2) Increase public participation in action research through the use of highly interactive spatial information display tools, and explore the advantages and disadvantages of its use.
- (3) Understand whether the display of spatial information allows participants to better understand the community information and the content of discussions and whether it can reduce the public participation limitations that were seen in the past.

Heritage Tourism and Historical Geographic Information System (HGIS)

The distinct cultures and heritage relics have been some of the major reasons for people to travel. Heritage tourism includes cultural traditions, places, and values that have left behind by those who had lived on earth (Millar, 1989; Hardy, 1988; Tighe, 1986). The importance of heritage tourism is illustrated in the following statement:

"Memory is vital to creativity: that holds true for individuals and for peoples, who find in their heritage - natural and cultural, tangible and intangible - the key to their identity and the source of their inspiration" (UNSECO, 2002).

Heritage tourism includes visiting tangible and intangible cultural heritage, heritage trails, museums, etc. In short, it displays local culture through tourism and allows visitors to experience and understand the place. This type of tourism has been recognized by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2014) as one of the major growth markets for global tourism (Li & Hunter, 2015).

Regarding how to plan a heritage tourism, one can refer to Rozemeijer (2001), who defined four points of heritage tourism with the concept of sustainable development. First, it must be economically viable. Second, it must be ecologically and culturally sustainable, that is, the value of the heritage and its surroundings should not be reduced as time goes by. Third, the system is built on the concept of mutual consensus achieved through the cooperation of relevant organizations. Finally, the distribution of costs and benefits for all participants should be fair.

Bailey and Schick (2009) called HGIS "a collision of history and geography" that allows people to interpret what is current or what is in the past from a spatial and temporal perspective. HGIS can explore spatial relationships, reconstruct past places and natural environments, and explore the quality and value of historical resources (Knowles, 2005). In the past, the limitations for using HGIS includes cost, operation technology, and difficulty in obtaining image resources.

However, the access of HGIS has also changed in recent years. Image resources are available on the internet in many countries. Some examples include the "China Historical GIS (CHGIS)", a collaboration between Harvard University and Fudan University; "National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS)" developed by the Minnesota Population Center (MPC); and "Great Britain Historical GIS (GBHGIS)" developed by University of Portsmouth. One can simply browse these platforms to obtain historical images to learn the historical administrative boundaries, names of ancient places, and historical statistical data. Taiwan also has many open platforms provided by the Academia Sinica, such as "Chinese Civilization in Time and Space (CCTS)", "Taiwan History and Cultural in Time and Space (THCTS)" and "Taiwan Historical Map".



Figure 1. Taiwan's HGIS network platforms

The current literature mostly describes history from a spatial perspective without making the connection to heritage tourism. However, as historical culture is an important tourism resource for the tourism industry, it is bound to have great potential under heritage tourism planning.

Public Participation and the Public Participation Geographic Information Systems (PPGIS)

In the past, public participation had often been criticized as a one-way communication. Arnstein (1969) proposed the “Public Participation Ladder” to explain the relationship between the state of public participation and the public participation methods, which can be divided into citizen power, tokenism, and nonparticipation. Eidsvik (1978) also proposed five levels of public participation: information model, persuasion model, consultation model, partnership model, and citizen control model. After a comprehensive analysis of the scholars' comments, we found that the following conditions affect the state of public participation:

- (1) Whether the participation mechanism is complete or not (Arnstein, 1969)
- (2) The place that provides participatory planning processes (Glass, 1979)
- (3) Institutional constraints and special conditions (Creighton, 2005)
- (4) Attributes and characteristics of information transmission (Rambaldi et al., 2006)

The origin of PPGIS can be traced back to the 1996 National Center for Geographic Information and Analysis (NCGIA) conference, where the idea of public participation was added to emphasize the “bottom-up” concept. In recent years, the development of interaction-based digital software has grown. Such software, combined with multimedia presentations, offers a variety of experiences for the users. Aberle and Sieber (2002) laid out the core characteristics of PPGIS:

- (1) Human-oriented: Public participation is the focus of PPGIS, and people are the core, not the technology.
- (2) Openness: It is available for general public use.
- (3) User-friendliness: People do not need professional training to carry out complex GIS operations.

Community Tourism and Participatory Planning

Community tourism development emphasizes the spontaneous participation of the local population (Li, 2006; T-Jones, 1998). Today's community tours in Taiwan are mostly planned by the public sector, and the content of the tours is often based on a set system of operation. Jamal and Getz (1995) put forward six propositions for community tourism planning from the perspective of community tourism collaboration. They found that a high degree of interdependence exists in planning and management and identified the key stakeholder groups.

Li and Tsai (1995) pointed out that when people participate in the planning process of tourism planning, they should first contact the local organization (e.g., community development associations, tourism industry organizations, local government, related industry groups, etc.) in the data collection stage to understand the local characteristics, problems, and organizational functions, and at the same time understand the issues of general concern for the residents. In addition to communicating opinions and exchanging information, doing so can also help the local stakeholders move towards a consensus.

Methodology

There is often an inevitable gap between theory and practice (Atweh, Kemmis, & Weeks, 1998). However, the purpose of this study is to apply research findings to the actual society, so "action research" becomes a new theory of social practice.

Psychologist Kurt Lewin proposed the term "action research" in 1934 and was considered the earliest scholar of this methodology. Lewin was also the first scholar to define an action research model. He believes that the process of action research should be cyclical: (1) analyze, find out the facts, conceptualize the problem; (2) formulate the action plan; (3) further find the facts of the action; (4) evaluate the implementation of the action plan. But John Elliott (1991) pointed out that using the action research model proposed by Lewin may lead people to think that the plan can be amended in advance, but after the first action step, observation and reflection are conducted, we could then know how to amend the plan. That is why Elliott (1991) believes that the plan should be allowed to change in the process.

This study introduces HGIS into the community tourism planning, and it uses the HGIS platform of the Academia Sinica to collect historical data.

Based on the action research model proposed by Lewin and Elliot, this study incorporates the concept of the cyclical program and performs cyclical thinking on planning, action,

observation, reflection, and re-correction of the plan. First, through information collection and expert interviews, we clarify the value and feasibility of the issue, then focus groups were conducted to discuss with the participants whether the future operation process and tools are used properly, and carry out cyclic reflection and correction to ensure the overall operation can achieve better results.

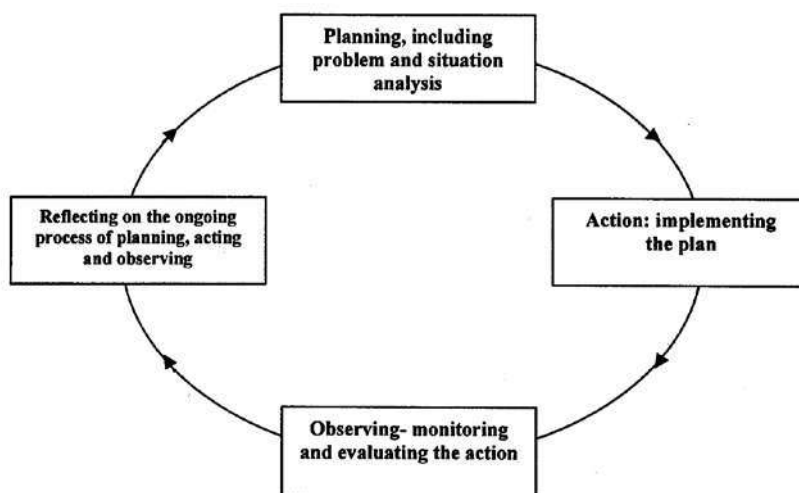


Figure 2. Lewin's Action research cycle (Rossouw, 2009)

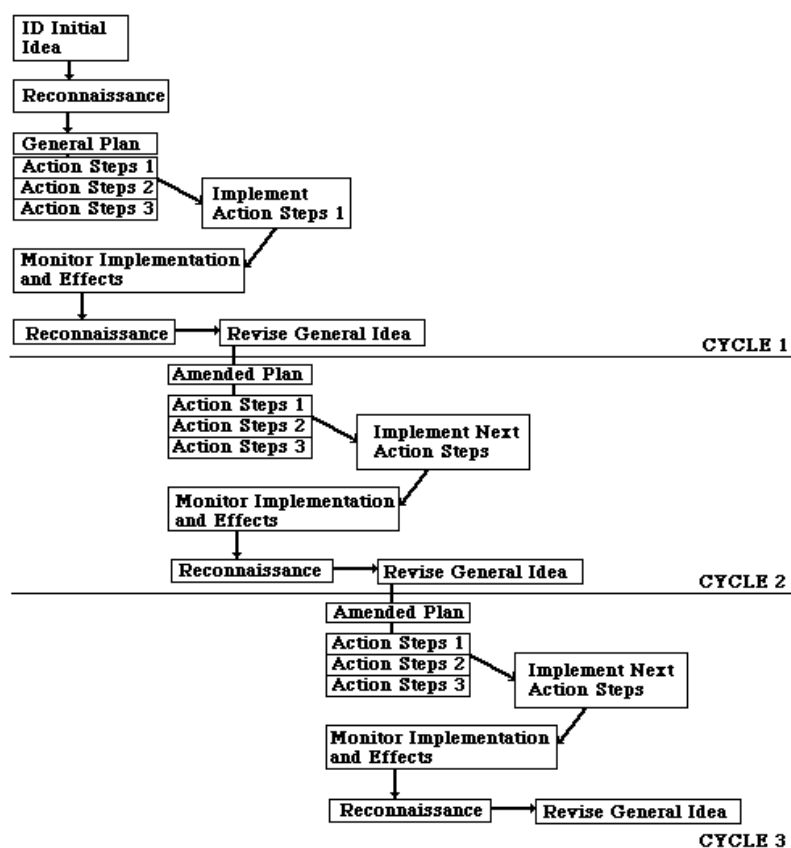


Figure 3. Elliott's action research model (1991)

Results

1. Basic Information

Through ancient maps, old photographs, related literature, interviews with experts, and interviews with local people, the following three historical trails can be developed around the Tsai-Liao Fossil Park:

- (1) **Historical Sugar Railroad:** Zuozhen Train Station sits at the junction between the Yujing railway and the Shanhua Sugar Factory railway. After the station was abandoned, it has been left unattended. Some residents have converted the track to vegetable gardens. The railroad has significant past industrial and cultural values.
- (2) **Houkeng Historical Trail:** This trail was the main road leading to Yujing District in the past, and it was the most important road in the Niugangling area. This route is slightly more difficult; it requires wading through a creek at one point, and there are quite a few places that have collapsed. There are some sightseeing resources such as old houses, old trees, and Highland 286 along the road.
- (3) **Jiao Ba Nian Incident Historical Trail:** In the 1915 Jiao Ba Nian Incident, Japan had many cannons lined up in Zuozhen and the surrounding areas to attack the rebel army coming from the direction of Jiao Ba Nian. The rebel army walked along the ridgeline, so the trail is called the Jiao Ba Nian Incident Historical Trail.

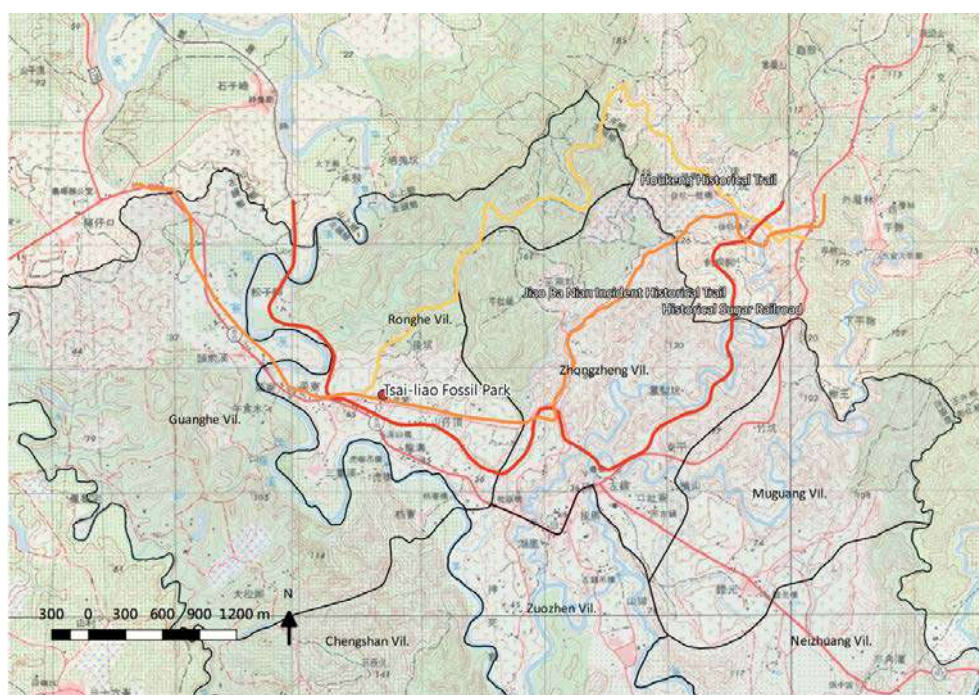


Figure 4. The historical trails around the Tsai-Liao Fossil Park

2. Expert Interview Evaluation

The study used Taiwan's HGIS network platform as part of the interviews with the locals to explore their feelings and perceptions towards the tool. The questions include their past experience and problems in using HGIS for things like collecting historical stories and exploring ancient roads. This was done to understand the situations that may occur when the research is carried out, as well as the impact of releasing GIS information on the participation of the public and the impact of public participation on tourism planning.

(1) Information collection by HGIS

According to the interviewer's past experience, the general public usually does not know about the HGIS network open platform, and it is not easy to interpret it without guidance. The older users can collect data effectively only when guided with a Q&A format, and after they are sure that the topic being discussed are in the same time-space context.

"If you say that you want him to identify things on the map, he can't understand it. We just want to explain to him, who used to be there in that place, or what was there, and slowly making that connection for them, then they will gradually come to remember things."

"Assuming you can find this landscape in the old photo, and you can compare it with the present landscape, then there will be a story to tell."

"The part of the interaction is to ask them questions—who has been there, what they did—and they will start telling stories."

(2) Experience in conducting ancient road exploration with HGIS

When using ancient road surveys, maps of different ages can be layered to identify ancient routes. Although the old maps can display much historical information, the environment of the ancient roads has changed greatly over the years. Even when following the historical route, the road may not be visible anymore, so it is necessary to compare it with the current map, and then evaluate through field surveys the feasibility of sightseeing.

"We would layer the Taiwan Fortress map on a variety of modern maps and see the evolution of the road, then we would check the route on the Taiwan Fortress map to see if there is a chance to find the most original route."

"In fact, you must compare an ancient map against the current map. If you don't compare them, you may not see where it is."

(3) Recommendations for the application of GIS to participatory tourism planning

Usually, when the map is used as a general tool, the participants can clearly understand the purpose of the activity, enter the space planning thinking context, and enhance the interaction. But the average participant, especially the elderly, needs to be guided on how to view and use the map.

"He tells me generally what the content is, then I would more or less know where it is on the map. I can feel which section it is. If he tells me more about it, then I will know more certainly, but if you just tell me to look at the map, then I don't quite understand it."

(4) The impact of public participation in tourism planning:

First of all, people must be willing to participate in the activities of tourism planning research. Past research and expert interviews show the importance of the role of the mediator or coordinator. For example, the leader of the community, the community development association, and the relevant organizations can first connect with the local people and then act on this relationship to encourage local residents to become interested in the topics. The public participation activities can enhance the interactions of the participants with each other to generate innovative ideas.

"I will probably mention a person's name, and then I will start a chain of connections. Then, because I used to be a local person, they will relax and chat with me, and the story will appear."

"You have to mobilize the locals because the ancient roads here are relatively undiscernible, but some of them have great enthusiasm for sightseeing in the area, so when they see us walking, they stop and we chat."

Conclusions

This study is mainly to explore the impact of the spatial information display platform on the degree of public participation in community planning. Through in-depth interviews in the Zuozhen area, we compared the old community tourism planning methods against the spatial information display platform method. The results of the comparison and the effect of the HGIS are presented below:

1. Using HGIS as a discussion tool is still challenging.

In planning the sightseeing, it is necessary to rely on the map to present the distribution of tourism resources to further think and plan. When the historical road is the core development project, in addition to reviewing the literature, visiting local elders to collect

local stories is the most important method of collecting historical information on the ancient road. However, the elders are new to the use of information platforms. This problem should be solved by a comprehensive activity design.

2. People's participation in activities using HGIS helps them interact better.

The results show that people usually can generate many conversation topics from old photos, but for ancient maps, the difficulty of interpretation can be a problem. Before the public participation activities, participants can get a preliminary understanding of HGIS. The planner should design of activities to integrate HGIS application appropriately. Using old photos with ancient maps, and making comparisons between the past and the present, the event allows the staff to guide the participants to view the ancient maps, and the participants can easily form dialogues and extract a large amount of information.

3. The release of geographic information has a positive impact on improving community tourism planning.

The content of the activity must let the participants understand the relationship between the theme and themselves and allow group discussion. Therefore, when the map is used as a tool, it helps the participants understand the relative position of the sightseeing resources. Integrating the power of maps, information technology, and modern communication tools into public participation activities can make the planning's level of thinking deeper and broader.

4. The importance of the role of the local media

To hold public participation in the community, we must first contact the *Lichang* (subdivision chief), the Community Development Association, and other relevant organizations. With their knowledge of the local community, they can further connect with the locals and find out who is passionate about community tourism or may be potential stakeholders.

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Street Food Vending: Exploring Social Inclusion and Interaction in Informal Urbanism

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Abstract

Street food vending is one of the most important and distinctive functional elements of large urban informal sector that is contributing on the national GDP of Bangladesh. Being the second most important employment opportunity for urban poor, according to a research of the FAO 2007, it meets food demand of 2.5 million people every day in the capital Dhaka due to its easy access and cheap price with lots of variety. This paper focuses on the street food vending significant role on community building and positive impact on the social and cultural identity beside its economic importance. Primary with secondary data, questionnaire and on field survey is used as methodology for this research. Few study indicated on some provoking facts such its informal, fluid character inspires young generation to spend time on social exchange.

Culinary urbanism is gaining reputation among the people of Dhaka on a rapid growth. Street food vending is associated with this emerging civic urbanism with various positive consequences on diverse communities and their customs with tradition.

Economic benefits of street vending are widely recognized but lacks in rationalizing its social aspects. This research will not only repudiate the assumption that street vending is only contributing on the life of urban poor but also reveal its social significance, cultural enrichment and economical importance for a sharing society so that the concern authority will integrate this sector into urban planning recognizing its versatile impact on social and economic level.

Keywords: Street food vending, Informal urbanism, Community building, Social inclusion,

Introduction

Street food is one of the oldest, most prevalent and significant key element of socio-economic infrastructure (Neti and Guha, 2017) and urban food system of developing countries. Besides providing easily accessible and inexpensive food, often nutritious, and offering an endless culinary variety to people from different class, it also represents cultural assimilation and larger social acceptance of different kinds of food and people (Stutter, 2017). Today, according to the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), around 2.5 billion people eat street food everyday all over the world (Cardoso et al, 2014).

Dhaka, a megacity of 15 million people, is rapidly growing in terms of population, infrastructure and economy. Street food vending is one of the paramount employment opportunities for urban poor and rural migrants (Tinker, 1997), who play key role in the urban informal economy, along with its impact on food safety for low and middle income populations. Because of its ubiquitous nature, millions of people of the capital Dhaka take street food on daily basis. Almost 1, 00, 000 vendors sell verity of foods on the streets and footpaths, at markets and transport nodes in Dhaka (Etzold, 2013).

Largely recognized the economic aspect, social contributions of street food vending is ignored, through which exploration of this informal urban sector can have a new perspective. Street vending's reimbursement to the city in bringing life to streets is significant and unique (Bromley 2000; Mackie et al. 2014). Lifestyle, race, and religion of ordinary people, customs and culture of the nation are mirrored through its reflection and eating together has always been a community-building activity (Stutter, 2017). This research highlighted key areas street food vending as a tool of social interaction and community building, examines how selling food is enabling the vendors to become a part of the socio-cultural framework of the city and then raises certain question on the policy on Street vendors with suggestions.

Primary data have been collected from the respondents, both street vendors (Sample of 50 people) and consumers (Sample of 100 people) understand the context of street vending. The focal point of the survey was informal vending zone at "Bottola", near BRAC University and Gulshan 1 Dhaka City Corporation Market, an important node between residential and commercial area. Data is gathered through structural questionnaire and personal interview. Secondary sources have been used also to describe the theoretical aspect of the study to find out the social behavior, positive sides of street food vending and present status of vending and governance.

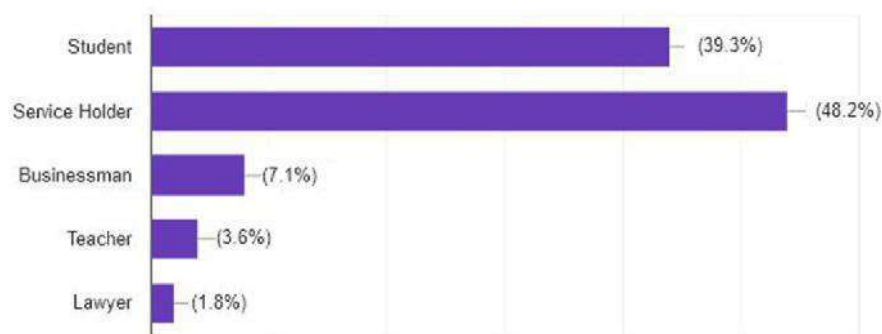


Figure 1. Profession of the participants (consumer) at the survey

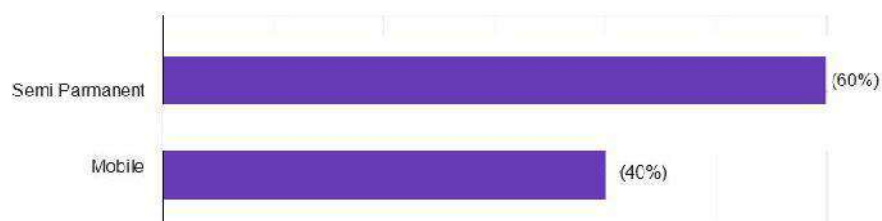


Figure 2. Types of vendors participated at survey

Street Food and Vending

Street food is defined by Tinker (1987, p. 52) as any food that is sold on the street without a permanent infrastructure using pushcarts, baskets or balance poles and do not need further processing.

Street vending is a small or medium sized enterprise, where the operator either occupy public space or pavement, or may be travelling from place to place carrying their items on push carts, cycles or baskets on their heads, or may sell in moving public transportation (India's National Policy on Urban Street Vendors, 2009). In urban informal economy, street vendors are the most visible component as they operate in public place and their main concern is to grab the attention of the passerby.

Street food vending as Informal Urbanism

The outcome of urbanization which do not depend in the formal frameworks and assistance and does not comply with official rules and regulations is defined as Informal Urbanism (Werthmann, 2014). In reality it is much more complex and dynamic than the definition. According to Asian Development Bank, in developing countries up to 60% of the labor force work in the informal sector.

Arthur Lewis's work on surplus labor (1954), shaped the theory of informal urbanism suggesting that the traditional subsistence influence farming sector to migrate from the modern industrial centers. Harris-Todaro model of development (1968), enlighten the theory of generation of informal sector of urbanism. According to their theory, expected urban unskilled wages is often higher than the skilled agricultural wages and lack of opportunities in rural areas influence rural-urban migration. More migration to the cities results in urban unemployment and creation of a parallel economy, which is beyond the purview of any regulation by the authority (Neti and Guha, 2017). Thus Street food vending is considered to be out product of informal urbanism as it is produced and serve out of the monitoring capacity of legal framework regulations. (Cross 2000). Informality is often linked with illegality (Lubell, 1991) but according to Informal Urbanism Research Hub, Melbourne School of Design, Informal urbanism is not necessarily illegal but self-organized.

Social Inclusion, Interaction and Community Building

According to the World Bank (Social Development Brief, 201331), social inclusion is the process, where development of individuals and groups take part in society improving themselves, this process includes people to have a power of speech in choices and decisions which affect their lives.

Communal diversity is directly related to interaction between different types of people (Stutter, 2017). In the process of social inclusion, every citizen of the society feel valued and important and can participate in their nation's political, economic, and social life to live with dignity, security, and the opportunity. It helps to build up community bonding when everyone of the community feel proud and respectful to each other. Social interactions is the foundation of social networks and all kinds of social relationships and community engagements are essential to achieve social sustainability (Bramely et al. 2009).

Social inclusion, as a promotional element, is considered to be essential to reduce poverty and improve well-being (Oxoby 2009). Stutter (2017), included social inclusion and interaction in a framework along with social justice, quality of life, participation, safety and security, sense of place and cultural heritage to determine street food vending as a tool to achieve social sustainability. In the social process of building or enhancing social bonding and giving access to social activity for all citizens, street food vending plays a positive role.

Consuming and selling street food is considered to be a positive social activity facilitating interaction between people in public space in a form of simple exchange of money for goods or even conversation (Stutter, 2017). This type of interaction on communal level enrich the social and a communal bonding, civic participation and active citizenship role, which helps to form future

development policies (Seyfang 2003), that all contribute to the wider social aims of sustainable development.

Street Food Vending At Dhaka

The number of street food vendor in the developing cities is substantially increasing. It is a good self-employment opportunity for the low income group and an important functional element in urban food systems in developing countries (Tinker, 1997).

Dhaka is one of the fast growing cities attracting people from different area and background to provide with income source. Lack of gainful employment coupled with poverty in rural areas and losing job from the formal job sector is pushing migrant or the jobless to choose informal sector as it needs little investment and infrastructure (Bhowmik, 2012). Around 4,25,000 people or 2.9 percent of Dhaka's total population depend street food vendors income (Etzold, 2015).

Street food industry is seen as an essential part of the informal sector (Winarno, 2017) as among various types of informal job, after rickshaw pulling, street food vending is probably the second most important opportunity for urban poor in Bangladesh, and particularly important for young and middle aged men who have migrated to Dhaka in the past 5 to 10 years. (World Bank, 2007).

Food vending as Social Inclusion

Food plays a vital role to facilitate sociality between people (Bell and Valentine 1997). Bengali people love to have food fest during different cultural events and festive. Food vending gives the urban poor an adequate economic position to hold as well as consumers from different class, religion and background come together at vending place and involved in diverse social activity. The research indicates the influence of food vending on community bonding and social inclusion with a framework of key elements such as Social Interaction, building relationships and social network, community bonding, cultural linkage, social empowerment and other basic benefits from street food vending.

Social Interaction and Activity

Many places in the world, eating street food is one of common phenomenon on an occasional social activity (Acho-Chi 2002) where local culture is celebrated (Wardrop, 2006).

In order to find the social acceptance of food vending, consumers were directly asked if they feel street food provides opportunities for positive social interaction and 78.2% of respondents (consumers) agreed towards it social impact and importance (Figure.3) and even 85.5% agreed that they meet or recognize people from a tea stall. The initiation of social networks and possibly

all kinds of social relationships starts formation from social interaction which is essential to the development of social sustainability (Sharifi and Murayama, 2013). This in-person interaction is an important part of building social capital for developing trust between people which includes the social inclusion. (Mohan and Mohan 2002).

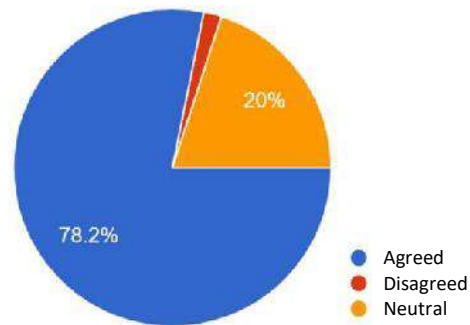


Figure 3. Social Impact of Street food vending (Field Survey)

During office hours or break from the institution, consumer ends up mostly a tea stall. More than 50% consider street vending stall is a good media to pass time with friends. (Figure 4). This creates an opportunity to involve in social activity and interact with even strangers, building up a social network.

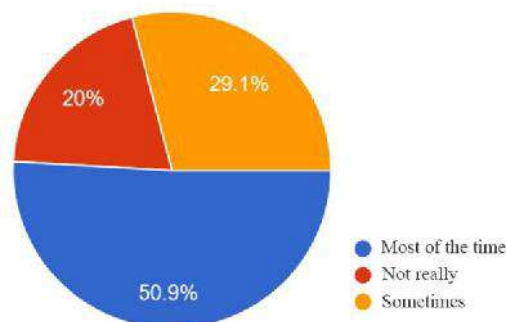


Figure 4. Preference of food vending stalls for socializing with friends (Field Survey)

Building Relationships and Social Network

Accordingly, Acho-Chi argues (2002); “street food service points have also become empowering public sites for social networking where people relax, tell stories, brag, and discuss politics, sports and business ventures”. Social networking helps to develop social relationships between the street food consumer and the consumers.

Street food vending gives a positive platform of interaction to the consumers and vendors to generate social activities where everyone’s social role is recognized and everyone is equality

treated beyond any segregation. From the survey, 76.9% said they have built social connection with others through food vending, and the number varies from 1 to more than 11. (Figure 5)

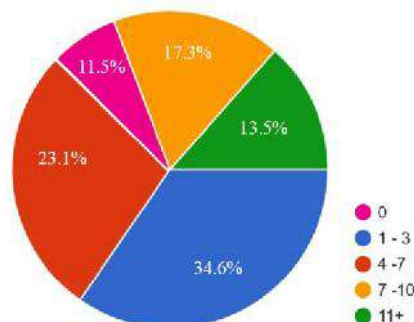


Figure 5. Recognizing the number of people from a vending stalls in average of a month (Field Survey)

Iyenda (2001) has accentuated vendors as an “ideal form of social organization”. 67.9% of consumers have a first priority, favorite roadside tea stall and know the stall by the name of the vendor. This type of relationships helps to form social capital and expands social networks between vendors and their customers, which is a key element to the success on economic level (Bourdieu 1985). As per survey, 40% of vendors have regular customers between 0-5 and another 40% said to have more than 16 regular customers. (Figure 6).

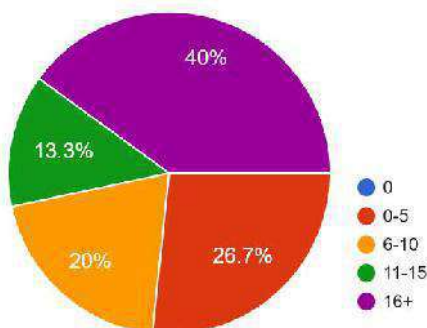


Figure 6. Number of Regular customer to the vendors (Field Survey)

An interesting social behavior revealed by the survey that the vendors watch over another's goods; in case of emergency, prayer time or even one is taking break, this is high level of trust between the sellers which intrigues social relationship and bonding. Mobile vendors quickly inform each other during police raid which suggests a level of reciprocity among vendors through informal support network. This helps to build mutual trust and strengthen the social networks between them.

Participation and Communal Bonding

The first priority to establish the ‘sense of community’ is face to face interaction (Nasar and Julian, 1995) and by community is understood to be a group of people who share value and thought

as they know each, learn about one another's cultures, and develop common interests, concerns, and goals. Oldenburg (1991) theory describes such spaces as 'third places', a defined place of shelter, different from home or workplace, where diverse people can visit and commune with friends, neighbors, strangers and so on (Mehta and Bosson 2009). Surely, Street vending site, semi-permanent or mobile, has every potential to be that third place. "Harun's tea stall" or "Alamin's Porota Shops" is widely recognized the by the people of the survey area, Bottola, Mohakhali, which works as a point of community gathering and participation. People often prefer food from street after home, because of availability.

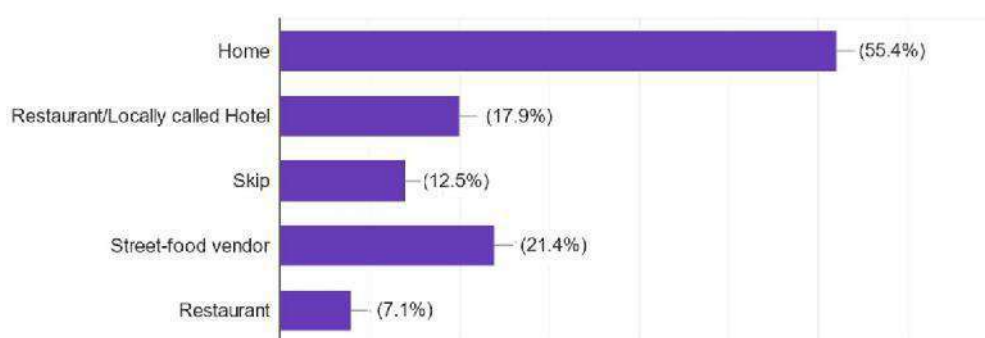


Figure 7. location of early morning breakfast (Field Survey)

Vendors provide support during the initial stages for the migrants coming from same village and stay together in the city (Korinek et al, 2005). Street food vending is a household activity as almost every member of the family contributes towards the operation which is essential to reduce the vulnerability of the family towards risks. 50% of the vendors have family members of five and 78.9% of them get help on daily vending activity from their family members of relatives. This creates an opportunity of participation and strength the root level relationships.

Food Vending as Cultural Linkage

Along with informal economic influence and livelihood opportunity food vending has roots in culture (Bhattacharya, 1997) and socio-cultural traditions and heritage is important points of social sustainability which is reflected though street vending (McKenzie 2004). Street vendors have been in existence since ancient time and in every civilizations, ancient and medieval, the stories of travelling merchants is famous for traveling from countries to countries with their good.

Bangladesh has a rich culinary character in every lane and locality of the country. Starting with crispy jilapis to cooked egg rolls in British period" (Proma, 2017). In 19th century, Kabuli-walas from Afghanistan used to bring nuts and dried fruit and sold them around Goli, Moholla and Chowk and going hope to home of Bengal. There were restaurants in the "Choto-Katra", one of the first Mughal caravanserais of Bengal (Reza and Ahmed, 2017). Food is integrated element of

our cultural heritage and tourist attraction such as the biggest street food market at Chawkbazar, Pura Dhaka become a happening place during the month of Ramadan.

Food vending links rural and urban areas in term of economic, social and cultural levels (Chakravarty and Canet 1996). Vendors migrated from rural areas get the opportunity to introduce their own culture in the form of food to the host region which helps to hold their identity. This gives migrants a greater chance of getting into the larger cultural fabric of the host region, thus providing them higher degree of social inclusion and helps them to reach the point of appreciation.

Dignity and Empowerment

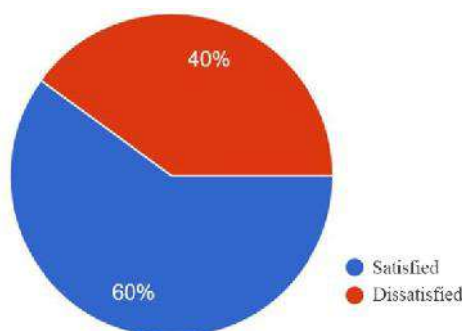


Figure 8. Level of satisfaction of consumers on street foods (Field Survey)

Selling food is considered as a noble profession creating a sense of dignity among the people related to this (Neti and Guha, 2017). Social inclusion works fine at vending as there is no segregation of factors like religion, class or ethnicity. These micro-industries gives opportunities many women in term of employment, empowering them to make a living of their own and get self-sufficiency. From the survey, 60% of the vendors want to expand their vending business while 26.7% do not have any plan (Figure 9). This brings out the satisfaction factor within the vendors.

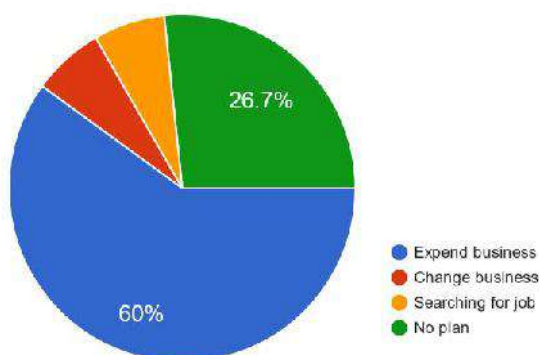


Figure 9. Future Plan of the vendors (Field Survey)

Food Vending Making Space to Social Place

Alongside the cultural strengths of street food vending, it has ability to make lively and divers street character (Bromley 2000) and street culture can be revived incorporating social interaction, walk-ability in the design process (Babiano, 2012).

Food vending is now creating identity of the streets as different interaction points (Whyte 1993) as public place which become nodes of informal food distribution networks (Etzolb and Hossain, 2013). Lively streetscape and sidewalk culture is one of the output of food vending in the term of urban landscapes, which is prioritized in the developed world (Newman and Burnett 2013).

Informal Economy and Livelihood

According to Hart (1973) suggestion on informal economy, surplus labor in urban areas cannot be defined as unemployed rather should be consider to be positively employed despite of the fact of erratic and low return. Street vending is established as the generator of large portion informal economy (Bhowmik 2010, Tinker 1997).

According to the Labor Force Survey 2002-03 (BBS, 2004:138), 1.41% of all the working people in Bangladesh's cities are street vendors by major occupation. For the unskilled migrant street vending is an attractive economic strategy and source of livelihood (Tshuma and Jari 2013). A street food vendor in Dhaka earns between 100 and 1500 Takas per day (field survey) and in many cases more than that. This range of income depends on the type food product sold, site, and the number of customers, which is quite a substantial income in comparison with other wages earners from different sector such as factory workers, day-laborers and rickshaw-pullers.

Informal economy is directly connected to social sustainability where with a satisfactory income, people feel inclusive in the social chain. This vending has a cascading effect across the local economy as the vendor sell their products to passerby generating profits. This leads into high demand of goods and services increases in local suppliers which enables the more employment opportunities in the upstream supplier chain thereby (Flaming et al, 2015). All this economic factors establish relationships between vendors, consumers and suppliers and allocate a social significant position for the vendors.

Role of Street Food Vending in Urban Food Safety

Besides the role in cultural heritage and social practices, street food vending has become an undeniable element in food supply, especially for the urban poor. (Tinker, 2003; Winarno, 2017). People from different social background takes street food on daily basis, even for a break from the

monotony. Occasional tea and snacks from the vendor is considered as a social form of having conversation. According to the survey, about 32.5% consumers take street food as its cheap and another 30% states they take street food as there are no satisfactory food stall at their place. Even most working people in Dhaka cannot go home for their lunch due to high costs in terms of time and transport (Etzold, Hossain, Rahman, 2009).

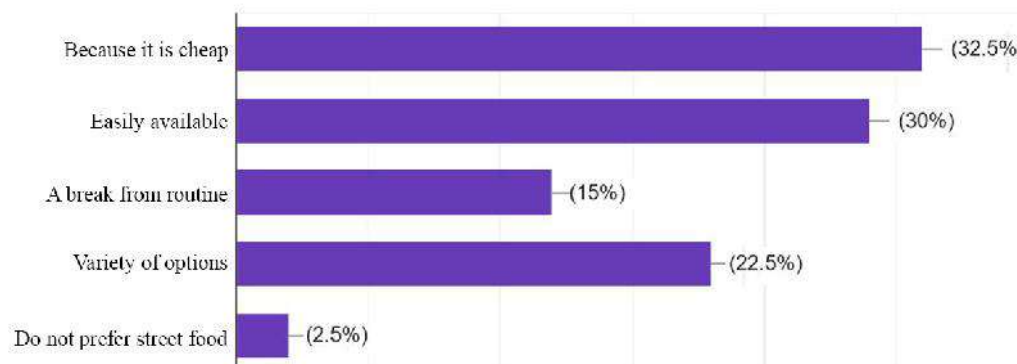


Figure 10. Reason behind the preference of street food (Field Survey)

The low income group mostly hard-working laborers in agriculture or the construction, industry, van and rickshaw pullers and other service-personnel rely more heavily on full rice meals from the street side “Bhater Hotel” (Etzold, 2009). 78.2% of the consumers agreed to the fact that street food helps them to satisfy their hunger (Figure 11).

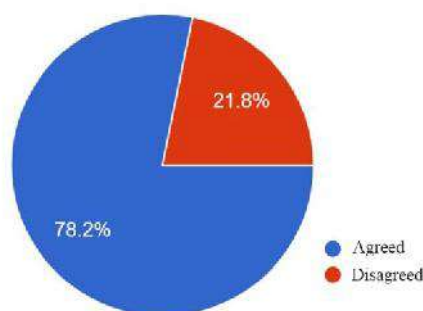


Figure 11. Street Food as easy hunger removal tool (Field Survey)

Problems with Vending Food

Despite having tremendous possibility and positive impact on economic and social level, Street food Vending goes through different obstacles at different levels.

Awareness

Various organizations and officials working on the public hygiene specially trying to reduce the

food poisoning risk which is linked to the microbiological quality of the water or goods used to prepare food. Most of the vendors lack in basic awareness on hygiene as they do not have basic education and this results in poor hygiene practice (Choudhury et al. 2011).

Politics of street

Informally each vending spot is already allocated to a vendor fixed in a specific price. Vendors are vulnerable towards risk of sudden raid and eviction by authority, as well as informal operating rules of extraction of security money (*chanda*) by local influencer connected to formal system of political parties or trade unions (Siddiqui et al., 1990).

Each day vendors have to pay between 10 to 700 taka to hold the position, depending on the vending site, type and experience of the vendor. The more time the position is hold by the vendor the more power and communication is established and profitable vending business much depends on knowing the right people.

Eviction and insecurity

Street food vending is declared illegal by law (Pure Food Ordinance, 1959; Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976; Dhaka City Corporation Ordinance, 1983) ignoring its contribution. But authorities such as Dhaka City Corporation (DCC), the Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) or security officers of other public institutions tolerates its existence (Etzold; Hossain and Rahman, 2009) as the structured informal system of money extortion depends on the vending.

Despite having this informal relation between authority and vendor, conflicts and disputes are commonly seen between these two groups as mobility of the vendors cause problems with traffic flow and disorder into areas where vending is illegal as per authority (Cross 2000). Sudden raid and eviction cause a huge loose to the semi-permanent vendors as most often, vendors start their business with loan with interest and to recover the loses they have to take more load. (Figure 12).

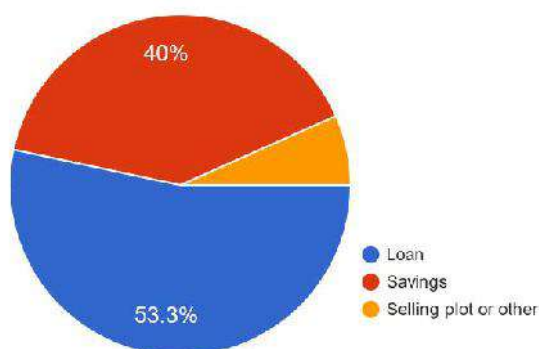


Figure 12. Source of investment from vendors (Field Survey)

Clearing vendors from the streets governments showcase the desire to reduce pedestrian and vehicle congestion in order to create more space for people to walk (Hunt 2009). Following the western norms, 'improve food safety' and 'clear public space' drive are taken by the government focusing only the beautification of the city. Mateo-Babiano (2012) argues that the removal of vendors cannot be an effective tool of development rather a method should be adopted in collaboration of regulation and diversity

Policy Guideline

In the late 1990s, United Nations (UN) and other organizations started to consider the fact that the street vendors can be used to deliver fortified foods to the population and add nutrients and supplements to street foods (FAO 2007). The importance of the street food vending is well recognized on informal economy and food security and now the social impact of vending on community bonding, different countries are working on policy making to enhance this sectors large acceptability.

Thinking for the future generation and promotion of unique culture, Singapore has proposed hawker culture to be on the UNESCO cultural heritage list. Hunt (2009) also explored vending in Bogota; where governmental attempts failed and worsen the situation trying to teach the informal traders the culture of formality. So context and possibilities should be studied first by the right people to know the current state as well as future of vending and its impact.

India has developed a National Policy on Urban Street Vendors in 2004 which gives a working layout to the Consumers Association of Bangladesh (CAB) to make policy guild line for vending in Bangladesh yet not implemented. According to the survey, 86.2% people think street food vending should be taken under policy and legalized. (Figure 13)

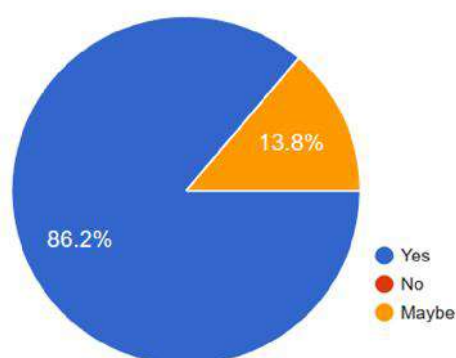


Figure 13. New street food vending policy (Field Survey)

First of all, all the street food vendors should be listed down and give license with terms and conditions by local government authorities giving priority who were already in business at the sites. Vending committee can be formed with members from vendor different authorities as maid working body. Laws should be formulated to provide different types of support such as legal, financial and socio-economic to the vendors as well ensure food safety and sustenance for the consumers (Haque et al., 2010). Different awareness program and workshop on food hygiene and reaction to public space can be conducted by the authority.

The allocation of proper space in the urban fabric, benefiting both city and vendors should be considered and continuously monitored. Perera's (1994) tried to incorporate the vending in different urban voids.

Table 1: Urban (re-)development techniques to accommodate the informal economy in urban Voids

Techniques	Type of void
Regularization of existing uses	Sidewalks, street corners, left-over land pockets, streets with low traffic movement
Allocation of land reservations	Railroad reservation, riverbank reservation
Development of prime vacant land	Unused land and open spaces within the city, e.g. a railway yard
Urban renewal / redevelopment	Dilapidated inner city blocks, low-income settlements and slums, vacated land and infrastructure, e.g. vacated railway tracks
Urban conservation	Old shopping arcade, dilapidated municipal market

Source: (Perera, 1994:56)

According to CAB, the existing laws, acts and ordinances in Bangladesh and the recommended Joint venture of FAO/WHO would serve as useful points of reference to develop and implement guidelines supporting street food vending in focus vending area and later largely nationwide. "Kamala cart" were provided by the UN Food and Architecture Organization (FAO) as part of its ongoing "safe Food" program. The selected vendors were trained jointly by the FAO and the DSCC. Under this project, 600 carts have been distributed in closing of 2018. But out of monitory, the carts are hardly to be functioning.

Street food vending is questioned because of its physical doing which can easily be solved with proper policy and monitoring. This research was conducted to give an exposure to the positive impact of vending as a tool of social inclusion along with economic, cultural and security which, as a whole accelerate the pace of development of a county like Bangladesh.

Conclusion

Social sustainability in a form of social inclusion, integration and tolerance, is more difficult to measure than the economic and environmental aspects which results in ignorance to the social perspective of informal sector (McKenzie 2004). According to Tinker (1999), the propagation of street food will significantly increase due to the high prices of supermarkets and students and workers will be more depended on this sector in near future. This is why it is important to understand the context of informal sector and food vending and include them in policy level and city planning.

Acknowledgement of street vendors as an integrated part of urban life considering its benefits and merits is widely accepted. This research provides understanding of street food as informal urbanism using a framework of social factors. The intention was to focus social benefits of street food vending that have been less prioritized in the past. Exploring the versatile benefits of food vending, the framework used in this research is anticipated to offer the authority and fellow researchers to explore more of its social benefits of any informal urbanism element. At the end, some policies are mentioned, highlighting the weaknesses of policy on street food and strength of social quality. It is hoped to be a socially just and integrated food vending system where communal and social bonding can be cherished creating a sustainable society as well as overall development of the county.

Acknowledgement

The author is grateful to the Vendors of Dhaka as well as the consumers who generously took part in the survey sharing their valuable information. I am grateful to Professor Adnan Moshed, former chairperson of the Department of Architecture, BRAC University, who was an inspiration at every level possible. His continues support and motivation helps the research to follow desired path. I appreciate the time and effort of the faculty members of the Department of Architecture, especially associate professor Huraera Jabeen and assistant professor Mohammad Habib Reza. At the end I am thankful to all the researchers who's continues effort is shaping and enhancing the knowledge generation process.

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Civic Urbanism and the State: Transition of State Involvement in Community Building in Seoul, South Korea

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Abstract

Strong states and markets have been driving urbanisation in East Asia for decades. Recently, citizens, civic groups and civil society organisations have become increasingly engaged in shaping the living environment in cities. Community building in localities is an important case of civic engagement, and is considered an integral part of a localised sustainability agenda to build socially inclusive cities. While the enabling role of the state in community building is well known, there is a gap in research, addressing community building as a part of a long tradition of community movements in East Asia. This paper focuses on the evolving state–civil society relations in community building in Seoul to better understand the historical evolution of community movements and their contribution to the recent surge of civic urbanism in the city. The research follows a comparative case-oriented approach, where Songhak Maeul, Seongmisan Maeul, Seowon Maeul and Samdeok Maeul are compared as examples of a different state involvement in community building in Seoul. The authors conducted in-depth interviews, which were complemented with participants observation and an extensive review of secondary resources. The research findings suggest that community building used to be marginalised in the past, but has now become an integral part of the urban governance. Historical continuity of community movements shows that civic urbanism in Seoul is re-emerging rather than newly emerging. The research, however, also argues that a growing institutionalisation of community building weakens its transformative potential to address urban and social challenges in Seoul.

Keywords: citizen participation, civic urbanism, community movements, living environment, state involvement

1. Introduction

Strong states and markets have been driving urbanisation in East Asia for decades. Recently, however, citizens, civic groups and civil society organisations have become increasingly engaged in shaping the living environment in cities. Growing civic engagement largely results from the changing state–civil society relations. These have shifted from conflictive and exclusive towards more inclusive, forming partnerships between the state and the civil society (Read and Pekkanen 2009; Cho and Križnik 2017). Novel approaches to urban governance, emerging as a result of the evolving state–civil society relations, recognise citizen participation as the key to effectively address mounting social, economic, environmental and political challenges in cities (Douglass 2018). Examples of civic engagement in shaping the living environment in cities – or what can be called *civic urbanism* – include citizens’ participation in environmental and heritage conservation, producer, consumer and housing cooperatives, squatting, community building and collaborative placemaking, village art, urban agriculture, as well as temporary street markets, neighbourhood festivals or political gatherings (Ho 2009; Sorensen et al. 2009; Wi et al. 2013; Hou 2017; Ng 2017; Kim 2018; Križnik 2018). Civic engagement in the transformation of localities like the Choi Yuen Village or Blue House in Hong Kong, Treasure Hill in Taipei or Jangsu Maeul in Seoul, shows that civic urbanisms are strongly embedded in particular historical, socio-political, cultural and institutional contexts (Ng 2015, 2017; Park 2015). Yet, civic urbanisms can also be a part of larger urban social movements, which constitute citizens, civic groups and civil society organisations, which Castells (1983, 302) recognised as autonomous “historical actors [struggling] over the meaning of urban.” In this sense, the importance of civic urbanism can go well beyond localities.

Community building in localities is an example of civic urbanism (Ledwith 2011; Day 2006). It refers to a collective action, aiming to provide solutions for problems in the living environment, which are identified and agreed by the community itself. In this sense, it is considered an integral part of a localised sustainability agenda and an important instrument to build socially inclusive cities (Robson 2000; Day 2006; Butcher et al. 2007; Manzi et al. 2010; Somerville 2016). Community building in East Asia, however, differs from the Global North. On the one hand, a perceived loss of communal life resulting from growing individualism and economic uncertainties played an important role in the surge of community movements across East Asia (Shim 2018). On the other hand, community building emerged comparatively late. Community movements, known as *machizukuri* in Japan, date back to the 1960s. During the 1980s and 1990s, *machizukuri* inspired similar community movements known as *maeulmandeulgi* in South Korea (hereafter Korea) and *shequ yingzao* in Taiwan (Huang 2005; Sorensen et al. 2009; Jeong 2012; Kim 2012). Moreover, in contrast to the

Global North, community movements and neighbourhood organisations in East Asia evolved under a long arm of an authoritarian state, which often continues to hold a strong grip over them up until today (Ho 2009; Ooi 2009; Read and Pekkanen 2009; Read 2012; S. Kim 2017). Focusing on state–civil society relations seems a key for a better understanding of community building as an example of civic urbanism in East Asia.

A gap in research on community building in East Asia, however, exists which this paper tries to fill by focusing on community building in Seoul. Since 2012 the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) is making continuous efforts to encourage and expand citizen participation (Park 2014; SMG 2015). The local state plays the key role in enabling community building as one of “the most impactful platforms with which to involve communities in shaping their built environments” (Centre for Livable Cities and The Seoul Institute 2017, 87). While the enabling role of the local state is important, focusing on the state-led community building does not explain a long history of community movements in Korea (Cho 1998; Jeong 1999; Shin 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Jeong 2012; Kim 2012; Kim and Lee 2015; S. Kim 2017; Lee 2017). This paper focuses on the evolving state–civil society relations in community building in localities to better understand the historical and present community movements and their contribution to the recent surge of civic urbanism in Seoul.

The research follows a comparative case-oriented approach. When large variations among the cases are expected, Walliman (2006, 45) suggests that “selecting several very different ones, for example, those showing extreme characteristics, those at each end of the spectrum and perhaps one that is somewhere in the middle” can be a productive method of comparison. Songhak Maeul, Seongmisan Maeul and Seowon Maeul were selected as the past cases of community building in Seoul (Figure 1) (Cho 1998; Yu 2012; Wi et al. 2013; Kim and Ha 2016; J. H. Kim 2017). These cases are extreme to an extent that they represent the historically distinct state–civil society relations in community building. They are compared to Samdeok Maeul as a reportedly successful case of recent community building in Seoul (Maeng 2015; Nanumgwamirae 2015; Lee 2016). The case studies were analysed in terms of stakeholders, collective action, state involvement, intermediary organisations and their consequences on everyday life in localities. Over the past three years, the authors conducted in-depth interviews with stakeholders involved in community building. Interviews were complemented with an extensive fieldwork with participants observation, as well as a review of community meeting minutes, governmental documents, research reports and other related resources.¹

¹ The paper draws on the fieldwork, which the authors conducted as a part of two different research projects (Kim 2018; Križnik and Kim 2018).

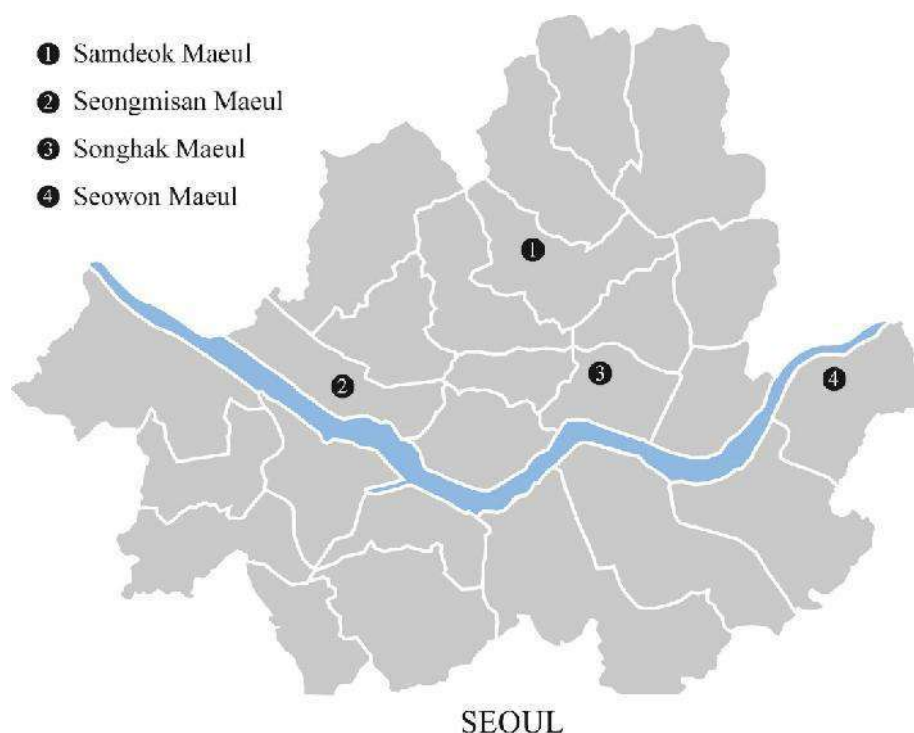


Figure 1. Location of case studies in Seoul (Source: Authors)

The paper is organised into five sections. After the introduction, a literature review of major community building approaches aims to set up an explanatory framework to understand the state–civil society relations in community building. The next section provides a brief history of community movements in Korea and Seoul, and explores four cases of community building in Seoul. These are compared in the following section in terms of evolving state–civil society relations, state involvement in community building, its institutionalisation and the role of intermediary organisations. The final section discusses the research findings, conclusions and limitations.

2. Review

Communitarian and radical views represent two major approaches to understand the community regarding the state–civil society relations (Ledwith 2011; Gilchrist and Taylor 2016). Communitarian view considers the community as a remedy to moral breakdown, declining social cohesion and lacking citizen participation (Etzioni 1993). In contrast to individualism, the community is believed to stand for shared values, group cohesion and solidarity, which is expected to strengthen citizen participation (Day 2006). Ledwith (2011, xi) argues that communitarians see the community as a “homogeneous unity in which values of mutuality and reciprocity are seen as natural and lead to self-help and social cohesion.” The community as a moral solution to social inequalities emphasises unity rather than diversity as the source of collective action. The radical view, however, sees collective action

as a result of conflicts rather than moral unity or political consensus (Mouffe 2005). The community is constructed around contesting social practices and meanings rather than being simply reproduced. This radical view holds that such “communities of dissent [...] are essentially communicative in their organisation and composition, and in this they contrast with the emphasis on the symbolic, the civic and the normative” (Delanty 2003, 112). Constructivist understanding sees the community as an open-ended process based on communication and dialogical collective action. The communicative community is based on individual reflexivity, where individuals situate themselves in a community and mobilise for common goals (Lash 1994). Moreover, the radical view acknowledges a transformative potential of the community to address structural causes of social inequalities in localities (Butcher et al. 2007; Ledwith 2011).

Although communitarian and radical views differ, both of them recognise the strengthening of ties among community members as instrumental to change existing social relations (Robson 2000; Delanty 2003). Yet the two views disagree regarding social actors sustaining the social change. Communitarians see the community as a site of top-down state intervention (Etzioni 1993). Radical view, to the contrary, sees community building as a matter of the autonomous collective action. For the former, the state is considered a partner in community building; for the latter, it is more of an adversary (Castells 1983). Gilchrist and Taylor (2016) draw on these differences to identify major approaches to community building (Table 1). In their view, the communitarian approach emphasises “sharing responsibility for maintaining existing structures and services”; radical model aims at “fundamentally transforming the way society operates”, while the pluralist model takes a middle way by “rebalancing the system to be fairer and more democratic” (Gilchrist and Taylor 2016, 17). These approaches differ in terms of underlying ideology, concerns, scope, social actors and state involvement.

Table 1. Community building approaches

	Radical approach	Pluralist approach	Communitarian approach
<i>Major aim</i>	Fundamental transformation for an alternative society	Reforms for fairer and democratic society	Maintain existing social relations
<i>Ideology</i>	Progressive	Reformist	Conservative
<i>Concerns</i>	Social injustice and inequalities	Unequal access to power and resources	Lacking self-reliance and social cohesion
<i>Scope</i>	Society, beyond the locality	Locality, sometimes society	Locality
<i>Social actors</i>	Grassroots	Grassroots, state	State

<i>State involvement</i>	Adversary of grassroots	Mediator between grassroots	Manager of grassroots
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Source: adapted from Gilchrist and Taylor (2016)

Strengthening ties among group members to build their organisational capacity is at the core of community building (Gilchrist and Taylor 2016). Capacity building improves skills, knowledge, confidence and resources in the community, and increases political awareness among the members with an aim to improve their living environment. A radical approach, in particular, sees political awareness as an important condition for community empowerment, and is, hence, considered the ultimate goal of community building (Freire [1970]2017; Ledwith 2011). For this reason, community building is important for building socially inclusive cities, and as the cornerstone of responsive urban governance and localised sustainability agenda (Robson 2000; Butcher et al. 2007; Manzi et al. 2010; Ledwith 2011). Day (2006) notes that urban policy often seeks legitimisation in communal identities. Localities are in this sense the most proximate scale of urban policy as they constitute “knowable spaces, within which individuals remained familiar with many of those around them, aware of the available facilities and the functions they performed and felt competent to act” (Day 2006, 140). Localities are for the same reason also important sites of grassroots mobilisation, which often takes the form of community movements (Castells 1983).

While the community has a transformative potential, it can also become appropriated to promote particular ideologies. The state is the most powerful in defining community building, which the state portrays as “public interest” with an aim to constitute communities as “collectively governable subjects” (Somerville 2016, 92). These seemingly democratic and consensual, but in reality, depoliticising practices are the foundation of the post-political neoliberal governmentality (Mouffe 2005; Wilson and Swyngedouw 2014). Community building can be, hence, an instrument of empowerment as much as of social and political containment, which depends on the broader social and political contexts and state–civil society relations (Robson 2000). Critical views of state involvement in community building often come from the Global North, where the civil society historically developed in an opposition to the state. In contrast, community movements and neighbourhood organisations in East Asia emerged under the long arm of the state (Park 2006; Ooi 2009; Read and Pekkanen 2009; S. Kim 2017; Kim and Jeong 2017). This calls for a greater attention not only to the state involvement in community building but also to its consequences on the everyday life in localities (Križnik and Kim 2018). The next section looks at the state–civil society relations in Korea to understand the state involvement in community building, as well as civic engagement in shaping the living environment in Seoul.

3. Case Study

3.1. Community Movements in Korea

A recent surge of civic urbanism in Seoul is attributed to the successful state involvement in encouraging and expanding citizen participation in the city (Park 2014; Ahn et al. 2016). The history of community movements in Korea, however, dates back to the early 20th century (Shin 1999a; Kim and Lee 2015). Even though it may prove to be difficult to trace the historical continuity between the anti-colonial, urban poor, anti-evictions and the present-day community movements, they all represent particular historical manifestations of autonomous collective “actions voluntarily practised at the neighbourhood or community level and aimed at improving the community’s physical, relational or sociological aspects” (Kim 2017, 3808). In this sense the community movements found in Seoul can be seen as part of historical struggles over the meaning of urban, and as a particular grassroots response to the shifting social and political contexts in Korea. Thus, community movements need to be observed from a broader perspective of the evolving state–civil society relationship in Korea, which has undergone a dramatic shift over the past decades (Katsiaficas 2012; Kim and Jeong 2017).

After the social, economic and political turmoil of the 1950s, Korea embarked on a rapid economic and urban development under the authoritarian leadership of general Park Chung-hee. Export-oriented industrialisation stood at the core of his nationalistic political agenda, which not only aimed at what Park called the “modernisation of the fatherland”, but also at legitimising the oppressive military regime (Shin 2006, 104). For Park, the state and society were one. Any grassroots mobilisation was perceived as a threat, which the state had to suppress in order to maintain its own legitimacy (Katsiaficas 2012; Kim and Jeong 2017). Rapid economic and urban development of the 1960s contributed to a massive rural to urban migration and a dramatic increase of urban population. Less than 20% of Koreans lived in urban areas in 1950. The urban population increased to 28 % in 1960 and reached 41 % in 1970 (Cho in Križnik 2017). Many migrants were living in extremely poor living conditions. In response, the state tried to provide new housing by demolishing the shanty towns, coercively evicting and displacing the urban poor (Mobrand 2008; Shin and Kim 2016). During the 1970s, a number of religious groups tried to improve the living conditions in the poor neighbourhoods by organising study groups, providing day care, running reading clubs and evening schools, which evolved into urban poor movements. These collective actions did not explicitly aim for community building but rather focused on alleviating harsh living conditions of the urban poor by strengthening their self-consciousness and organisational capacity (Table 2) (Shin 1999a; Jeong 2012).

The seemingly endless economic growth came to a halt in the early 1980s (Chai and Kim 2008). This challenged the legitimacy of the general Chun Doo Hwan, who succeeded Park in 1979. Military regime had to face a growing power of large corporations, known as *chaebols*, on the one hand, and popular demands for democratisation on the other. Chun responded to the latter with the brutal oppression of civil society. State violence, however, did not stop struggles of the democratisation movements, and the illegitimate and undemocratic military regime was eventually forced from power after massive nationwide protests in 1987 (Katsiaficas 2012). Chaebols became increasingly involved in urban development after the late 1970s, investing large surplus capital in speculative property markets. The state allied with the chaebols and “embarked on a massive scale of displacement of the urban poor” to provide housing for the growing urban middle-class (Shin 2018, 361). Low-income tenants, on contrary, lost their homes and jobs due to such speculative urban redevelopment (Ha 2001; Shin and Kim 2016; Cho and Križnik 2017).

Anti-eviction movements emerged in the 1980s as a response to the demolition and forced evictions of the urban poor. Although these locality-based grassroots movements were overshadowed by democratisation movements, pro-democracy activists were often taking part in anti-eviction movements, which increased their capacity to build larger coalitions and resist the state oppression (Cho 1998; Jeong 2012; J.E. Kim 2017). Anti-eviction movements resisted the demolition squads or police but also brought about communal day care and education, as well as built community organisations such as community committees or producer and consumer cooperatives (Table 2). Shin (1999b, 72) emphasises the role of these organisations in community building, based on the observation that poor areas with a long-term engagement of the activists “had relatively stable neighbourhood organisations with stronger participation among the residents.” For the anti-eviction movements community building was not the aim in itself, but rather means of engaging and empowering the urban poor to improve their living environment and to protect the housing rights.

After decades of military rule, Kim Young-sam was elected in 1993 as the first civilian president, and the state recognised civil society as an autonomous sphere of collective action. The new civil movements mushroomed, resulting in a dramatic expansion of civil society throughout the 1990s (Cho 2000; Katsiaficas 2012). The diversification of civil society affected the state–civil society relationship, which became less conflictive but increasingly competitive and cooperative (Kim and Jeong 2017). The initial scope of civil movements was

national rather than local. Over time, however, the civil movements became increasingly focused on everyday life, and the neighbourhood became the prime site of emerging community movements (Shin 1999c; Jeong 2012; Kim 2012). These locality-based grassroots movements tried to address concerns such as environmental protection, local autonomy and improvement of the living environment through co-parenting, education, place-making or producer and consumer cooperatives (Table 2) (Jeong 1999). In contrast to the earlier periods, the community itself became the focal point of collective action as it became recognised as an alternative to growing individualism and economic uncertainties (S. Kim 2017; Shim 2018). Perceived loss of community could also be attributed to the expanding urban redevelopment, where entire neighbourhoods with well-established communal life were massively destroyed throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Shin and Kim 2016; Cho and Križnik 2017).

The state also became concerned about the supposed loss of community. This was on the one hand affected by institutional changes and the restoration of the local autonomy (Park 2006). Moreover, Local Agenda 21 was widely adopted in the following years, which greatly affected the national and local governments' concerns regarding localities (Kim and Lee 2015). On the other hand, professional advocacy groups, promoting and practising citizen participation, continuously increased in number during the 1990s (Jeong 1999). These groups, sometimes originating from or linked to anti-eviction and community movements, advocated the expansion of state involvement in community building, which became increasingly institutionalised during the 2000s, with an aim to expand local autonomy and governance (Kim 2012). This was among the reasons for the introduction of the *Livable Community Building Pilot Project* in 2007, which became the first nationwide policy focused “on local and community concerns and in facilitating the institutionalisation of community-based planning” (S. Kim 2017, 3817).

Although their aims in practice largely remained the same over the past decade, community movements continued to evolve by building nationwide and local coalitions, which has strengthened their organisational capacity and allowed them to share knowledge and resources, as well as to engage with the diverse public, civil and private stakeholders. In this way, however, community movements also become more dependent on the state, which provides the necessary organisational and financial support (S. Kim 2017). Their institutionalisation in practice often leads to the cooptation, which questions the aims and actual consequences of state-led community building (Kim and Lee 2015). Although improving the quality of living environment along with the expansion of local autonomy and governance are stated as its major aims, the state reportedly instrumentalises community

building to legitimise the existing political agenda rather than empower communities (Kim and Cho 2017).

Table 2. Evolution of grassroots community building in localities in Korea

	Urban poor movements	Anti-eviction movements	Community movements	
<i>Period</i>	1960-1980s	1980-1990s	1990-2000s	2000s-
<i>Major aim</i>	Residents self-help	Housing rights	Community restoration	Local autonomy and governance
<i>Social actors</i>	Urban poor, religious groups	Urban poor, pro-democracy, religious groups	Middle-class, civic and advocacy groups	State, middle-class, civic and advocacy groups
<i>Community building practices</i>	Study rooms, child care, cooperatives	Struggles, child care, education, festivals, placemaking, cooperatives	Struggles, child care, education, festivals, placemaking cooperatives, networks	Child care, education, festivals, placemaking, cooperatives
<i>State involvement</i>	State oppresses movements	Movements resist state	Institutionalisation of movements	State and movements make partnerships
<i>Example</i>		Songhak Maeul	Seongmisan Maeul	Seowon Maeul

3.2. Local State and Community Building in Seoul

The social and political context of community building in Seoul has undergone a significant shift since 2011 when the former human rights lawyer and civic activist was elected as the Seoul mayor. Park Won-soon (2014, 443) has, namely, placed community building at the heart of his political agenda, recognising that “restoring a sense of community is essential in creating a more humane society.” Less than a year after his election, two important policies, addressing community building, were institutionalised – *Residential Environment Management Project* (REMP) aims to restore local communities through the provision of infrastructure and improvement of declining residential areas, while *Seoul Neighbourhood Community Support Project* focuses on supporting diverse activities to expand social relationship networks in the city (SMG 2013, 2015; Ahn et al. 2016; Cho and Križnik 2017). The enabling and supporting role of the local state is in this regard difficult to overlook. S.

Kim (2017, 3822), however, argues that the institutionalisation of community building after the 2000s would not have been possible, had “the explosive upsurge of community movements in the late 1990s [not] provided critical momentum to generate a ‘community discourse’ in civil society.” Songhak Maeul, Seongmisan Maeul and Seowon Maeul, compared below, reveal evolving state–civil society relations in community building in Seoul (Figure 1).

3.2.1. Songhak Maeul

Songhak Maeul was established in 1995 as a temporary housing site in Haengdang-dong, which used to be one of the largest shanty towns near downtown Seoul (Figure 1). Most of 7,000 households in the area were poor tenants. Since 1988, community activists established small study groups, addressing child care, women and tenants’ rights, which led to the formation of the community movement in Haengdang-dong (J. H. Kim 2017). The movement intensified in 1993 after an urban redevelopment plan was announced, which led to the full-scale demolition of the entire area, massive displacement of the residents and construction of a giant apartment complex with 11,035 housing units (Cho 1998). About 350 families resisted forceful evictions between 1993 and 1994. With a support of several NGOs, the tenants had eventually forced redevelopment association to construct 243 on-site temporary housing units, where they lived before moving to the new public rental housing.

Songhak Maeul was one of the sites with about 100 temporary housing units. Over the years the residents established and operated a communal day care centre, study rooms, apparel cooperative and Nongol credit union (J. H. Kim 2017). They held regular community committee meetings, educational programmes and community workshops. Strong solidarity among the residents along with radical activism of community leadership were instrumental for what Cho (1998, 99) recognised as an outstanding case of emerging “progressive community movement” in Korea. During the struggle, the state was seen as the adversary, supporting speculative urban redevelopment. Cho (1998, 97) argues that the ability to build a coalition with communities and civil society organisations “outside existing institutional framework” was one of the most important achievements of community movement in Haengdang-dong. In 1999, Songhak Maeul was closed and the residents moved to the newly built Daerim Apartments. Some community organisations, established back in the 1990s, are still active in the area today (J. H. Kim 2017).

3.2.2. Seongmisan Maeul

Seongmisan Maeul refers to the area around the Mount Seongmi in the northwestern Seoul, stretching across Seongsan-dong, Mangwon-dong, Hapjeong-dong, and Seogyo-dong (Figure 1). It describes a social relationship network rather than a particular place, although its formation is tightly related to the Mount Seongmi (Wi et al. 2013). Community movement in Seongmisan Maeul, in this sense, sprouted in a vastly different social context than other cases. The area was relatively well-off and the residents never faced evictions. The young families, which moved there in the early 1990s, were unable to find suitable day care for children. This shared everyday interest led to the establishment of the first co-parenting cooperative in Korea in 1994. In this way, the residents not only took care of their children together but also started building social relationships network (Kim and Ha 2016). In result, a number of community organisations were established over the two decades, including day care centres, after-school centre, an alternative school for children, neighbourhood theatre, producer and consumer cooperatives, and shared housing. This rather loose network was instrumental for successful community mobilisation in 2001 and 2008 when the residents struggled against environmental degradation of the Mount Seongmi (Wi et al. 2013; Wi 2018).

The residents initially built Seongmisan Maeul, based on their own resources with little or no state involvement. Because of this—or rather despite this—the community movement came to be widely renowned for its achievements. It attracted a lot of attention among the general public as well as experts and local governments over the past decade (Yoo and Kang 2013). This comes as no surprise, considering the growing interest and institutionalisation of community building in the 2000s. In line with his reliance on civil society, mayor Park also involved several community activists from Seongmisan Maeul in his administration since 2011. In this way, they wielded an important influence over the community building approaches in Seoul, and Seongmisan Maeul paradoxically became considered a desirable model for a state-led community building in Seoul (Kim and Ha 2016).

3.2.3. Seowon Maeul

Seowon Maeul is a tiny neighbourhood of about 165 households in Amsa-dong built in the early 1980s (Figure 1) (Yu 2012). Because of a nearby historical area and large infrastructure, improvement of the neighbourhood was restricted, which negatively affected the living environment. Its poor accessibility additionally worsens living conditions. At the same time, a well-off middle-class community emerged in Seowon Maeul over the years as a result of its

isolated location and small size. Apparently declining living conditions, restricted urban development, as well as the existing community were among the reasons that Seowon Maeul was selected in 2008 as a site for the newly introduced *Livable Town-making Pilot Project* (SMG 2010). Apart from an earlier attempt in Bukchon, this was for the first time that the state tried to improve the living environment in Seoul through citizen participation, while trying to strengthen social ties among the residents (Cho and Križnik 2017).

The planning process started in 2009 and took place for two years. Civic engagement methods included educational seminars, surveys and interviews, public presentations and community workshops. The latter became an important instrument not only to discuss the future of the neighbourhood but also to build trust among experts, public institutions and the residents. They have initially opposed the project, worrying it would result in additional regulations and decrease of their property values. Throughout the process, however, the residents recognised the importance of the living environment and social relationship networks, and voted against the expansion of the neighbourhood (Yu 2012). Residents' Community Steering Committee (RCSC) played a key role in this process by mediating between residents' interests and those of the state. As a result of the partnership between the residents and the state, a new community centre was built, streets were remodelled, and parking and children playground were provided by 2012. RCSC continues to manage communal activities in Seowon Maeul, which became recognised as a successful case of state-led community building (Cho and Križnik 2017). For its apparent success it influenced a number of other projects, including Samdeok Maeul, discussed below.



Figure 2. Samdeok Maeul in Seoul (Source: Authors, October 31st, 2017)

3.2.4. Samdeok Maeul

Samdeok Maeul is a neighbourhood with about 180 households, located in Jeongneung-dong in northern Seoul (Figure 2) (Seongbuk-gu 2015). It was designated for redevelopment, which eventually never took place. The residents, hence, applied for REMP in 2013 as an alternative way to improve their living environment (Križnik 2018). REMP aimed to improve the existing and to provide new infrastructure, support renovation of individual houses and strengthen what was seen as lacking social relationship networks in Samdeok Maeul (Maeng et al. 2015). Although the neighbourhood was small, the residents did not know each other well in the past (Kim 2018). A partnership between the residents, civil society organisations and public institutions was considered the key to achieving the aims of the REMP.

Nanumgwamirae, an NGO with a long experience of community activism, was appointed to encourage citizen participation in community building, which largely took place through community workshops, public presentations, surveys and use of local media (Nanumgwamirae 2015). Establishment of the RCSC, which steered the planning and implementation of the REMP, was also considered as a key to building a strong community in Samdeok Maeul. After the completion of the community centre in 2017, RCSC became responsible for its management (Nanumgwamirae 2016; Kim 2018).

The residents quickly began to organise their own communal activities. In 2014, they prepared the first Noisy Street Festival, which attracted about 200 visitors and became a turning point in community building in Samdeok Maeul (Figure 3) (Lee 2016; Križnik 2018). The Jeongneung Social Welfare Centre supported the residents and helped them in applying for different projects, which sustained community building upon completion of the REMP. This allowed the residents to organise different dining and food sharing events, DIY workshops, and activities for the elderly and children etc. (Nanumgwamirae 2016). In this process, the “identity of the village changed from geographical and physical boundaries to the space of collective activities and mutual exchange of opinions through the community activities” (Lee 2016, 225). Despite occasional conflicts among the residents, and between them and the local government, Samdeok Maeul sustained and continued its communal activities. In 2018, RCSC is managing two projects aiming to expand their activities and foster social economy, which makes Samdeok Maeul an allegedly successful case of state-led community building in Seoul (Maeng 2015; Kim 2018).



Figure 3. Noisy Street Festival in Samdeok Maeul

(Source: Samdeok Maeul Residents' Community Steering Committee, May 17th, 2014)

4. Discussion

Community movements can be seen as grassroots mobilisation, challenging the institutionalised meaning of urban to improve the living environment in localities (Castells 1983). Due to their local focus, they are difficult to compare, and community movements in Seoul are no exception. In spite of differences, the comparison of Songhak Maeul, Seongmisan Maeul, Seowon Maeul and Samdeok Maeul, however, shows that the state had an important role in all four cases, although the state involvement differed considerably among them. In Songhak Maeul, the state was seen as the adversary, supporting speculative property interests rather than housing rights of the tenants. In response, the residents and civic groups resisted forced displacement “not simply to demand as much compensation for eviction as possible, but to recognize their basic human rights to a ‘sustainable way of community life’” (Cho 1998, 102). This struggle had a key role in sustaining community movement, which became to focus on the improvement of the living environment and its self-management over time (J. K. Kim 2017).

Community movement in Seongmisan Maeul emerged almost at the same time as in Songhak Maeul. Although both differ considerably regarding social contexts, actors and scope, the

struggles against urban development had similar consequences for the community movement in Seongmisan Maeul (interview February 21, 2018). For supporting urban development on the Mount Seongmi, the state was seen as the adversary. Yet contrary to the Songhak Maeul, the community movement has been in this case successfully sustained for more than two decades. This was possible not only because the residents never faced displacement, but also due to the continuity of community building, based on the everyday needs of the residents (Wi et al. 2013). Community activist emphasised that keeping the state at a distance is important for autonomous collective action, saying that “it is fine if [the state] won’t assist us, so don’t bother us” (interview February 21, 2018). Over time, the residents realised the importance of building coalitions beyond locality, and engaged in citywide community networks and partnerships with the state on the same footing (You 2017).

In terms of the state involvement, main actors and scope, Seowon Maeul and Samdeok Maeul are rather different. In both cases, the state-led community building aimed to improve the living environment and to expand local autonomy through a partnership with the residents (SMG 2010; Seongbuk-gu 2015). While Seowon Maeul had regular communal activities in the past (interview June 28, 2017; March 12, 2018), Samdeok Maeul RCSC member claimed that “before community activities through REMP, there was no interaction among the residents” (interview September 11, 2017). This seems to have resulted in a rather different relationship with the state. In Seowon Maeul, the residents were able to engage with the local government on what a community activist called a “give-and-take relationship”, where public officials “had to accomplish their projects to achieve records, while Seowon’s residents cooperated with them to get what they needed” (interview March 12, 2018). In interviewee’s view, the residents not only improved social relationship networks and living environment, but also their capacity to work with “a network of acquainted public officials.” In contrast, Samdeok Maeul used to lack strong social relationship networks, and the residents had little capacity to engage with the local government. Community building was achieved through REMP where the state downright steered the residents to meet specific objectives, without paying enough attention to build their organisational capacity (Kim 2018). Although community building reportedly improved relations between the residents, a public official questioned the effectiveness of a state-led community building. In the interviewee’s opinion “the administrative agencies took advantage of the communities to meet their own policy objectives. /.../ The community led by the residents survives, but the one led by public officials or community planners is only hollow” (interview September 21, 2017).

Samdeok Maeul, nevertheless, shows that state-led community building can encourage residents to engage in their own activities, which can positively affect the living environment as well as the organisational capacity of the residents (Lee 2016; Kim 2018; Križnik 2018). An important support came in this case from intermediary organisations, which mediated between interests and expectations of the residents and those of the state. The residents perceived the role of Nanumgwamirae or Jeongneung Social Welfare Center as absolutely critical (interviews August 18; September 11 2017). If it were not for them, the interviewees believed that much of collective action in Samdeok Maeul would not have been possible (Lee 2016; Kim 2018). Samdeok Maeul is somewhat similar to Songhak Maeul in this regard, where the intermediary organisations were also critical in mediating between the residents and the state, although the latter was not seen as a partner at that time (Cho 1998).

Communities are reflexively constructed around contesting meanings rather than being normatively reproduced (Lash 1994; Delanty 2003; Ledwith 2011). In this way, they contribute to urban social change at large, as the community movements in Songhak Maeul and Seongmisan Maeul show, contrary to the state imposed community building in Seowon Maeul and Samdeok Maeul as a part of “community activation policy” (Maeng 2016, 3), which the residents were expected to follow without challenging its normative framework. A public official admitted that “the local government already set up a roadmap for performance outcomes and report [regarding community building]. /.../ However, they do not care about whether the communities are vitalised” (interview September 21, 2017). The residents consequently perceived community building as a “burden”, “difficult to attend”, “not in [their] interest”, “not necessary”, “not paying-off” etc. (interviews August 18; September 11; September 21, 2017). Without state assistance, Samdeok Maeul struggles to sustain autonomous collective action with clear long-term goals. It is also unclear to what extent the residents identify with the community (Kim 2018). These were important characteristics of community movements in Songhak Maeul and Seongmisan Maeul, where the community was built from within the neighbourhood and did not rely on the state assistance or intermediary organisations.

5. Conclusion

The comparison of Songhak Maeul, Seongmisan Maeul, Seowon Maeul and Samdeok Maeul reveals the evolving state–civil society relations in community building in Seoul. Well into the 1990s, the state perceived grassroots mobilisation as a threat to the state legitimacy that had to be suppressed. For urban poor movements and anti-eviction movements the authoritarian state was an adversary, which they challenged by resisting evictions, struggling for their rights and by building strong communities to improve their living conditions. Later, the state started to pay more attention to localities, and community movements became

recognised for their role in expanding local autonomy and governance. During the 2000s, the relationship between the state and community movements gradually changed from adversarial towards partnerships. The changing state involvement affected collective action, although community building in practice changed little over the past decades. Day care, education, community workshops, producer and consumer cooperatives, collaborative placemaking or neighbourhood festivals used to be as common in urban poor areas in the past, as they are in the well-off neighbourhoods today. The major difference stems from the changing position of community building in relation to the state. While community movements used to be marginalised, the state-led community building has become an integral part of the present urban policy in Seoul. Yet the institutionalisation of community building also indicates its growing instrumentalisation. This, in consequence, weakens the transformative potential of community building to improve the living environment in localities and to contribute to urban social change at large.

This paper explored community building as an example of civic urbanism in Seoul. Although the state continues to hold a strong grip over community building, the research findings also reveal a historical continuity and importance of locality-based grassroots movements for the present surge of civic urbanism in the city. This suggests that civic urbanism in Seoul is re-emerging rather than newly emerging. Moreover, the research findings show the importance of particular social and political contexts as well as of intermediary organisations in community building. In this regard, civic urbanism does not evolve only in terms of state–civil society relations, but also around citizens, civic groups and civil society organisations as historical actors redefining the meaning of the urban. For this reason, the research would need to be complemented with an actor-oriented approach, exploring, for instance, contested meanings which different stakeholders attach to the community and community building. This would allow for a more comprehensive explanatory framework to better understand the city and the grassroots.

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Water (In)Security: A Case Study in a Northern Thai Village

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Abstract

Mai Nong Hoi village in northern Thailand faces intermittent water supply in their everyday lives and acute water scarcity during drought, even when surrounding villages have abundant. The village's water problem started forty years ago when it was first built as a welfare project for poor people and continues until the present. I argue that the internalization of the modernist entrenches the water problematic in the village. Findings from my ethnographic research in 2018 show how the rain shadow has become a dominant technoscientific mode of explanation, ignoring local beliefs rooted in a moralistic, Buddhist or animist syncretism. Their response to water scarcity during drought reproduces intermittent water supply issues, as a result of neglecting topography. Hence, the unanticipated consequences from the adoption of modernist ideology produces a distinct type of civic urbanism, which erodes local beliefs and limits potential contestation.

KEYWORDS: Water scarcity, intermittent water, drought, village, northern Thailand, local beliefs

Introduction

"I don't even have water to wash my ass. I'll just say it as it is." Mae Pan remarked, clanging her cane to the concrete floor outside her house with emphasis. She pointed at nearby containers of water and tells me repeatedly, "that's not enough." Other houses may have larger containers but for her and her family, it is simply inadequate. Even in rainy season, as we sat on her house's concrete porch, she complains about how her tap water was still intermittent. Her experience is not an isolated incident for residents of Mai Nong Hoi village.

Standing on the edge of Pong Jor Reservoir, the local government official told me that the reservoir would dry up during the drought. Looking across the one-kilometer long water body, I was incredulous. Upon talking to the villagers and synthesizing interview data, I realized that the emptying of Pong Jor reservoir was only a symptom of the more acute severity of water scarcity during the drought.



Figure 1. Perspective of Pong Jor Reservoir in Santisuk Municipality

The lake mainly provided water for the villagers' irrigation (น้ำเกษตร), accompanied by two other main uses of water: drinking (น้ำบริโภค) and piped water (น้ำประปา).¹ The usage of irrigation water was highly dependent on each villager's possession of agriculture. Some villagers use this water for small plants, while others with plantations needed significantly more water from the reservoir. The reservoir is linked to the smaller Mai Nong Hoi reservoir, which is then linked to local water tanks in the village. Loong Punya, a local businessman, stated that he has adopted a self-sufficient economy and grew a diverse range of crops and vegetables. During the drought, he used piped water for the vegetables when the irrigation water ran out, but complained that the vegetables contained a less lively (ชีวิตชีวา) quality because of the lack of nutrients. Though Loong Punya's case was an outlier because of the number of his plants, many villagers were still impacted by the lack of irrigation water, as their longan trees would turn brown and die.

The second type of usage is drinking water, which is generally accessible in the village even during drought. The two main sources are a local water dispenser and a drinking company

¹ My fieldwork indicated some cross-usage between these three categories. While these instances are generative of further explanation, they do not impact the stated typologies.

that delivers water to the villagers' houses. I had the opportunity to experience both these avenues for acquiring water: either filling up large containers of water at the dispenser near the village center or exchange crates of empty bottles with the company for full ones.² Even those that are not living in the residential area of the village itself obtain water in this manner. While an important part of village life, drinking water did not present as acute an issue as either irrigation or piped water.

Piped water was the most problematic of these three water sources, which forms the primary focus of my research. It had intermittent and differentiated supply across the village. The piped water came from groundwater wells channeled into water tanks, which then connected to the villager's piped water supply. The connection extends to the 10-street residential area of the village, linking each home to the supply. Nevertheless, the presence of a tap did not guarantee water access. Even during the rainy season, many complained that their piped water supply was intermittent. One instance of this occurred during my fieldwork. After receiving complaints that half the village had lost access to water, I cycled with the village headman downhill to the groundwater well to observe how he fixed the system. We walked through the grass, past the water tank (which the military helped build during the last severe drought two years ago), to two grey boxes containing blue, silver, grey, white wires and switches. After conversing with the technician and tweaking the wires, he said the water supply had resumed.

My thesis undertakes an ethnographic methodology to enhance and bridge understandings of water insecurity and rural peasantry. There are two scales at work. First, the village leadership and residents have a difficult time dealing with the drought. The study was motivated by my preliminary interviews in February 2018, where a local government official kept repeating "water is our biggest problem." At present, ecological issues of climate change also exacerbate notions of resource insecurity. Climate change and urbanization, as twin processes, have been creating massive global impacts (Savage 2012, 229). Forecasts with this rate of climate change predict prolonged droughts, decreased agricultural and fishery yields among other natural and health-related issues (Marks 2011). The villagers would be impacted by climate change patterns, which may make the effects of drought more pronounced, as have been relying on their longan trees' yield for income. Thus, a better understanding of the ideological and socio-spatial practices reinforcing this addresses an urgent need on the ground.

Second, the study points to the influences and consequences of integrating Western and modernist modes of thinking into the local village context. The (unintended) problems

² During my fieldwork, I helped to count the coins collected from the local water dispenser, which was a monthly activity. In a group of four villagers and two monks, we counted almost 9,000 baht (270 USD) with mostly 5-baht and 1-baht coins. The money was then placed in a local official's house for financial safekeeping.

regarding water security play large role in how this water problematic was produced and subsequently reproduced since the village's inception. Despite the vastly different contextual circumstances of other villages, they might also face issues of water scarcity that share some of the fundamental dynamics seen in Mai Nong Hoi. Hence, my study's analysis could also illuminate issues of resource insecurity in other Thai or Southeast Asian villages.

My paper investigates the factors entrenching this water problematic in the village. The research started from an investigation of the spatial distribution of water in the water-scarce, rapidly urbanizing Mai Nong Hoi village. The problem emerged from interactions locals, where one of the government officials said, "Water, water is our biggest problem." By this, they referred to scarcity that was particularly acute during drought and continues to plague their everyday lives.

This paper argues that the villagers' internalization of an initially state-driven scientific rationality reproduces the water problematic. This occurs through a totalizing ideology of water, influenced from modernist ideologies, where local modes of explaining are absent. Specifically, Buddhist, animism and moralistic ways of explaining do not factor into the rain shadow explanation for water shortage, which is the local consensus. The demystification of water disrupts natural ways of knowing, which entrenches the water issue. Following, the socio-spatial practices of water distribution depicts a level of equity is achieved, but not equality. The neglect of the village's topography results in an unequal supply to water, which is rendered invisible due to supposedly equitable access to water. Hence, the distributional politics of water and erosion of local beliefs are smoothed over through the internalization of scientific rationality with water shortage.

The study's methodology involves participant observation and semi-structured interviews. A total of 26 interviews were conducted across all ten residential streets, as well as having northern Thai, Tai Yai and Karen interviewees. They were primarily conducted over a two-week period in July to August 2018. Living in the village, I experienced local practices and garnered a three-dimensional understanding of the issue. One limitation I faced was conducting the study during rainy season. Nevertheless, the continuance of intermittent piped water during rainy season show how the problem is continually reproduced. Further, the repetition of how water continues to be the village's biggest problem, even during rainy season, demonstrates the severity of the issue.

Disrupted Ways of Knowing

"Are you okay?" I screamed from the back of the pickup truck as Prem fell in a mess of

leaves. It was my last day of fieldwork and I was helping pick longans from the tree at another villager's house. The whole process was quite tedious—one had to break branches off and put them in a basket, then package the longans into the box and dispose of the leaves and branches. I was holding the basket at the back of the pickup truck as Prem climbed from branch to branch, breaking branches off the longan tree. Picking himself up from the fall, Prem said he was okay. I was unconvinced as that was a solid five-meter drop but the leaves had cushioned his fall. His fall was between the metal, waist-high fence and the spirit shrine (ศาลเจ้าที่); it could have been a lot worse. Prem immediately explained that he had not prayed or asked permission from the spirit shrine before climbing the tree and that was the cause of his fall. At the same time, the owner of the house walks over, observing the commotion. She shouted, “*jao tii raeng na เจ้าที่รุนแรง*,” meaning that the territorial spirit of her house was particularly strong. The failure to pray to the shrine was determinedly the cause of his fall, but since the omission of his request was not considered to be a serious transgression, Prem was not badly hurt.

Religion and ritual practices are not clean categories and blend into socio-spatial practices of the villagers' everyday lives. Instances like this are not uncommon with spirit shrines dotting the landscape, permeating public and private spaces. This causal attribution to an animistic deity is one of three perspectives that Chaya Vaddhanaphutti writes about in his dissertation on how northern Thai farmers makes sense of climate change. First, the animist view, predating the adoption of Buddhism, holds that there are powerful nonhumans at the interface between humans and physical nature (Vaddhanaphutti 2017, 167). The case of the spirit house and longan tree demonstrates this relationship. Another scholar on Muang (northern Thai) cosmology, Richard Davis, further states that natural phenomena like the appropriateness of weather is determined by the spirits and deities (1984, 72). Second, Vaddhanaphutti's research did not encounter explicit mentions of Buddhist concepts about natural events, but these ideas permeated their understandings and practices; *anicha* and *plong*, two concepts referring to how one's understanding of impermanent existence enables them to “let go” undergird the beliefs of many northern Thai farmers (Vaddhanaphutti 2017, 170). The villagers regularly visit the nearby Wat Mai Nong Hoi, and Buddhist rituals and beliefs are structured into their daily experiences. The third view is moralistic, where villagers view changes in nature as manmade (Vaddhanaphutti 2017, 173). For instance, abnormal weather patterns are facilitated by the reduction of trees and natural resources from material development, contrasted with the neglect of moral development (Vaddhanaphutti 2017, 173). These three perspectives are important because they are markedly absent when villagers explain water shortage.

The silence around the three localized belief systems is produced, a process that Haitian academic Michel-Rolph Trouillot refers as “an active and transitive,” as they are “neither

neutral or natural” (1995, 48). When the villagers’ everyday lives involve a constant kaleidoscope of these three explanations dictated by local norms, occurring with the happenstance of social relations, why do they repeatedly refuse to acknowledge that these three perspectives explain the water shortage? This section outlines what the rain shadow means and how that explanation is contradictory.

When asked about the drought, majority of the Mai Nong Hoi villagers explained that there was a rain shadow. This phenomenon refers to how the rain seems to pass over Mai Nong Hoi village and Santisuk municipality due to its proximity and topographical relation to Doi Inthanon, the highest mountain in Thailand, about 30 kilometers away. Initially, I was puzzled with the explanation and wondered how this notion circulated. My interview with Kru Malee, a teacher at the local elementary school, shed some light.

She attributed the information to “geographic information provided by the Thai Meteorological Department,” where Santisuk and Doi Lor province is in a rain shadow. When I asked her to clarify if the rain shadow was because of Doi Inthanon, she elaborated that the rain seems to be falling either in front of the mountain or in Chiang Mai city (Doi Suthep and the University). She contrasted the city’s abundance with Doi Lor’s lack, as an area the rain passes by; she even mentioned that “when it’s dark, it’s as if the storm blows and falls elsewhere (ตรงไหนก็ไม่รู้).” In other words, Mai Nong Hoi’s lack of rain is because of the rain shadow. Hence, the rain shadow clearly causes seasonal water intermittency and drought for the villagers.

When interviewing many local government officials, they repeated the same idea that the rain shadow had been the cause of drought, echoing Hulme’s assertion that “forms of climactic knowledge which become authoritative in a given society are a result of political processes” (2015, 28). Local politics, in this case, circulates and legitimizes the technoscientific explanation.

This immediately brings up a contradiction—why do the surrounding villages in Santisuk municipality receive water, when Mai Nong Hoi does not? Some nearby villages receive abundant supply to the point that they can grow rice, which is a crop requiring large amounts of water. To further problematize the rain shadow, Kru Malee’s own plantations in the neighboring Yang Kram district faces water scarcity issues because of this phenomenon. She stated that she purchased 3000 liters of water to ensure that all her longan trees did not wither and die in the Year 2559 (2016 on the Gregorian calendar); the trees had grown for four to five years and it would be a huge (financial) loss if they all died. This means that the rain shadow is unequally applied to geographic regions across Santisuk municipality and beyond. This

includes Mai Nong Hoi and nearby villages, as well as parts of the neighboring Yang Kram village, not following specific contours or geographic specificity. Instead of exploring the scientific accuracy of this explanation, I illuminate the mechanisms shaping *how* and *why* the villagers explain water shortage in these terms.

The technoscientific mode of explanation is informed by a natural/cultural discourse, framed by a historically-established collective understanding of modernity, which influences the villagers' contemporary use of the rain shadow. I use the lens of culture to understand what motivates the villagers to use this form of explanation, instead of their own localized beliefs. This view is important because nature and the social cannot be understood independently/ Social theorist Neil Smith's *Uneven Development* posits that "nature is nothing if it is not social" (1984, 47). This claim demonstrates a socio-spatial production of nature and in the context of Mai Nong Hoi village, I expose the way villagers use science to dictate natural phenomena.

The rain shadow is a positivist assertion that stems from a larger, historical narrative of Thai modernity. King Rama IV and King Rama V's reigns in the early 20th century Thailand displayed a centering of state/royal power through the assertion of westernized means in what is termed as *siwilai*, denoting civility. The elite of King Rama IV's generation consciously adopted western cartography along with its rules and practices as a means of defending the nation against colonial projects in the region (Winichakul 1994, 79). To prevent British and French incursion, the Thais internalized their technoscientific apparatus and implemented cartography to show their civility and ensure their sovereignty. In addition, another powerful notion of modernization, that still have effects today, is the disciplining of the Thai public through sartorial restrictions: Marshal Phibun issued a set of edicts (*ratthaniyom* or รัฐนิยม) to enforce a proper set of etiquettes to be observed by Thai citizens (Peleggi 2008, 73). This outlawed betel nut chewing and traditional modes of comportment/clothing like shirtlessness, loose-ended sarongs or the *jongkraben* (กระเบน) (Peleggi 2008, 73). The molding of the body politic and westernizing tendencies evidenced by internalizing then colonial apparatus of cartography both demonstrate a historical scheme of Thai modernism that was set in motion over 100 years ago, which grounds the modernist, scientific assertion of the "rain shadow."

By associating themselves with this explanation of drought, the villagers also perform a sense of cultural capital. Here, I bring together Bruno Latour's assertions on modernism with Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinctions*. For Latour, modernism is associated with a "disinterested science and scientifically-based politics" (2005, 262). Modernism separates humans/nonhumans and nature/culture, which is problematic because nature's construction becomes naturalized (as though humans did not construct it) and remains uncontested (Latour 1993, 10-11, 32). He refers to this as an "active performance" not simply an "illusion" (Latour

1993, 144). In this fashion, the villagers perform and naturalize the rain shadow as an active performance of capital.

The performance of modernism can be contextualized in the villagers' interpersonal relations through distinctions. Bourdieu introduces this idea, where someone demonstrates increased cultural capital based on their actions. He states that "the capacity to see (*voir*) is a function of the knowledge (*savoir*)," which is linked to an encoded program of perception understood and acted upon by a culturally competent individual (1984, 2). In a similar fashion, the use of a technoscientific explanation suggests a better understanding of the causal factor for the drought and implies a higher level of education. Ba Maew, a middle-aged woman in the village, lived most of her life in the village and recalled the simplicity of their lives. At that point, when someone got a bike or a small television, they would have been considered rich. Now, the performance is more complex. I argue that the rain shadow is part of a larger performance of cultural capital in the village. In this manner, the modernist performance in the village context is reinforced by the local state and Thai modernist legacies, demonstrating a greater level of individual social and cultural capital. Put together, the technoscientific explanation for the rain shadow is a means of performing social and culturally relevant roles, neglecting local belief systems, in favor a modernist explanation reinforced by the historical notion of *siwilai*.

With this mode of rationalizing nature, the contestation and spatial politics of water distribution are muted. During my interviews, only two people talked about incidents of water contestation. One case involved turning on and off valves to get water supply to their own houses, even fighting along the streets. The second case alleged foul play, where the villager mentioned how it was impossible for one person's plantation to be green when everyone else's plantations around his/hers were brown, unless he/she had stolen water through the underground pipes. These contestations make sense considering the villagers' need for water, exacerbated when they feel the (summer) heat. The villagers talked about the rain shadow as an uncontrollable entity, which forecloses any potential for dealing with this; further, it neglects these practical everyday contestations.

A second implication of the rain shadow is the absence of distributional politics. Amartya Sen's case of the Bengal famine, Jessica Barnes' study of Egyptian river irrigation and Nikhil Anand's Mumbai water infrastructure show that famines and water insecurity structuring the present are effects of distribution, not production (1981; 2014; 2017). The villagers claim that insufficient water comes from the rain shadow, but one must look to how surrounding villages' water supply is abundant. The regional distribution is a political construction; the fact that the municipality or provincial governments did not channel resources

to further prevent Santisuk water scarcity are intentionally absent practices. The state has other priorities and does not necessarily have to worry about addressing this problem because it seems that a large outcry only occurs when there is a bad drought, and ultimately the whole situation is due to the immutable rain shadow.

The social dimension of this conflict is clear, where villagers assert socially and culturally distinctive ways of understanding the drought situation. This is manifest in their association with a modernist and western-influenced technoscientific rationale, while neglecting local belief systems that still animate many parts of their everyday lives. Hence, the ideological shift results in contestations over distribution being smoothed over and granting legitimacy to a picture of village harmony and governance. This chapter thus establishes the epistemological construction for water scarcity, framing the problematic conceptual base for the next section's discussion on the villagers' socio-spatial practices during water distribution. None of these three perspectives fit into the narratives of the rain shadow that the villagers provided; the villagers did not attribute it to animistic beings, "let go," nor blame it on each other, despite sharing with me about numerous incidents situated within and across these three belief systems. Therefore, the demystification of water and ignorance of local belief systems reflects an ideological shift in the village, casting a shadow on localized beliefs.

Socio-Spatial Equity and Inequality

I sat on the old couch in Na La's living room, an elderly woman surviving on welfare money, while she explained what happened during the drought two years ago. "They distribute. The municipality distributes. They just come [without me asking]," she told me. Every single villager that I had interviewed echoes this sentiment, insisting that the municipality provided water during the drought, despite their own absent or intermittent piped water supply. They simply waited for the water to come.

In this section, I establish how the ideal of equity in water access, evidenced by how the village addresses seasonally intermittent water during drought, entrenches everyday intermittency through not appreciating topography. The mechanism of distribution refers to large water tanks interspersed throughout the village. In an interview with a local government official, she told me that every four to five houses would have a water tank. The municipality does not have enough, so some of them are borrowed. The drought that happened two years ago was the most acute and even the mayor had to help fill the water tanks. They sourced for water from the municipality's own water tank, as well as surrounding municipalities. As a result, the villagers simply had to go out to the front of their houses or nearby for to collect water. They relied on the local governance to provide and for the most part, they did.

The only people that were excluded were those who stayed outside the 10-street residential zone on agricultural land. The rationale for their exclusion was that no one was supposed to be staying there anyway, as it was designated as agricultural land, and the population remained scarce. However, there was still one large water tank placed in front of Soi 13, not in the residential zone, which was where the Santisuk Church is located. Talking to the pastor, I found out that they want help themselves by loading an empty tank at the back of their pick-up truck and request for water at the municipality. The groundwater well nearby was also shared by ten families, quickly depleted and empty during the drought. Hence, the municipality's water provision is a comprehensive measure that re-distributes water to enable access for the residents, and does not deny access to those living beyond the residential zone.

One factor that has enabled water accessibility is the close relationship between local government and villagers. The local government official used to be a *mae ka* (shopkeeper), engaging in petty trade. She had converted the front of her house to a shop, selling a wide range of groceries and essentials many years ago. These included fresh food, meat, vegetables, and other household supplies. She explained that she loved helping people and that motivated her to run for the position. Having been one of the pioneering families in the village and knowing nearly everyone, she has become the point of contact for the villagers. If villagers felt that they needed water or anything urgent from the government, they would drop her a quick LINE message. Here, bureaucracy does not get in the way of tight-knit social relations, facilitating government provision and urgent water supply.

I propose that a baseline level of equity is achieved in the water distribution practice. According to Susan Fainstein's *The Just City*, equity refers to the "distribution of both material and nonmaterial benefits derived from public policy that does not favor those who are already better off at the beginning" (2010, 36). Fainstein focuses on the substantive outcomes of justice, where treatment of the villagers should be appropriate, but not necessarily equal (2010, 10, 36). In this case, the villagers obtain access to the water tank. Their relative proximity to local government officials, gender, class or ethnicity do not affect how the municipality will place the water tanks.

Despite having many the Tai Yai ethnic minority in Mai Nong Hoi that are culturally distinct and institutionally excluded, there was no practice of ethnic differentiation for water access. The only standing interview I conducted was with a Tai Yai woman at the front of her house. She was a 31-year old mother who had been in Mai Nong Hoi village for eight years. She belongs to the Tai Yai ethnic minority, an important part of the village dynamic. Many of them had moved from across the Myanmar-Thai border (Shan state) or might have even born in northern Thailand. The Tai Yai generally find labor jobs in the area, traveling in large groups

to and from their place of work. Often, I encountered groups of them buying provisions at night on their way back from work, piled into a crowded pick-up truck. They have their own community in and across Santisuk municipality and Doi Lor district. In the neighboring Yang Kram municipality, the Tai Yai people even have their own temples. While Buddhist, they have their own set of ritual practices, food and cultural practices. They are largely considered foreign in the eyes of Thai nationals, only coming together for Buddhist festivals at the local temple. Further, the Tai Yai people have their own language and a distinct accent when they speak Thai. Nevertheless, the Tai Yai people in Mai Nong Hoi possess their relevant state identification papers, which is a prerequisite before being allowed to rent a house. However, they are not treated the same way and systematically excluded from village demographic counts. The rationale is that they seem to be a floating population, which fluctuates irregularly and are hard to track. Thus, they have an alternative experience of the village through systematic exclusion as full-fledged citizens based on their ethnicity, while being the cultural minority.

With all these institutional and socio-cultural markers of difference, the Tai Yai woman still expressed the same notion as the other villagers of receiving water from the municipality. She said, “The water stops flowing for two to three days, but before that, they’ll [the municipality] will fill water.” The Tai Yai woman experiences the same intermittent water supply that the rest of the village does during drought and likewise receives water in tanks. Read through Fainstein’s equity concept, outcomes are not differentiated based on ethnicity between the Tai Yuan and Tai Yai. The grassroots governance and villagers come together in an equitable fashion during the drought in a tight web of social relations. Nevertheless, this hides the topographic differentiation seen in everyday intermittency.

I met *Ba Chon* on the afternoon in front of her shop. She is a 50-year old shopkeeper who also grows longan at the back of her house. The moment introduced myself as researching about water, as a student from Singapore, she immediately reacted, “Oh water, that’s the thing I want the most. Right now, I just quarreled with my husband regarding water. He’s fixing it [pump] in the back, do you want to see?” At the back of her house there was a 2-meter deep tank where her husband, her son and his friend were inside trying to fix the rusted driver. She then brought me out to the road and pointed in both directions, saying “water doesn’t come up here because we’re at the top of the slope. That side and this side, the water doesn’t come up. When I turn on the tap, it [water] doesn’t come out.”

The ideological grounds of modernism results in the abstraction of space that facilitated this problem. The map of the village depicts a gridded ten-street formation, without any hint of topographical gradation. The municipality official also sent me a series of QGIS files, which similar abstract the space into one uniform color, including shapefiles of the buildings and

streets. The representation of space on a map demonstrates how space has become abstract, without consideration for topographical difference. Ba Chon's experience of being on top of the hill and having increased difficulty for water access during both the drought period and beyond is invisible. In a similar situation, Nikhil Anand's *Hydraulic City* exposes how the Muslim community in Premnagar, Mumbai did not receive the same access to water due to topography, as "the state's willingness to bear the cost of pumping depends on who lives at higher elevations" (2017, 200). Ba Chon and those at the hilltop do not constitute an important enough part of the population for the state to treat with better piped water infrastructure, and there is no scientific evidence for their claims as the infrastructure had been provided. Hence, this can be construed as an unequal political decision because "equity" has been achieved.

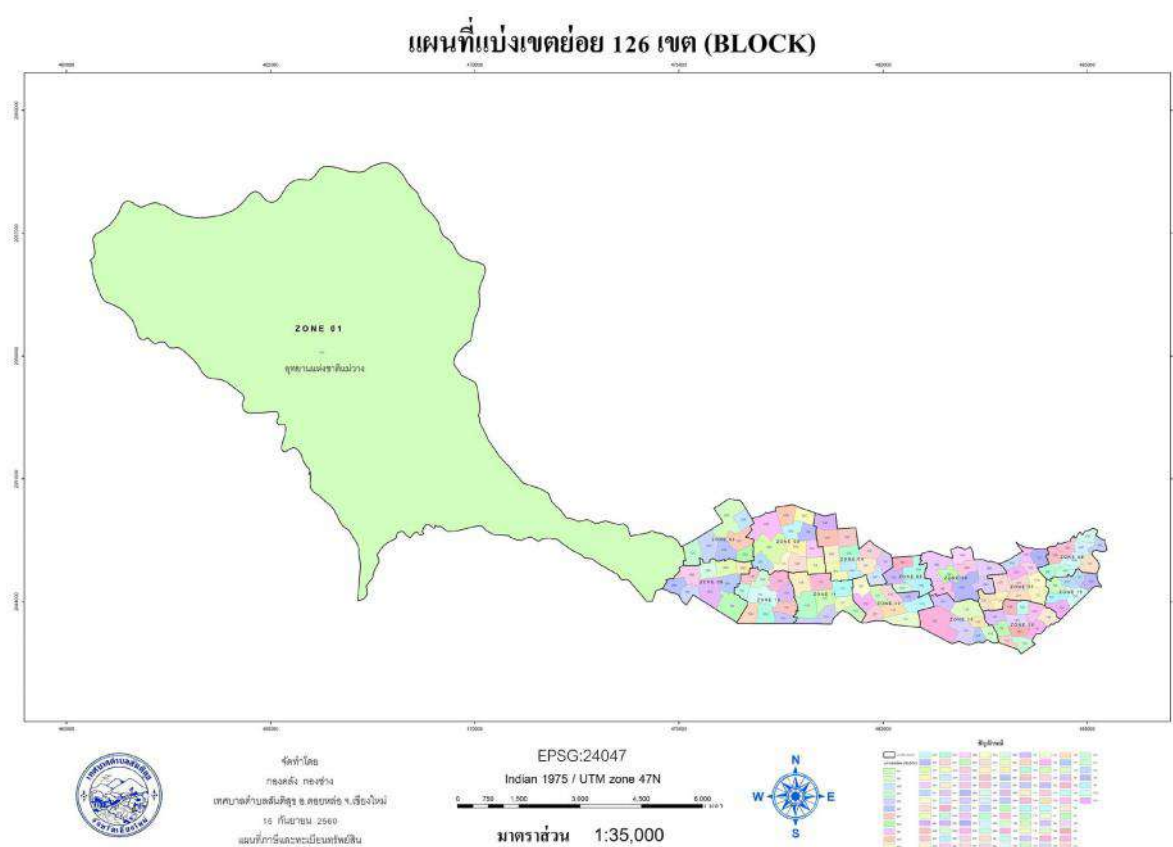


Figure 2. QGIS Depiction of Santisuk Province

The village's socio-spatial practices in response to the drought simultaneously includes and excludes various citizens. The closeness of the local government to the community ensures rapid institutional responses to the villagers' needs, displaying an innovative mode of achieving equity and social justice. The ethnic minority in the village also do not seem to be disadvantaged when it comes to water access. Nevertheless, inequality is experienced due to the materiality of the natural world where space's abstraction on paper demonstrates the conceptual flattening of land. If everyone is on flat ground, the infrastructure does not seem to prioritize anyone better off in the beginning, as Fainstein's conceptualization stipulates. Equity

is problematized when considering the village topography, where those at the top are already disadvantaged to begin with and have access to unequal amounts of water. In other words, the claim to water for those on top of the hill is not recognized because the village's infrastructure seems equitable, which creates an inertia for more resources to be spent since everyone seems to have baseline access to water.

Conclusions

Both ideology and practice point toward how the villagers internalize and reproduce a scientific rationality based on their understanding of justice. The totalizing ideology of water, influenced from modernism, is entrenched by the villager's performance of cultural capital. In addition unequal access to water is entrenched through the ideal of equity, where villagers supposedly have equal access to water based on the map. The conceptualization of the water shortage in Mai Nong Hoi village, as well as the villagers' socio-spatial practices to address water prevent possibilities for change. The water problematic is thus reproduced. Reconciling local beliefs through a reconfiguration of power relations may perhaps, enable more just outcomes for resource scarcity for this case.

Pushing this beyond Mai Nong Hoi, other villages that have adopted modernist perspectives may find them in tension with local beliefs. Modernist beliefs do not limit themselves to water scarcity, but influence every aspect of their lives. Talking to the villagers, they discuss how agricultural practices and medicine are huge areas where they have seen Western beliefs influence. They discuss how the convenience of Western pesticides or drugs have been popularized in the local context, forgetting and ignoring previous modes of agriculture and medicine. Even in the case of hereditary black magic practitioners in the village, the younger generation is more divided and largely skeptical about these modes of healing. The various erasures of modernism at odds with local beliefs may have resulted in other unintended consequences. Water insecurity may be a symptom. Adapting the Thai idiom of "when water rises, quickly scoop," one may want to analyze the effects of scooping the water or find ways to store it. Likewise, western beliefs may seem like rising water or opportunities, but they must be tempered with care and pay heed to their previous ideologies and practices.

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Exploring Deep Volunteer Tourism as a Strategy for Enhancing Collaboration between Rural Community Development and University Service-Learning

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Abstract

Volunteer tourism, as a form of educational tourism, has been recognized as a growing trend in tourism market that attracts visitors, volunteer organizations, and host communities to discover its potential as a combined form of recreation, education, and service. Deep volunteer tourism requires the volunteer organization to play a critical intermediary role to address the needs of host communities and to actively promote social and cultural changes. Current literature primarily focuses on the international volunteers' market, with less emphasis on the role of volunteer tourism in domestic markets and its local implications. At the same time, transforming the pedagogy in higher education to promote project-based, hands-on learning that serves the needs of host communities would resonate with many attributes of deep volunteer tourism. This research attempts to discover the potential of deep volunteer tourism as a strategy to promote local learning and enhance university-community partnerships, especially in remote rural communities that lack social and human capital for community development. Taking a participatory action research approach, we collaborate with faculty, students, and host community organizations in service-learning courses in the National Cheng Kung University in Taiwan between 2017 and 2018 to discover the potentials of deep volunteer tourism as a new framework of learning and service. By initiating projects and conducting post-project evaluations through interviews, surveys, and participatory workshops, the researchers explore whether deep volunteer tourism activities are effective in linking college students and faculty, establishing relationships with host communities, investing in follow-up volunteer services, and nurturing new forms of collaborations. The findings will serve as a reflection on the university's service-learning model, a new model for community-based tourism, and a different perspective to think about the urban-rural relationship.

Keywords: service-learning, volunteer tourism, sustainability education, rural community, participatory action research.

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Introduction

After Taiwan transitioned into the industrial era, rural areas are facing problems such as human capital flight, labor shortage, population aging, industrial decline, unused farmland, and uneven distribution of medical resources. With the decline of traditional industries, some communities have begun to develop a community-based economy through other means. Community-based tourism has become a viable option for the development of traditional rural industries. Tourism can bring economic benefits to local residents and provides social, cultural, and environmental assistance. Volunteer tourism is a new type of tourism model that combines volunteerism and tourism to bring reciprocal benefits to both tourists and destinations. Volunteer tourism can cross the shallow limits of mass tourism and enhance communication with the community. Deep tourism style is therefore regarded as one of the representative forms of sustainable tourism and alternative tourism. Wearing (2001) regards volunteer tourism as a “de-commodified tourism” and provides “experience in making a difference”. Callanan and Thomas (2005) stated that the deeper volunteer tourism represents a resistance to neoliberal models of tourism. Due to this position away from the centrality of the tourist and towards a central role for the community a perspective of deep volunteer tourism can be subscribed and thereby offer mechanisms that can empower the destination community. There is plenty of literature in volunteer tourism, including topics on the motivation for volunteer participation, personal spiritual growth before and after tourism, and subsequent developmental changes. In short, the literature focuses on the volunteers themselves. In recent years, the academic community has begun to realize that the rapid expansion of the tourism industry and the commoditization process have caused negative impacts on many host communities, indicating that the interaction between volunteer organizations and the community should be emphasized so that volunteer tourism can play an important role in responsible tourism.

Nowadays, issues relevant to rural areas continue to be extremely hot topics in Taiwan. The Ministry of Education promotes the University Social Responsibility (USR) Project, stating that local university education should be linked to the local people through the input of students and university resources and get out of the ivory tower that decouples the university from the industry, so that the university and the host community can grow together. In the regional development, the university plays the role of a key local think tank. The four core objectives of the project are: (a) strengthening the regional industry-university link and assisting the development and upgrading of the local industry; (b) connecting regional school resources to assist urban and rural education development; (c) integrating college and local government resources and focusing on local development; and (d) implementing university social responsibility and promoting social innovation in teachers and students (Ministry of Education, 2016). In July 2013, the National Cheng Kung University (NCKU) invested in the Zuozhen District Gongguan community, which has the most serious population outflow in

Tainan City. It has been five years since the university first carried out its social responsibilities for the local people through the university's humanistic innovation and social practice plan. The development of rural communities was the focus of the university course/service-learning method, which introduces three main resource-redistribution networks for the rural community: education, community economy, and senior support. In addition, seven resource-redistribution networks are derived: international cooperation courses, English distance teaching, work-stay double bases, cross-community collaboration, innovative teaching groups, digital partners, and advanced treatment (Yu-feng Wong, 2018). Student volunteers have been able to balance the needs of host communities with relatively scarce resources through course/service-learning. Taplin and Scherrer (2014) divides the focus of volunteer tourism programs into community development, conservation, service-learning, fund-raising adventures, and cultural exchange. Volunteer tourism in international service-learning has been discussed in the past, Hartman, Paris, and Blache-Cohen (2014) believe that universities have multiple institutional characteristics, making them an ideal catalyst for promoting best practices in volunteer tourism. Because of the unique social mission and the research and evaluation capabilities of higher education institutions, it is recommended that the evaluation principles be applied first to the international volunteer program operating in a university-community relationship.

Through departmental courses and service-learning courses, NCKU recruits domestic and foreign students to enter remote areas for authentic practices. However, this study found that if the university's and the community's development needs are not properly matched and sustained, the student course projects will be eventually abandoned. The results of a good program will not be able to continue because of the lack of human resources in the community. The community participation and collaboration after the end of the course is worth exploring. Volunteer tourism can become a new development opportunity for the rural host community and bring economic benefits and employment opportunities. The participation of student volunteers can fill the human resources and talent gaps in the community. In recent years, the literature also indicates that volunteer tourism needs to pay attention to the interactions within the host communities and the lack of dialog between volunteer tourists and the host community. The research questions of this study are as follows.

1. To explore deep volunteer service-related activities in the university service-learning program: Is it effective to connect university instructors and students to the host communities to build a continuous relationship and to invest in follow-up community work services?
2. To understand the cooperation model between volunteer tourism and community development: Do the input of student volunteers respond to the needs of the communities in rural areas?

The research site is the community of Zuozhen District, Tainan City, Taiwan. Through participatory action research, the researchers themselves invested in the overall tourism planning, extending the senior course offered by the Department of Urban Planning of NCKU, and the coordinated three NCKU departments that are interest in continuous investment in this area, namely, the Department of History, the Department of Architecture, and the Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences. The researchers worked with the community and university instructors before the tour to discuss what volunteer tourism meets the needs of both organizations and to educate the students during the tour about the spirit of volunteering. Finally, the participants from the three groups (university instructors, students, and the community) reflected and offered feedback after the completion of the volunteer tour. The researchers also reviewed the overall plan and made adjustments during the process.

Volunteer Tourism

2.1 Definition

Volunteer tourism is a new type of tourism model that combines volunteerism and tourism. It is regarded as a representative of sustainable tourism and alternative tourism that maximizes the mutual benefits of both the destination and the tourists' self-actualization. Wearing (2001) has championed volunteer tourism as a type of 'de-commodified tourism' that provides 'experiences that make a difference'. Volunteer tourism is considered an alternative and a more responsible form of tourism and is often consistent with sustainable tourism (Raymond and Hall, 2008).

Volunteer tourism consists of the volunteer tourism organization, the host community, and the volunteers. Taplin and Scherrer (2014) divided the types of volunteer tourism organizations into non-profit organizations (NPOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), for-profit, social enterprises, academic institutions, and religious groups. These organizations can assist community development, scientific research, ecological rehabilitation, schoolchild education, infrastructure construction, health care, and historical preservation (Brightsmith, Stronza, and Holle, 2008; Taplin and Scherrer, 2014; Wearing, 2004; Wight, 2003). The host communities receiving the assistance are mostly located in developing countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central and South America, and Africa. In the early days, the academic field had mostly neglected these host communities. Wearing (2017) mentions that the future of volunteer tourism should be oriented towards the partnership between volunteers and host communities. The volunteer tourism experience not only enhances community awareness but also enables volunteers to transcend the learning and the experience of traditional mass tourism (Brown, 2005; McIntosh and Zahra, 2007). From the volunteers' perspective, they are stepping out of their ordinary life and using their leisure time and additional expense to help others in need

(McGehee and Santos, 2005, p. 760). International volunteer tourism provides a platform for volunteers to serve internationally, giving them an opportunity to reflect on their involvement and to learn to cherish and care for the people around them (Xu, Li, & Chen, 2009). In terms of the motivations for volunteer participation, Lee and Yen (2015) classify them into five aspects: altruism, autonomy, self-fulfillment, curiosity, and escape.

In the development of volunteer tourism, the volunteer tourism organization, the host community, and the volunteers are three inseparable parts. Volunteer tourism provides an opportunity for reciprocal benefits for all three. For the community, the volunteers can fill the gap in rural outflows with their expertise in different fields to assist the locals; for the volunteers, through the service process, they get cultural immersion, self-fulfillment, friendship, and family connections. Broad (2003:63) found that ‘volunteers were able to go beyond the superficial interactions that tourism is often restricted to,’ resulting in personal growth and a changed world view. For the volunteer tourism organization, research has indicated that as an important medium between communities and volunteers, it has the potential to act either as catalysts for positive socio-cultural change (McGehee and Andereck, 2008; Palacios, 2010).

2.2 Development context

Volunteer tourism originated in the UK and Europe and extended to Australia, the United States, and other Western countries and continues to grow today to include participants from Asia and Africa (Alexander, 2012; Lo and Lee, 2011). After the United States’ 911 event and the tsunami in India, tourists began to consider this type of tourism, and the market became more aware of the opportunities to develop volunteer services (Nestora, Yeung, & Calderon, 2009). Whether it represents the expanding of an alternative form of tourism industry or a major socio-cultural change, volunteering tourism’s explosive growth is evident in academia, global trends, and mass media (Wearing, 2013). However, what was originally used as a “de-commodified tourism” that “provided volunteer tourism as an experience” has gradually been caught up in the wave of capitalism and has been criticized by the media and academic circles, including the exploitation of host communities and volunteers, damage of environments, dependency of high-risk populations and continued neo-colonialism, poor management of material, social, financial and human resources, poor performance of volunteers, reduction of employment opportunities for the locals, and lack of communication between stakeholders (Guttentag, 2009; Palacios, 2010). Although the positive impact of volunteer tourism on the local community is often assumed and stated in the media, most media reports do not use research results, and their reports often do not include the voice of the host community (Fee and Mdee, 2011; Lyons, Hanley, Wearing and Neil, 2012; Mdee and Emmott, 2008; Tourism Research and Marketing, 2008). Volunteer tourism organizations must address the volunteers’ wishes and preferences while ensuring the satisfaction of the host community. This reveals the

intertwined nature of the motivations of the volunteers, organizational priorities, and the host community's needs (Lupoli et.al, 2014). Wearing and Everingham (2017) believe that volunteer tourism must respond to the criticism of scholars and the media and turn to meaningful actions to shift volunteer tourism from development assistance to intercultural exchange and de-commodification. The future of volunteer tourism lies in the partnership between volunteers and host communities, designed to provide opportunities for rich cross-cultural communication and understanding.

2.3 Volunteer tourism and community

Guttentag (2009) suggests that volunteer tourism is becoming commodified by large tour operators, and as a consequence, host community desires may be neglected. One of the pillars of volunteer tourism is that it should generate positive results for the locals and form a mutually beneficial host-guest relationship in the tourist destination (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Sin, 2009, 2010). Wearing and Everingham (2017) see a future for volunteer tourism as a partnership between volunteers and destination communities. Callanan and Thomas (2005) stated that the deeper volunteer tourism represents a resistance to neoliberal models of tourism. Due to this position away from the centrality of the tourist and towards a central role for the community a perspective of deep volunteer tourism can be subscribed and thereby offer mechanisms that can empower the destination community. Volunteer tourists seek more sustainable and responsible tourism experiences that provide the host communities with benefits and the volunteers with transformative learning (Wearing and Everingham, 2017). As a kind of in-depth experience, volunteer tourism also has the opportunity to open the sales channels for special ethnic groups through farming experiences. In the evaluation and development of volunteer tourism, volunteers are currently the stakeholders most heavily monitored and evaluated. This is due to the fact that the relationship between volunteer tourism organizations and host communities is not close enough. However, the host community that benefits from volunteer tourism (Wearing, 2001) is a key stakeholder, and the community's perspective is considered a necessary condition for assessing the success of volunteer tourism programs (Comhlamh, 2011; Nelson, 2010; Raymond, 2011).

2.4 Volunteer tourism and service-learning

At present, the regular interaction between universities and rural communities is mostly through the combination of courses and service-learning. From the perspective of service and learning, there are many similarities between volunteer tourism and university-led service-learning and education. Service-learning is a kind of education method that integrates experiences with learning, where students can reflect on the meaning of learning through the experience of participating in service activities, fulfill the targeted needs of the service

recipients, and promote the learning and development of the service providers (Jacoby, 1996). Service-learning is a student-centered construct. It combines the concepts of "service" and "learning" to meet the needs of the community and of those who are served, and to obtain learning outcomes and growth through reflection and reciprocity in the service-learning process (Lin, 2001). Service-learning is not just about the interaction between students and their school, it also requires the community to provide a service space so that students can improve the service-learning outcomes. In addition, service-learning is a way to establish a good relationship between the school and the community, and it is the best way to help the university stay close to the community (Lisman, 1998). Therefore, the dual purpose of service and learning will form a strong triangle of students, school, and community (Lai, 2003).

Hartman, Paris, and Blache-Cohen (2014) delineated a set of practical standards and a conceptual framework for international volunteer tourism—the principle of Fair Trade Learning, designed to maximize benefits and minimize volunteer tourism projects' negative impact on community and volunteers. Hartman, et al (2014) believe that the ethical framework of volunteer tourism must strive to maximize the interests of host communities and volunteers. These principles are specifically applied to international volunteer tourism in university-community relations, and the university has a variety of institutional characteristics that make it an ideal catalyst for promoting this sustainable industry best practice.

2.5 Evaluation

Incorporating assessments into the overall sustainable tourism management concept can help determine whether volunteer tourism projects benefit host communities and the environment and meet the needs of relevant stakeholders. The assessment provides insight into the progress, impact, and outcomes of the project (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 2007). Nelson (2010, p. 78) argues that seeking community perspectives is essential for evaluating the success of programs, asserting that the long-term outcomes of volunteer tourism could be significantly improved if evaluation measures enabled "honest conversations" between the community, the volunteers, and the volunteer tourism organizations. Everingham (2017) argues that any comprehensive evaluation of volunteer tourism projects needs to be conducted in such a way that is attentive to the diversity of volunteer tourism organizations, volunteer tourists, and host communities involved in the projects. The volunteer tourism literature emphasizes that the interaction between volunteers, host communities, and volunteer tourism organizations can lead to many problems and negative and positive effects (Guttentag, 2009). Wearing and Everingham (2017) suggest that there needs to be a high degree of importance placed upon the interdependent relationship the host community shares with the volunteer tourist. Monitoring and evaluation encourage volunteers to organize sustainable and responsible tourism planning and management tools through good practices and continuous improvement programs. Little

research exists demonstrating how volunteer tourism programs impact host communities or how impacts can be assessed, but the literature suggests the use of indicators to do so (Barbieri, Santos and Katsube, 2012; McGehee and Andereck, 2008; Lupoli, Morse, Bailey and Schelhas, 2014; Sin, 2010; Taplin and Scherrer, 2014; Wearing and Everingham, 2017).

2.5.1 Evaluation method

It has been recognized in research that there is no single best method or model for carrying out evaluations. There are multiple assessment methods, basic concepts, and models (Meyer, 2012). The choice of method will vary depending on the context of the particular project being evaluated (Bamberger, 2013; Rog, 2012). As mentioned earlier, the nature of volunteer tourism projects varies widely, so there is not a universal way to conduct project monitoring and evaluation. The assessment can be done internally or externally (Mertens and Wilson, 2012), formal or informal (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 2007) and large scale or small scale (Robson, 2000). Because each assessment method is unique, there are differences in the operation of specific objects and locations, so there is no established method for establishing social or sustainable indicators that focus on volunteer tourism, posing a challenge for studying the social impact and sustainability of such initiatives.

2.5.2 The Fair Trade Learning

The Fair Trade Learning (Hartman et al., 2012) is a global educational partnership exchange that prioritizes reciprocity in relationships through cooperative and cross-cultural participation in learning, service, and civil society efforts. It originated with efforts of the Association of Clubs (AOC) in Petersfield, Jamaica. It is a model of community tourism based on participatory budgeting and community-driven development. It emerged through many years of dialogue between the Petersfield-based AOC and its nonprofit partner in the United States, Amizade Global Service-Learning. The construct has helped the organizations “stay honest” with one another, as each works to uphold ethical, community-centered principles. These standards elucidate the areas of focus by all stakeholders to ensure a fair and positive impact of programs on the communities in which they operate.

Table 1. The Fair Trade Learning community-centered standards

Principles	Directions
Purpose.	Program administrators should engage in continuous dialogue with community partners regarding the partnership’s potential to contribute to community-driven efforts that advance human flourishing in the context of environmental, economic, and social sustainability. Continuous dialogue

	should include minimally annual evaluation and assessment of the partnership and its purposes.
Community preparation.	Community organizations and partners should receive clear pre-program clarity regarding expectations, partnership parameters through formal or informal memoranda of understanding, and sensitization that includes visitors' customs and patterns, and fullest possible awareness of possible ramifications (both positive and negative) of hosting.
Timing, duration, and repetition.	Program administrators should cooperate with community members to arrive at acceptable program timing, lengths, and repetition of student groups in communities. Different communities have demonstrated varying degrees of interest in timing of programs, their duration, and their regularity of repetition. This, like all such conversations, must be highly contextualized within particular communities and partnerships.
Group size.	Program administrators must discuss ideal group size with community members and arrange program accordingly. Large groups of visiting students can have positive and negative effects on host communities, including undermining traditional cultural knowledge and distorting the local economy.
Local sourcing.	The program should maximize the economic benefits to local residents by cooperating with community members to ensure program participant needs are addressed through indigenous sources. Community-engaged programs should categorically not parallel the economic structures of enclave tourism. Maximum local ownership and economic benefit is central to the ethos of community partnership.
Direct service, advocacy, education, project management, and organization building.	To the extent desired by the community, the program involves students as service-learners, interns, and researchers in locally accountable organizations. Students learn from, contribute skills or knowledge to, and otherwise support local capacity through community improvement actions over a continuous period of time. Ideally, community members or organizations should have a direct role in preparing or training students to maximize their contributions to community work. Students should be trained in the appropriate role of the outsider in community development programs. They should also be trained on participatory methods, cultural appropriateness, and program design, with a focus on local sustainability and capacity development.
Reciprocity	Consistent with stated best practices in service-learning, public health, and development, efforts are made to move toward reciprocal relationships with community partners. These efforts should include opportunities for locals to

	participate in accredited courses, chances to engage in multi-directional exchange, and clear leadership positions, authority, and autonomy consistent with the ideals articulated in “Community Voice and Direction” above. Outcomes for communities should be as important as student outcomes; if this balance is not clear, program design adjustments should be made.
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The principle of fair trade learning can be used as a basis for examining the demand model of university service-learning and community partners to develop volunteer tourism. It emphasizes that volunteer tourism needs to focus on the perspective of the host community and regard it as the key factor to the sustainable development of volunteer tourism. This study explores whether deep volunteer tourism is an effective link between university instructors and students and whether it continues to build relationships with host communities and invest in follow-up community work services. The results of the study will be considered as a model of university service-learning and recommendations for strategically connecting the people in rural areas and promoting deep tourism development in the community.

Methods

The location of this action research is the Gongguan community in Zuozhen District, Tainan City. Through participatory action research, we collaborate with university course instructors, students, and host communities to develop a deep volunteer tourism framework that can be used as a strategy for bringing in labor force into the community and resource assessment. Research participants are event participants, including university course instructors, students, and community development associations, through the direct participatory action research, direct observations, interviews, questionnaires, and the process of holding a participatory workshop, the strategy’s effectiveness was evaluated.

3.1 Participatory action research

Through participatory action research, researchers are able to connect with volunteer tourism organizations and host communities. Action research is the research that practical workers conduct on their work, and in the process, adjustment is done to their work for improvement (Cai, 2000). Different from general research methods, action research strives to shorten the gap between practice and theory and to reduce the difference between action and research (Pan, 2015). The main features of the action research method can be summarized as the following: problem-solving, project flexibility, emphasis on practical research participation, process emphasis on synergy, practical improvement and participant growth, sociality,

criticality, emancipation, and reflective dialectic (Cai, 2000; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Cohen & Manion, 1989; Ou, 1994a; Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998; Ou, 1999b).

Participatory action research (PAR) differs from most other research methods in that, apart from the community practice of interest to researchers, the diffusion or redistribution of power is a core element of this research method. In PAR, the researchers are a tool for change and not the owner of a research project (Walker, 1993). The methodology aims to promote the integration of current community practice issues and social science development through collaboration within a mutually acceptable framework. The high level of participation of researchers is a characteristic of this research method (Whyte, 1991). The PAR is essentially an applied research, and its research process is not a standard linear research model but a cyclical implementation through planning, action, various iterations of observation, reflection, modification, and re-action (Wadsworth, 1998).

3.1.1 Textual analysis

The Internet, social media, and news reports have a large number of volunteer tourism records. The researchers collected community-related reports, publications, and files provided by the community to gain a solid understanding of the field prior to starting the study.

3.1.2 Direct observation and direct participation

Direct observation refers to the method of investigating the action of the researcher directly through the sensory perception of the observer. The observer participates in the activity of the observed object and observes it internally through the activities jointly performed by the observed object. An important advantage of qualitative research is that the record of observations not only shows what happened but also reflects the researcher's thinking (Chen, 2007). Therefore, in the current study, after each workshop or event, the researcher recorded the contents and observations for the day. The things that were found, what was seen and heard, etc., were written down for reflection, feedback, and further analysis. These are listed as informal interview records for reference.

3.1.3 Participatory workshop

A workshop is a way for a team or a group of people to conduct dialogue, thinking, investigation, planning, design, the formation of programs, decision-making, etc. It is where the team can propose program promotion ideas or even develop actual actions. This study used a participatory workshop format for topic discussion, reflection, and assessing needs. Through the workshop, it was expected that different plans and solutions would be generated while

allowing face-to-face interactions among the participants.

3.1.4 In-depth interview

This study used a semi-structured interview. A preliminary interview structure was developed based on the “Fair Trade Learning” indicators. The format of the questions and discussion of the problems were carried out in a more flexible manner. Semi-structured interviews can be understood from different perspectives. The subjective experience of the respondents can be used as a supplement to text analysis and participatory workshop data.

Volunteer Tourism Holiday Practice

4.1 Participatory workshop

Through the participatory workshops, we learned that the local stakeholders are highly interested in cultural preservation and linking the local attractions together. Therefore, this study introduces the concept of heritage trails and hopes that through low environment development planning, volunteer tourism can help with the recovery of the historical trail. The project also develops the trails in a way that respects the local ecology and links the whole area to the local memory points and improves the integrity of the region.

At the beginning of the project, we entered the Zuozhen community as part of the NCKU course. After assessing the needs of the communities and the feasibility of the course, we selected the community of the Zuozhen District of Tainan City as the target of the trial volunteer tour. In early February of 2018, we began to invite to a discussion the various NCKU departments that have a course/service-learning course. We chose to visit the Grass Mountain Heritage Trail, which was mentioned by the public community in the past years, to study volunteer tourism research for the university. In addition to the path to the historical Grass Mountain School, this heritage trail is also an important medical, survival, industrial, and pilgrimage route for the local residents. However, it has disappeared into the wild vegetations. There is no manpower in the community to recover the trail. Therefore, this study held six participatory workshops in early May to discuss the feasibility for the course instructors and the community to explore the possibilities for the path. It is hoped that by bringing in student volunteers, we could focus on re-making the trails with minimal impact on the environment. Finally, from May 4th to May 6th, we held a trial the heritage trails volunteer tour and conducted reflective inspections at the end.

Table 2. The participatory workshops for heritage trails volunteer tourism

Date	Description	Discussion	Participating object
2018/02/26	Coordinate the collaboration efforts among university volunteers	Preliminary discussion on the expanding the course into the field (Zuozhen)	NCKU instructors
2018/03/31	Discuss the needs of volunteers with the community of Zuozhen Gongguan Association	Assessment of community needs in human capital and other areas	Gongguan community, NCKU instructors
2018/04/09	Coordinate the collaboration efforts among university volunteers	Further discussion of volunteer collaboration	Gongguan community, NCKU instructors
2018/04/14	Coordinate the collaboration efforts among university volunteers	The implementation of the site of the second Erliao Grass Mountain Heritage Trail in the implementation field	Gongguan community, NCKU instructors
2018/04/30	The trial of volunteer tourism pre-trip confirmation	Final confirmation before the trip	NCKU instructors
2018/05/06	Reflection after the trial of the volunteer tour	Rethinking the trial tour of the heritage trails for volunteers from May 4th to May 6th.	Gongguan community, NCKU instructors







Table 3. Photo records of the participatory workshops

	
<p>Heritage trails volunteering pre-departure meeting</p>	<p>First scouting of the heritage trail</p>
	
<p>Visiting the local elder before the trip</p>	<p>Visiting the Zuozhen Junior High School to discuss the possibility of follow-up operations of volunteer tourism</p>

4.2 Volunteer Tourism Holiday

The volunteer tour was planned to be a heritage trail exploration based on the community's needs. It was named "Handcrafted Trail Workshop - Zuozhen Erliao Grass Mountain Heritage Trail Exploration and Investigation". It is a joint effort from three courses: "Humanitarian Architecture and Local Practice," "Humanistic Innovation and the Social Practice," and the "Technological Medicine and Society— Action and Implementation," which are two service-learning courses and a departmental course, respectively. Students are expected to meet the requirements of the course while assisting the host community. In the three-day workshop, the volunteers were given different tasks based on the needs of the Zuozhen Gongguan community. At the same time, the concept of local deep tourism was introduced before the event, and the meaning of volunteer tourism (combining learning, service, and tourism) was explained, in order to achieve the goal of "learning by doing, playing by doing".

Table 4. Photo records of the heritage trail volunteer activities

	
<p>Pre-departure instructions explaining to students the spirit of volunteer tourism</p>	<p>Introducing community features and requirements</p>
	
<p>The instructor on native plants explaining the characteristics of the badland plants</p>	<p>Visiting the elders who narrate the history of the early heritage trails</p>
	
<p>A local elder leading the way to find the heritage trail</p>	<p>Student volunteers working with local youth to open up the heritage trail</p>

4.3 Volunteer Tourism Reflection and Feedback

4.3.1 Reflection workshop

Volunteer tourism, which is mainly based on service-learning, operates in the context of rural development. After three days of volunteer tourism, the community and the NCKU

instructors conducted a reflection workshop to evaluate the overall activities including accomplishments and areas for improvement (Table 4-4). The activity agenda should be arranged with more reflection time so that students can deepen their discussion on the topic at hand. It is also possible for volunteers to prepare their own meals and invite the community to the meals, as a practice of the spirit of volunteer service. In order to make the core issues of volunteer service more important, the number of volunteers was too large. There were 29 students in this event. In the future, the number of people can be reduced to focus more on the heart of the issues. After the event, the community, the preparatory group, and the volunteers should reflect together. For the students, such reflection can help with their self-improvement and with cultivating teamwork.

Table 5. Results of workshop reflections

Question	Item	Reflective content
The biggest gains	Development of course cooperation model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ A deeper cooperation model ◆ Focused and interdisciplinary
	Community care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Make students more connected to the community ◆ Caring for the elderly ◆ Strengthen the bond between the elders and the community through interviews ◆ Deepening the local culture and history
	Heritage trail	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ The clearing of the heritage trail's is moving forward ◆ Seeing the real original trail ◆ History and space are strung together ◆ There are heritage trail information that can help extend and modify other courses
	Close to the natural environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ A chance to meet with nature ◆ The addition of plant surveys is of great significance to the heritage trail
	Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Successful extension of the course
	Affirmation from the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Like the spirit and attitude of the instructors ◆ Like the smiles of the teaching assistants
Areas that can be improved	Schedule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Continuity between trips needs to be strengthened ◆ The agenda is too tight ◆ Increase time and space for reflection time
	Manpower allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Need to control the time and amount of interpretation

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Properly arrange on-site manpower allocation between courses
	Task content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Should be more in line with community needs ◆ Continue to promote the meaning of volunteer tourism
	Repast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Improve the quality of the tableware to increase the overall value ◆ Place a card on the table to describe the local food
	The elder care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Students take more initiative in asking questions ◆ Small group interview ◆ The first meeting should be in a more relaxing format (e.g., chatting)
	Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Total number of participating students needs to be reduced

Table 6. Heritage trail volunteering tourism's participatory workshop

	
Activity reflection workshop	Discussion summarized in sticky notes

4.3.2 In-depth interview

Through the in-depth interviews, it was found that the community responded positively to this heritage trail-based volunteer tour, arguing that the activities can respond to the needs of the community by helping them achieve what they want to but cannot do. In addition, by involving the local elders during the event by accompanying them and caring about them, the remote area community interacts more closely with these elders. The community has expressed that due to the NCKU courses being planned in advance, compared with the previous courses, this time, the theme of heritage trail volunteer tourism is more systematic and continuous. The community mentioned that through the continuous promotion of the project and involvement of people from all walks of life in the workshop, the public sector has also begun to pay attention to the Erliao Grass Mountain Trail and is willing to understand it in depth. The attention from the various sectors and the exploration of the issues in the workshop made the community feel the possibility for local growth in Zuozhen.

This study interviewed two NCKU instructors who participated in the service-learning course of the Heritage Trail Volunteer Tourism. One instructor from the architecture team thought that in terms of this activity and the resulted benefit, it was helpful to link the volunteer work to the NCKU course. Because the course objectives is related to trails, the volunteer tourism can help students become aware of their volunteer roles and help the community do what they have not done in the past. In terms of activity improvement, the NCKU instructors mentioned that because the course and volunteer tourism are composed of many lessons, the course was less detailed and caused confusion for some students. However, for some students, the heritage trails volunteer tour gives them a chance to self-challenge and make progress in learning new knowledge.

Based on the opinions of the community and the instructors, combined with the service-learning courses operated by the volunteers in the rural communities, the most important thing is to be able to meet the needs of both parties. For the field of operation (the Gongguan community), the university entering the host community to implement a course must be able to directly respond to the needs of the community, and the course needs to have continuity, rather than a one-time operation. Compared to a local community taking the initiative, when a university initiates and drives the local place's activities, it generally receives more attention from the government and related organizations and enterprises. Due to the involvement of the university, the rural community can mobilize and invest resources to help their own place. For the NCKU instructors, collaboration across different departments not only helps support each other but also promotes the concept of volunteering for students. It enables students to realize that they are to serve the community, so that they can challenge themselves and make new progress.

Conclusions

The current study involves the community, university instructors, and the mediating agency (the researchers themselves). Through a workshop, the study reflects on the volunteer tourism holidays as part of the university's community needs-based service-learning, using the community-centered standards of Fair Trade Learning (Hartman, et al, 2014). Through continuous dialogue, the plan meets the needs of the community and the university, promotes deeper exchanges, and forms a consensus between the two organizations. Only then can this student version of volunteer tourism be established with the consent of both organizations. In the preparation stage before the trip, the plan was fully confirmed and the work was divided up. The three organizations in the process of reflection also voiced that the continuity between the agenda items needs to be strengthened, and in order to give more meaning to each activity based on its original purpose, more time and space are needed for reflection. In terms of the

number of participants and the group size, reducing the number of people can make the overall guided reflection and the interaction of the community more connected.

In the three-day tour meal plan, local fruits, vegetables, and products were used as ingredients in order to emphasize the local characteristics and promote the development momentum of the community, and support the local economic development. Unfortunately, a commentary card was not yet been created to describe the local cuisine. If the card is completed as a follow-up activity, it would strengthen the community's food marketing and increase its publicity.

This volunteer tourism program helped build an innovative development model for university service-learning courses and innovative community development. Through a focused and interdisciplinary collaboration, we successfully formed mutually beneficial partnerships between the two parties. The university enters the host community to accompany and care for the elders in the local area; the heritage trails allow history and space to be strung together; and the subsequent related courses that cooperate with the community can have richer basic information that allows the effort to advance and continue.

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Research and Practice of the Workshop Method in Iwase Community, Japan

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Abstract

Since the theory of workshop was proposed by Lawrence Harplin and introduced to Japan, many areas have been greatly influenced. In 1970s, the workshop was introduced as a method of community design for the first time in Japan. After generations of researcher's development, it became a practical method to encourage residents to participate in community design and urban planning in Japan. Nowadays, the workshop method has been widely used in the field of community design. However, many problems have also emerged in the course of practice, such as inefficiency, ambiguous purposes and unclear results, lack of an effective evaluation system, and so on. This paper aims to discuss a more effective way to use the workshop method and attract people to participate community design workshops. By summarizing the classification of workshops and the practical research in Iwase (a local community in Japan), introduce the experience of workshop. In the meantime, this study attempts to generalize workshop methods which are easy to promote and learn based on different purposes of workshops, and then allows more people to use the workshop method and participate in community design.

Keywords: workshop method, Japanese community, participation by residents, consciousness, evaluation

Introduction

Since the 1960s, Japan has started community-building activities involving public participation, and in Japan it has been called machizukuri. Machizukuri is not only about creating a community in the physical environment, but also in the social environment. For example, education, tradition, industry, etc. Even the atmosphere of the community, and the relationship between residents, on a more detailed level, all-round and continuous, meticulously create a harmonious community. Due to the special nature of machizukuri, which is different from traditional planning, public participation is an essential part of it. There are many ways for the public to participate in community planning. Workshop, as one of the widely used methods to achieve consensus, will be highlighted in this article.

The workshop method originated from the theory of Lawrence Halprin's "The RSVP Cycles", which was introduced into Japan in the 1970s and was first practiced as a method of machizukuri in the communities of Setagaya in Japan in the late 1970s. Since then, the workshop method has been well practiced and developed in Japan, and has become an important method for achieving a consensus in the Japanese machizukuri process. Based on the theoretical research on the workshop method and the practical experience of some workshop cases in Iwase community in Japan, this paper will sort the workshop method based on the purpose, and put forward some opinions on the problems found in practice.

1.Consensus formation in the Workshop method

In the process of machizukuri, it is a key step for the participants to reach a consensus. The workshop method has proven to play a key role in this step in many practices. In a machizukuri plan, there are usually multiple workshop processes, and each workshop is grouped and each group will be active under the guidance of the facilitator. During the participants' participation in the workshop, the facilitator leads to the atmosphere of collective participation, and under the influence of this atmosphere, individual actions are carried out. The language, experience and other information generated by this kind of action have a profound impact on the participants' deep structure, so that the participants themselves are aware of the necessity of action, and then the consciousness in turn continues to drive the participants' actions. In the process of multiple workshops, this influence on the participants' consciousness will continue to occur, and this influence will help the participants to achieve the consensus with the help of the facilitator.

1.1Collective consciousness

Participants are unfamiliar and uneasy at the beginning of the workshop. In order to let them generate a collective consciousness, and make the workshop go smoothly, the facilitator usually carries out some warm-up activities, including but not limited to self-introduction, introduction to each other, and call the other person's name through games and so on. After warm-up, participants will become familiar with each other. Then participants will be grouped to re-establish the relationship between the them and do further discussions with the help of the facilitator. The Facilitator will try to give everyone a chance to speak, so that participants will have a sense of participation and collective consciousness.

1.2 Conscientization

The word "conscientization" was proposed by Paulo Freire. It is also translated to "Critical consciousness", which focuses on the deep understanding of the world. Paulo Freire

defines critical consciousness as the ability to "intervene in reality in order to change it." Different from simply brainwashing, in the process of workshop, emphasis is placed on changing the deep structure of participants through language and experience, so that participants themselves realize the problem itself and act spontaneously to participate actively.

1.3 Consensus building

The facilitator plays a very important role in the formation of the consensus. With the guidance of the facilitator, how many participants speak, whether each participant is actively speaking, will have a great impact on the outcome of the final agreement. Therefore, the responsibility of the facilitator in the workshop is very important. In the case of clearing the goals of the workshop, the facilitator should let the participants speak more, guide the specific proposal, encourage the participants to actively discuss, and finally reach an agreement.

2. Workshop type in practice

In the practice of workshops, it is very important to clarify the purpose of the workshop in preparation. From the practice of the author's participation in the Iwase community in Matsudo, Chiba Prefecture, Japan, the common purposes of the workshop are divided into the following three categories: 1. To cultivate awareness of the community 2. For the purpose of cultivating a common future image to the community 3. For the purpose of the specific machizukuri goal. These three different purposes of the workshop can be carried out separately, or as a three-step continuous exhibition of the machizukuri plan of the workshop. The following will give an example and introduce.

2.1 To cultivate awareness of the community

Workshops for the purpose of cultivating knowledge about the community are very common, such as the Gulliver map, which is usually carried out in the early stages of a machizukuri project. This kind of workshop takes the community itself as the main body. It is the beginning of the "RSVP" cycles proposed by Harprin through the observation of the community in the community to understand the resources of the community and lay the foundation for the success of the entire workshop. In the Iwase community, the author has participated in most of this type of workshop. In addition to the Gulliver map, there are several sketch workshops in the community. Make a simple sketch by walking around the community and finding an impressive place in the community, with a few short reviews and presenting these images and reviews in the community. After several workshops like this, participants can be made aware of the strengths and weaknesses in the community.

As the understanding of the community deepens, the motivation of machizukuri is gradually formed, which makes participants more aware of the necessity of participation.

2.2 For the purpose of cultivating a common future image to the community

There is relatively little workshop for the purpose of cultivating common future image to the community. This type of workshop requires participants to have a certain understanding of the community, and based on these understandings to describe the prospects of community development, and to get the participants' future image of the community's development. The role of this type of workshop in the entire machizukuri process is very important. In the case of a total agreement, the subsequent machizukuri will be more purposeful and more effective. In the Iwase community, the theatre workshop that the author participated in should belong to this type. In the three days, a small theatre team was formed by the residents, and the material creation script was found in the community. After the rehearsal, the performance was performed on the festival stage for other residents. The final performance revealed the value orientation of the residents in the process of machizukuri, such as protecting the existing natural environment, creating a community environment suitable for the elderly. These total image will be the next step for machizukuri.

2.3 For the purpose of the specific machizukuri goal

Workshops aimed at specific Machizukuri goals are also very common. The "specific machizukuri goals" here usually refer to the improvement of the community's physical environment. For example, pocket parks and plazas in the community are designed in the form of workshops with the participation of residents. In the Iwase community, this kind of workshop has been carried out many times. The author participated in the 2017 CCDC project, which is a design workshop project led by Chiba University. Students from Chiba University and several other universities from overseas participated in the communication with the residents in the community to complete the design. The author participated in the design project of the small garden outside the community center, and completed the transformation of the garden after fully communicating with the local residents, and received many praises from the residents.

3. Workshop evaluation

Workshop's evaluation system is the most difficult part of all the research on workshop. After all, the success of a workshop requires the joint efforts of the facilitator and the participants, which is difficult to objectively evaluate. For non-participants, it is difficult to objectively evaluate a workshop.

As the organizer's facilitator, the success and failure of this workshop will be discussed after each workshop, and the next workshop strategy will be formulated according to the discussion results. However, these evaluations and discussions are mostly techniques for the facilitation of the workshop, and it is difficult to have an objective evaluation of the workshop itself.

Participants were basically satisfied with the workshops they participated in. The dissatisfaction was also in the workshop process rather than the result. Like the facilitator, participants cannot objectively evaluate the results achieved by themselves and other participants.

For those who are not involved in the workshop, the above-mentioned specific goals-oriented workshops are easier to evaluate. The evaluation of the satisfaction of the results is easy to accept when there is a clear result of a change in the physical environment. Other types of workshops are hard to evaluate. Since it is difficult for workshops to have an conscious level of influence on those who are not involved, it is difficult for non-participants to evaluate the first two types of workshops mentioned above, and only if they are based on the description of the participants, they can only get interested and not interested. Evaluation. And the evaluation of the impact of workshop on participant awareness is even more difficult.

Results

The above three different purposes of the workshop usually do not appear separately in the process of machizukuri, often in the order of understanding the community, generating a consensus image, and implementing specific goals. The machizukuri in which residents participate is usually very time-consuming. It is very important to clarify the goals of the workshop in a limited time and then choose the appropriate method.

Conclusions

This paper summarizes the experience and problems encountered by the author in the process of participating in the practice of the Japanese community, and some understanding of the workshop theory. As an effective method for residents to participate in community building, workshop has a wide range of applications in Japan and has a good sense of revelation for other Asian countries.

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An Investigation of the Reality of Community Building in Post-Yolanda Relocation Areas in Tacloban City, Philippines

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Abstract

On November 8, 2013, Super Typhoon Yolanda left a path of destruction across the Philippines. People living in low-lying coastal areas of Tacloban City, many informal settlers without official land rights, suffered especially heavy devastation. Tacloban City's two-part approach to disaster recovery focused on 1) relocating people away from coastal no-build (later no-dwell) zones to 2) new houses provided through various combinations of support from government and non-government organizations (NGOs) in the north of Tacloban (hereafter Tacloban North), coordinated by Tacloban City Office of Housing and Community Development. Most new resettlement sites in Tacloban North are 10-20 kilometers from the city center/former communities. Low-income families moving to these houses were facing livelihood challenges pre-Yolanda; the authors' previous research has found that the distance of housing relocation areas from livelihood created additional household pressures, including travel time and cost. After various and multiple moves Yolanda survivors experienced during the process of reestablishing a stable housing environment, former communities have been scattered, and new communities in resettlement sites include various degrees of mixing of new residents from different places.

The goal of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the situation of new communities forming in resettlement sites, including residents' perceptions of living environments. Looking at relocation areas holistically, we will investigate various aspects and connections of living environment factors, including social services, connections with neighbors, livelihood, education, infrastructure, and site and housing design. The six relocation sites in Tacloban North selected for this study include: those with houses provided by the National Housing Authority (NHA) and by NGOs; and those with or near new schools established with permanent or temporary buildings after Yolanda.

Using a Community Asset Based approach, we first identify assets and resources within these new communities. This study relies on semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with key community stakeholders--including leaders of local residents' groups

and associations, community organizers, and school community leaders—along with questionnaire surveys administered to local residents by the students of Eastern Visayas State University (EVSU). This first phase of collaborative research will evaluate the impact of relocation projects on residents and communities in resettlement sites in North Tacloban five years after Yolanda. After clarifying the current situation of affected communities, along with current community-building activities and impacts, this research is expected to lead to future Participatory Action Research in collaboration with EVSU's Research and Extension program.

What is *fukkou*? Tracing the Evolution of This Idea in Japanese

Post-disaster Recovery

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Abstract

The Japanese word *fukkou*, often translated as “recovery” in English, plays a large role in conceptualizing post-disaster recovery in Japan. Although several authors have mentioned *fukkou*, and defined it in contrast to *fukkyuu* (restoration), there is not a consistent understanding of this term in English. Starting from the emergence of *fukkou* in the recovery after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, this paper considers how the use of this term has changed within subsequent recovery projects in the last 100 years, until the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. Through understanding the development of the concept of *fukkou* over time, the character of Japanese post-disaster recovery is clarified, including an ongoing tension between top-down government-led policies and an alternative people-centered recovery with citizen participation.

Keywords: *disaster recovery, reconstruction, fukkyuu, fukkou, Great East Japan Earthquake*

Introduction

Often translated as disaster “recovery” in English, there are various interpretations of the Japanese word *fukkou*, whose meaning includes the ideas of rebuilding and incorporating some new advancement or improvement. *Fukkou* exists in contract to the word *fukkyuu*, whose meaning is more clearly defined as to rebuild or restore what was there before. First used in the context of reconstruction when Tokyo was rebuilding after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake and fires, the concept of *fukkou* appeared in every major reconstruction in Japan since, including after: the 1945 destruction of Tokyo in World War II; the 1995 Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake in Kobe; the 2004 Chuetsu Earthquake in Niigata Prefecture; and the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami in Tohoku. In each case, *fukkou* represented the introduction of some new or improved aspects into the recovery. However, reflecting the specific social, economic, and urban contexts at the time of each reconstruction, *fukkou* described different goals in each recovery project.

Japan's history of disasters and experiences with post-disasters recovery is well-documented. After the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami, a complex disaster including earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdown which affected varied communities across a vast area, many authors have discussed various aspects of the equally massive and complex recovery that is still going on in the affected areas. Along with the creation of a new national Reconstruction Agency tasked with managing a newly created menu of recovery projects and funding structure, reconstruction of local areas includes modification of the landscape and relocation of communities at a massive and unprecedented scale. Although individual community-oriented activities and projects have received significant attention, overall the recovery process after 3.11 is strongly shaped and controlled by national government policies.

Purpose and Methodology

In literature dealing with the ongoing recovery, there has been minimal discussion about the significance of *fukkou* in relation to current policies and historic precedents in Japan, and interpretation of the meanings of *fukkyuu* and *fukkou* are not consistent across authors. Clarifying the meaning and usage of these terms can support a more contextual understanding of post-disaster recovery in Japan as well as the trends of recovery after 3.11. The history of how the concept of *fukkou* developed can help explain the ongoing tension between citizen-oriented planning and recovery, in contrast to top-down government led and infrastructure-oriented recovery.

After breaking down the etymology of the words *fukkyuu* and *fukkou*, the paper considers how *fukkou* and *fukkyuu* have been explained in English in the relevant literature. In order to gain a deeper understanding of how the concept of *fukkou* has been use over time, the paper then explores how it was applied to recovery policies and projects over the last 100 years. This paper relies on secondary literature in English and Japanese which deal with both the concept and definition of *fukkyuu* and *fukkou*, and how these ideas were applied after subsequent disasters.

In the context of and in contrast to *fukkyuu*, the authors consider *fukkou* to equal *fukkyuu* (rebuilding what was there) plus the addition of something new or improved (an additional + *alpha*). Using this definition, this paper traces how the idea and meaning of *fukkou* developed over the course of five major recovery projects. In the context of each event, it charts the emergence of “new” ideas that were added to the vision of *fukkou* for each subsequent recovery project, such as: rebuilding of the capital city; modern city planning and land use

planning; land readjustment; improved streets and park systems; more convenient lifestyle; and improved disaster safety.

Background

Although the discourse around *fukkou* across these cases is not limited to infrastructure, and even overtly espouses more holistic ideas, the de facto implementation of *fukkou* projects that repeatedly resulted in a focus on infrastructure and its development have led, over time, to a strong infrastructure-oriented idea of *fukkou* Japan. The evolution of ideas of *fukkou* over the five cases shows a recurring tension between: 1) recovery projects focusing on infrastructure development; and 2) an alternative narrative emphasizing instead the need for more holistic people-centered policies or community-based approaches to recovery. Recovery after the 1995 Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake marked a shift toward the participation of residents through *machizukuri* (community-building) recovery processes, and the trend of community-based recovery continued after the 2004 Chuetsu Earthquake, with the development of flexible and locally-controlled recovery funds. However, a fragmentation of these trends can be observed in the recovery after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake; although the importance of people-centered approaches and locally-driven initiatives is well-known, the overall direction of recovery projects after 2011 can be characterized as returning to an infrastructure-centric *fukkou*.

Definitions and Precedent Literature

Composed of two kanji characters in Japanese, *fukkou* 復興 and *fukkyuu* 復旧, share the first character: 復. The direct meanings of these characters can be translated as follows:

復= return

興=fun/interesting; or promote/flourish

旧=old/former

and therefore, when combined:

fukkyuu: 復+旧= return to what was there before; and

fukkou: 復+興= return + interesting, or return + promotion= return to something new/better.

In English translations of documents dealing with recovery and reconstruction in Japan, the word *fukkou* is often translated as “recovery,” although it also appears as reconstruction, or revitalization, revival. For example, the Reconstruction Agency, in Japanese is called *Fukkou chou*; whereas *fukkou keikaku* (recovery plan) is almost always translated as recovery. *Fukkyuu* is generally more simply translated as restoration.

Several authors have discussed these terms and their meanings and translations into English. Johnson and Hayashi (2012) consider that both *fukkyu* and *fukkyou* are Japanese concepts for the term “recovery.” They define *fukkyu* to mean “return to status quo ex ante” and *fukkou* to mean “adapt to status quo ex post” and characterize the goal of Japanese disaster management to be *fukkyu* (Johnson and Hayashi, 2012). Siembieda and Hayashi (2015) use identical definitions for the two words, adding that unlike *fukkyu*, which has a status quo to return to, a “*fukkou*-minded recovery” lacks not only a clear objective, but also a “consensus about how to formulate one.”

As *fukkou* includes the idea of a recovery with a unspecified “improvement,” in some ways it parallels the term Build Back Better (BBB), which became popular after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, and was recently incorporated into the 2015 Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction. As BBB became more popular internationally and in Japan, the idea also emerged that the word *fukkou* signifies the incorporation of the concept of building back better within itself, since it implies a recovery that is better than rebuilding what was there before. For example, Hirano (2013) discusses the contrast between the terms *fukkyuu* and *fukkou* as follows: “‘fukkyu’ is almost the same as ‘recovery’ and to building back to be the same as before, on the other hand, ‘fukkou’ means just the same as ‘building back better’ and something more than fukkyu.” Like the term BBB, whose vagueness has been pointed out (Maly, 2017 and Kennedy et al., 2008), Hirano also calls for a more careful examination, because like BBB, “the word ‘fukkou’ is also ambiguous (2013).” However, the Japanese translation of Build Back Better is not *fukkou*, but rather *yoru yoi fukkou*, literally, a ‘better recovery’ (JCC-DRR, 2015 and UNISDR, 2015). Looking just at these terms, both *fukkyou* as compared to *fukkyu*, and BBB include the idea of some new/improved/better addition to recovery, which is not necessarily specified.

As there is a shared understanding that *fukkou* includes ‘something more,’ but without consensus of what this additional ‘something’ is, different authors have made various characterizations. Although Edgington (2017) uses Johnston and Hayashi’s definitions of *fukkyuu/fukkou* (return to the status quo ex ante/ex post), he translates *fukkyu* as recovery and *fukkou* as “the more expansive term, reconstruction,” claiming that post-2011 *fukkou* was a build-back-better approach, which he sees as a western approach in contrast to Japanese post-war emphasis on *fukkyu*. Johnson and Hayashi (2013) claim that not only is *fukkou* a “more ambitious approach,” but interpret that it “recognizes that recovery is a complex, multi-dimensional, non-linear process for all the various stakeholders involved in the recovery.”

The definition for this paper: Fukkou plus alpha

Although a clear definition of *fukkou* is hard to pin down, it seems easier to agree that *fukkou* includes something more than *fukkyuu*. This is in keeping with the literal translation of the words: *fukkyuu* (復旧)= restore, or return to what was there before; and *fukkou* (復興)= return but with the addition of something new. From this understanding of *fukkou* as equal to *fukkyuu* (rebuilding what was there before) plus the addition of something new (+ alpha), we can consider that:

$$fukkou = fukkyuu + \alpha$$

By looking at how the term *fukkou* appeared and was applied across subsequent disaster recovery projects, this paper proposes that a deeper understanding of this term can be gained from a careful examination of not only what was the *fukkou* project in each case, but was the additional quantity + α proposed and/or implemented in each case, from the recovery after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake in Tokyo until that after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami in Tohoku.

Reconstruction after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake

In addition to earthquake damage, fires that broke out after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake caused massive damage to Tokyo. The proposed recovery of the capital marks the first time the word *fukkou* was used to refer to post-disaster reconstruction. As demonstrated by Tokyo's 1888 Shiku Kaisai Ordinance, urban planning principles in Japan had already included *shiku kaisai* (urban reformation) city planning for several decades. This idea had even been used in disaster recovery, as demonstrated by *shiku kaisai* city planning carried out in Kamaishi City after the 1896 Meiji Sanriku Tsunami. However, the word *fukkou* had not appeared even in this precedent of post-disaster urban reconstruction.

After the Great Kanto Earthquake, Tokyo Mayor Shinpei Goto proposed *Teito Fukkou* (Imperial Capital Reconstruction) as a comprehensive response including stability for citizens and industry. The concept of *Teito Fukkou* envisioned the recovery of Tokyo as the imperial capital and the center of national politics and culture (Yoshikawa, 2013). *Teito Fukkou* was seen as an opportunity to construct an idea capital, and not limited to issues of urban restructuring. However, under the direction of Goto, a strong proponent of infrastructure development, this became the focus of Tokyo's reconstruction in practice. Using leading edge strategies of land readjustment applied at a large scale, reconstruction after the Great Kanto

Earthquake led to the development of roads, parks and urban infrastructure and facilities including schools, hospitals and housing.

In addition to the official government reconstruction carried out under the term *Teito Fukkou*, the word *fukkou* was also used in *Fukkou Kai* (*fukkou* organizations), public-private organizations established throughout the disaster area who called for a more comprehensive recovery beyond that focusing on infrastructure, and for a more grassroots approach to recovery or a more holistic “real *fukkou*” based on people’s daily lives. During this period, the study of the Renaissance was becoming popular in Europe and the U.S., and it had also been introduced in Japan, where “Renaissance” was translated as *bungei fukkou* (lit. revival of literature). Although there is no concrete evidence linking these terms, it is possible that Goto was influenced by the modern-sounding *bungei fukkou* in the creation and naming of the *Teito Fukkou* (Koizumi, 2013).

In addition to rebuilding the city that had been destroyed in the earthquake and fires (*fukkyuu*-rebuilding what was there), *fukkou* after the Kanto Earthquake included the additional new/better aspect (+) of various advances in the city’s form and facilities befitting the Imperial Capital planned with *Teito Fukkou*. From this first instance of the use of the word *fukkou* post-disaster recovery, although in theory it was not limited to describing infrastructure development and land readjustment projects, in fact this became the focus. At the same time, this first case of post-disaster *fukkou* also already included a competing narrative from the *Fukkou Kai* for a more people-centered *fukkou* in contrast to the focus on infrastructure and facilities.

Reconstruction after the World War II bombing of Tokyo

Several decades later, Tokyo was destroyed by firebombing in World War II, and after 1945 again faced the challenge of rebuilding the devastated capital city. Approaches of post-war *fukkou* projects of Tokyo echoed those of *Teito Fukkou* after the Kanto Earthquake; instead of a new imperial capital, they envisioned the creation of a new modern city, complete with a major road system and centered on land readjustment. Tokyo’s post-war recovery plan included the creation of green spaces, open spaces, and parks, along with an ambitious land use plan that was not implemented because of post-war budget austerity.

This post-war recovery also focused on the modernization of the city through the development of infrastructure, there were also opposing viewpoints that called for a greater focus on people’s needs. One example is the statement by Tokyo Governor Yasui that “housing for people would be prioritized over land readjustment” (Koumura, 2011), in

recognition of the fact that people had already constructed their own barracks. Again, there was also a criticism of the focus of *fukkou* projects and city planning, and a call for urban construction to include *machizukuri* (community-building) and arguing that *toshi keikaku* (urban planning) should address not only physical objects, but also community and social issues (Koumura, 2011).

Although not limited to infrastructure by definition, the idea that the focus of *fukkou* projects was on the development of physical infrastructure and land readjustment, first shown to be the case in reconstruction after the Kanto Earthquake, then reinforced in post-WWII reconstruction, and firmly established along with the idea that infrastructure-based modern recovery (*fukkou*) followed the development of Western nations. As the new/better aspect (+) added to the recovery after the Kanto quake had been improving Tokyo to be an Imperial Capital, the new (+) in the reconstruction of post-war Tokyo was the creation of a modern metropolis, including the creation of a new concept of subcenters in the city. Although the contexts and goals of reconstruction of Tokyo after the Kanto Earthquake and WWII were different, they shared similarities in terms of the prioritization of the urban development of the metropolitan area in both cases, including symbolic roles for the capital of the empire and the modern nation, respectively.

Recovery after the 1995 Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake in Kobe

On January 17, 1995, the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake struck the dense urban area of Kobe in western Japan. Kobe's recovery also focused on rebuilding the urban form and infrastructure. In the first law to include *fukkou* in its name, the Special Law for the Reconstruction of the Urban Area (*Hisai Shigaichi Fukkou Tokubetsu Shouchi Hou*) was actually used to put a stop to reconstruction activities in order to carry out infrastructure development projects, yet again confirming the use of the word *fukkou* to describe infrastructure, this time within a legal framework.

Although local governments played a larger role in the reconstruction after the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, there was still a strong focus on *fukkou* as the establishment of urban infrastructure; land readjustment projects were a primary measure for rebuilding residential areas, along with the construction of public housing. In addition to rebuilding the damaged area (*fukkyuu*) the additional factor (+) in Kobe's *fukkou* was the creation of better streets/parks. In addition, occurring less than a decade after the creation of a local *machizukuri* ordinance, the recovery process in Kobe was time that residents' participation was officially included in the *fukkou* process. With the creation of a network of local *machizukuri committees* in each neighborhood district, Kobe's recovery included a new idea

of *fukkou machizukuri*, along with other new developments that represent a strengthening of civil society including the creation of the NPO (non-profit organization) law, peer-to-peer support through internet, and the growth of volunteer activities to support disaster survivors. In addition, the establishment of flexible recovery funds enabled the development of many types of community support not included in official projects. One example of these is the HAR (Hanshin-Awaji Renaissance Fund) fund, which enabled a system of *machizukuri* support, in turn deepening the theory and method of *machizukuri*.

Reconstruction after the 2004 Chuetsu Earthquake

The Chuetsu Earthquake struck a rural mountainous area of Niigata Prefecture in October 2004. This region was already facing aging and population decline before the earthquake, and the *fukkou* (recovery) projects included collective relocation of residents away from damaged highland areas to more convenient residential areas closer to towns, along with the construction of public housing. In this case, the (+) that was included in *fukkou* can be understood as the additional convenience factor that was part of residential relocation.

Based on the experiences and lessons learned from the recovery process in Kobe, there was a focus on continuity of community in Chuetsu, called *renzoku fukkou* (connected/continuous recovery). A flexible fund was also created, called the *Chuetsu Bousai Shuishinn Kiko* (Chuetsu Disaster Mitigation Promotion Fund) which supported the creation of *Fukkou Design Centers* in the affected communities, and recovery support by intermediary organizations. Including a key role of local recovery support staff, there was detailed community-based support, along with various creative restoration projects by the recovery fund.

Recovery after the 3.11 Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami

The Great East Japan Earthquake, which struck the north east coast of Japan on March 11, 2011 was a complex mega-disaster, causing devastation across a wide are. Funding for recovery projects, under a new subsidy called *fukkou kofukin*, was made available from the national government, supporting 100% of the cost of a menu of 40 recovery projects, including collective relocation and the construction of public housing, that municipalities could chose to include in their town's recovery. Starting from early recommendations of the Reconstruction Design Council, guidelines from the national government promoted the rebuilding of affected areas in ways that would move residential areas out of hazard risk zones, using a combination of relocation to higher or more inland areas. Based on estimations of future tsunami risk, the Japanese government promoted the development of infrastructure

to significantly raise the land level, and/or protect the affected towns with the construction of massive levees.

Risk calculations resulted in a vast share of area inundated by the 2011 tsunami being designated as “hazardous,” which forbids any future construction of buildings for residential use. Through the use of Collective Relocation for Disaster Mitigation projects, along with land readjustment, the government can acquire this designated hazardous land from the former owners, and provide (for sale or for rent) new lots for residential construction in highland areas. For those residents who cannot or chose not to rebuild, they have the option of moving into public housing provided by the government. Collective relocation had been used in previous disasters, such as the 2004 Chuetsu Earthquake, but before 2011 it had only been used for smaller scale relocation of communities. After 3/11, this type of project was implemented in towns and cities all along the Tohoku coast. With the limited amount of buildable land in this rias coast region, massive modifications of the landscape, including both extreme mountain removal and piling up soils, were carried out to provide the needed residential lots.

In this case, the (+) of post-3/11 recovery is the added safety created by the large-scale relocation of communities to higher land areas. With national government mandates for this infrastructure-centric projects, municipalities could see post-3.11 reconstruction as a once-in-a-lifetime chance for the national government to fund 100% of infrastructure development. Although there were many government-led and NGO-led initiatives to support the social welfare of survivors, non-physical needs of residents and communities received much less financial support from the government compared to investment in physical infrastructure. However, the roles of the NGO sector and the involvement of young people/volunteers in the disaster area was significant, along with the *machizukuri* for an aging social. Compared to government investment, the role of independent and non-government funds was small, but the actions of NGOs functioning independently from government demonstrate an alternative *fukkou*.

Conclusions

Looking back at what was envisioned, described, and carried out in the name of *fukkou* in post-disaster recovery since the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, several themes emerge. Considering *fukkou* to equal *fukkyuu* + , each reconstruction project can be understood as introducing some additional + beyond just rebuilding (*fukkyuu*) what was destroyed. Over the course of these cases, the identity of *fukkou* as promoted and carried out by the government was firmly established as investment in infrastructure development; the + in

each case can be understood as an improvement of urban infrastructure, or as an improvement in people's lives based on infrastructure development.

The features of these cases can be seen in Figure 1.

Flexible (financial) Support	Flexible Recovery Fund (HAR, etc.)	Chuetzu Bousai Shuishinn Kiko (Chuetzu Disaster Mitigation Promotion Fund)	Role of independent funds--small
+new thing/ +better thing (non- infrastructure)	+ BETTER THING (NON-INFRA) Citizen participation	+ BETTER THING (NON-INFRA) Localized recovery support	
Actions supporting people-centered recovery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen participation in recovery planning • Creation of contemporary community design theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fukkou Support Center • Fukkou Design Center • Local recovery support staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGO sector growing, and young generation • Machizukuri for aging society • NGOs independent from public projects
Infrastructure-centric <i>fukoku</i> projects	<p>Fukkou Kai criticized <i>fukoku</i> projects, called for more attention to people's needs</p> <p>projects focus: infrastructure and land readjustment</p>	Land readjustment, public housing	Massive infrastructure, land alteration, mountain cutting; Huge/extensive levees
+new thing/ +better thing Added to	+ NEW THING Develop Tokyo as modern metropolis; build Imperial Capital	+ BETTER THING Could have good streets/parks	RETURN to strong focus on infrastructure
Rebuild what was (<i>fukkyu</i>)	Rebuild what was destroyed	Rebuild what was destroyed	
Recovery Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tokyo destroyed by fire following EQ • Imperial Capital Building Reconstruction Minister Goto was a champion of infrastructure development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kobe City (urban area) destroyed by EQ • Assume strong economy and urban growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complex/multiple disaster affecting varied/wide area • Aging/ decreasing population
	1923 Great Kanto Earthquake	1995 Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake	2011 Great East Japan Earthquake
	1945 World War II	2004 Chuetzu Earthquake	

Figure 1: *Fukoku* and the recovery process and projects in the cases

At the same time, there is also a reoccurring pattern of voices in opposition to not only the focus on infrastructure, but also the top-down government driven nature of the recovery projects. This narrative became stronger after the 1995 Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, and amplified after the 2004 Chuetsu Earthquake. Whereas there were many alternative efforts in the recovery after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, overall the reconstruction was dominated a return to a top-down government driven infrastructure development projects.

In terms of a human-centered *fukukou*, the current situation in Tohoku represents a step in the other direction, towards the massive infrastructure visions of Japanese reconstruction before and after WW2. Even at the time of Kobe's recovery in 1995, the economy was still strong and expected to grow; this is no longer the case in Japan now, and especially in the aging and depopulated areas of Tohoku, the needs of society are not address by infrastructure development. Not only within Japan, but recent Japanese overseas development assistance is promoting the idea of "building back better" by exporting not only technical expertise but also an exclusive focus on infrasturture (Kaneko, 2016). After understaning how the dominant government-driven *fukukou* closely identified with infrastructure, the next step is to develop and advance counter-narratives of human-centered *fukukou* in Japan.

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The Effect of Environmental Autobiography on Community Development

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Abstract

In this paper, I examine how Environmental Autobiography affects individual awareness and community development. The work was developed by Clare C. Marcus in early 1970s, who is UC Berkeley emeritus professor. The method makes people remind their own childhood favorite places and behaviors with relax deep breathing. Through environmental autobiography workshops, participants remember places and activities that are attached in their childhood. Favorite places and playing in childhood bring some influence and new awareness to participants. For example, young mothers regain a generous heart for their children through environmental autobiography. Because she recalls that she was enjoying risky playing indeed more than her own child when she was a child. Environmental autobiography arouses her essential freedom which has become her unconscious memory.

On the other hand, if Environmental Autobiography is conducted in a community, what is the impact on participants? There are at least two important points. First, Environmental autobiography visualizes the history of the land. This creates a common understanding of the community land history between the new residents and the old residents. Secondly, empathy and fraternity are born between old residents and new residents. Participants of the work say, "Birth place and birth year are different, but all feel like childhood friend." These two points further connect the people of the community and strengthen the relationship with the land. Although these relationships are not sufficient conditions for community development, it seems like a necessary condition, particularly when preparing future plans for the community like the local agenda 21.

Keywords: Environmental Autobiography, Place Attachment, Sense of Community

Introduction

In this thesis, we examine how *Environmental Autobiography* affects individual awareness and community development. Environmental Autobiography was developed by Clare C. Marcus in early 1970s, who is UC Berkeley emeritus professor. The method makes

people remind their own childhood favorite places and behaviors with relax deep breathing. For example, designers and planners will be able to become aware of their own place attachment and design preferences and habits by doing this work. Marcus says that with this work, designers and planners can avoid pressing unconsciously on their values to clients (Marcus, 1979). I learned this method from UC Berkeley professor Marcia McNally and the same school emeritus Professor Randy Hester in 2000. Hester performed this work with parents and teachers during kindergarten refurbishment. First of all, parents and teachers requested expensive playthings and stylish arrangements. However, through this work, they remembered that they liked muddy playing, climbing trees, taking insects in their childhood. As a result, the top priority was given to the setting of children playing in nature. They newly noticed the value of "dirty enough to be happy" (Hester, 2010).

I have done this work with young mothers with infants in a city which was selected as a model of Education for Sustainable Development in Japan (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Environmental Autobiography with mothers and her infants

Before the work, a young mother was saying the complaint that she was often so irritated by her 5 years old son's moving around roughly. Figure 2 shows a picture she drew in a work of Environmental Autobiography.



Figure 2. Environmental Autobiography of a mother who is so irritated by her kid's rough activity

Through this work, she remembered that she enjoyed more risky play than her son in her childhood. In her reflection paper, she wrote that she would like to try not to obstruct children's play as much as possible, and to watch over her son's play more warmly. In this case, Environmental Autobiography changed her mind and attitude to her children's activity and her parenting more tolerantly. These changes and new awareness also occurred among other participants. Among the participants, the circle of empathy for each play experience and the feeling there spread widened. As a part of ESD, participants started a project to connect with other young mothers and to reconsider the community from the viewpoint of child rearing.

Environmental autobiography brings people a feeling that they seem to be childhood friend to the people who met for the first time. Even if the borders or ages are different, it brings such a sense. For example, Figure 2 shows a landscape of girls playing, rubber jump, in Japan at the end of the 1970s. Meanwhile, Figure 3 shows also the landscape of girls playing, rubber jump, in Korea in 2003. Both of the figures shows a playing with her neighbors in front of a house where no cars come.



Figure 2. Japanese girl's playing, rubber jump, at the end of 1970s

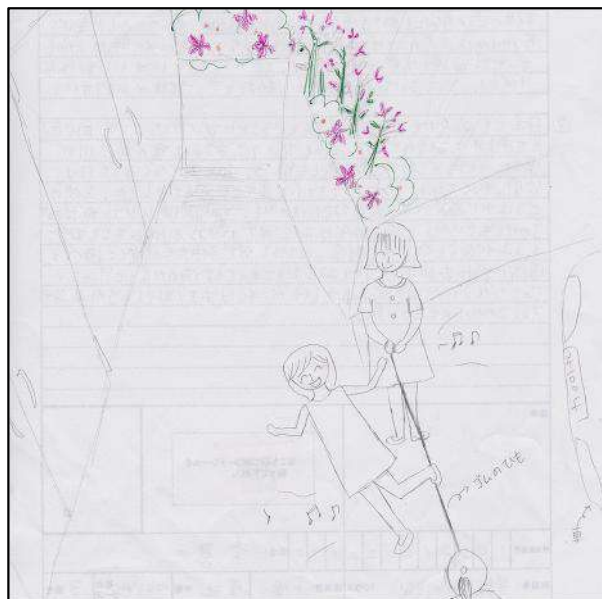


Figure 3. Korean girl's playing, rubber jump, in 2003

When Korean 20-year-old girl painted Figure 3 in the classroom of the university, I showed her Figure 2, and she said, "I felt the feeling of being approaching from the bottom of my heart for the first time in Japan." Memories of childhood drawn out by environmental autobiography may be able to connect people and people beyond borders and age. Incidentally, Figure 4 shows the same play of elementary school students in Chiang Mai, Thailand in March 2018.



Figure 4. Thailand elementary school students' playing, rubber jump, in 2018

When local agenda 21 was formulated in citizen participation in a certain area, as a coordinator, I carried out Environmental Autobiography with citizen committee members. Figure 5 shows the play of fishing in a river drawn by a 78-year old man. Figure 6 shows also the play of fishing in a stream drawn by a 21-year-old man. Figure 7 shows the fish-catching play in a irrigation canal drawn by a 58-year-old woman. Each river, stream, and irrigation canal are flowing in completely different areas and the times are totally different. But the joy of capturing living natural creatures and playing in the water is the same. After showing the pictures each other, they said, "our age, times and hometown in childhood are totally different

but it seems to be a childhood friend." As part of the local agenda 21, they developed and implemented an environmental education program on the waterside called "River School" for children.



Figure 5. Childhood memory in a river drawn by 78 year-old-man



Figure 6. Childhood memory in a irrigation drawn by 58 year-old-weman

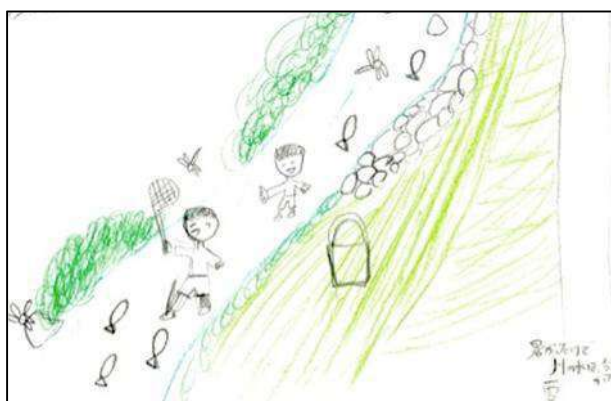


Figure 7. Childhood memory in a stream drawn by 21 year-old-man

Well I was asked by the City Hall to be a coordinator for the future vision of another

elementary school district. That elementary school district was once a countryside, and residential land development began in the mid-1960s, now it is the largest school district in the city, and it is the area where old residents and new residents live together. Some former residents live over twenty generations, but in terms of population ratio, new residents within 20 years account for 70% of all inhabitants. Regional organizations such as social welfare council and town association association existed in the school district. There are two organizations, social welfare councils and self-governing neighborhood associations as autonomous organizations of the school district. The social welfare council was established after the Second World War and has been responsible for community management by residents autonomy. The self-governing neighborhood associations are a relatively new organization formed on the occasion of the increase of new residents during the past twenty years, and the old residents were attached to that haigh position which manage the organization. The chairman is a 79-year-old man. Meanwhile, the social welfare council is an organization that can participate in various roles including the Cultural Department and can also accommodate new residents. The president of the social welfare council is an 82-year old man. The city hall wishes these two leaders to develop the future image of the region with the new residents and the former residents to implement good activities for sustainable community. And the city dispatched me to the school district as a coordinator of the creating vision in the future in which residents can actually develop and implement activities by themselves.

At the first meeting at the community, I felt that the relationship between the two leaders was jerky. It seemed that the 78 - year - old leader was against the 82 - year - old leader. When I suggested the implementation of environmental autobiography, the 82-year-old leader agreed a lot, but the 78-year-old leader said, "Why should we do something like such a kindergarten?" He spoke. I replied brightly to him, "Please return to the kindergarten child and draw a good place in this area, well played place in your childhood!" In this way the community decided to do environmental autobiography work as the first step of whole process for making the local future vision in which both the former residents and the new residents will cooperate to develop a sustainable community.

Results

What happened with environmental autobiography work in the community? About 50 people gathered in the workshop. About 40 people are older people who are old residents and serve as officials of social welfare council and self-governing association. About 40 people are older people who are old residents and serve as officials of social welfare council and self-governing association. Still, relatively young mothers and fathers of new residents who took elementary school students also participated for about 10 people.

Figures 8, 9, and 10 show the scene of environmental autobiography workshop in which old residents and new residents, men and women of all ages participated.



Figure 8. In the workshop, old residents and new residents, men and women of all ages participated.



Figure 9. A 76 - year - old woman who was born and raised here talks happily about the childhood play and favotrite place.



Figure 10. The 1st grade daughter of young mother of the new residents enjoys to talk about her favorite place and playing to old residents.

The new residents enjoyed listening to what the area was like in the past and enjoying listening to what the old residents were playing in their childhood. Meanwhile, the old residents also enjoyed listening to what the young new residents were playing in their childhood. All the participants said, “Even if the generation is different, even if the place of birth is different, everyone who interacted here seems to be childhood friend.”

Well, from the environmental autobiography drawn by the former residents, we can deeply understand that the area was a village with extensive paddy fields. Figure 11 simply represents the scene of playing hide and seek with can kick. However, if we look closely we will see that cows are drawn next to the house (Figure 12.). Before the development of residential land development, until the end of the 1950s one cow was kept in each house, the cow was engaged in agricultural work. A 79 - year - old farmer 's man enjoyed going to the creek and wash his cow' s ass after school as his job. In farmers before 1950 years, children also engaged in agricultural work, which also proved to be one of play for them.



Figure 11. This picture represents the scene of playing hide and seek with can kick.



Figure 12. Until the end of the 1950s, the area was rural and each house had one cow.



Figure 13. A 79 year old man of old resident liked going to the small river to wash the cow's butt when he was 12 years old after school.

From the environmental autobiography sketches drawn by the old residents, we can also see that many small streams used to be flowing in this area. A small stream in front of the shrine was a popular playground for the children, which is changed to concrete culvert (Figure 12&13).



Figure 12. The small stream in front of the shrine that has been lost now. Both boys and girls liked playing in the river and catching fish, frog and dragonfly larvae.

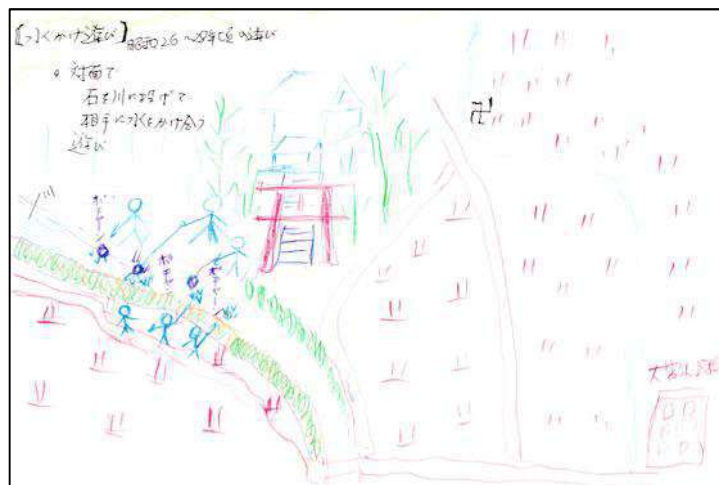


Figure 13. The mischievous boys of around 8 years old liked playing stone throwing battle across the small river in front of the shurine. Instead of throwing the stone directly against the opponent, once kids hit the surface of the water, let the stone fly to the other side.

However, the biggest and most popular playground for children who grew somewhat was a relatively larger river flowing through the eastern end of the area (Figure 14). Today, most primary schools have pools, but in this area the school had no pool until the mid of 1960s. Figure 15 depicted by a 72-year-old woman shows that the river was used as a pool at the time of elementary school physical education in summer. Figure 16 depicted by a 78 year old man shows the memories that he played with the river at the age of eight. There were few enough deep places to enjoy swimming and he said that older boys of 12 years old always fought hardly with the children across the river to get good place. Figure 17 drawn by a 82 year old man shows that hard battle!



Figure 14. A relatively larger river flowing through the eastern end of the area



Figure 15. A river as a swimming pool in P.E.

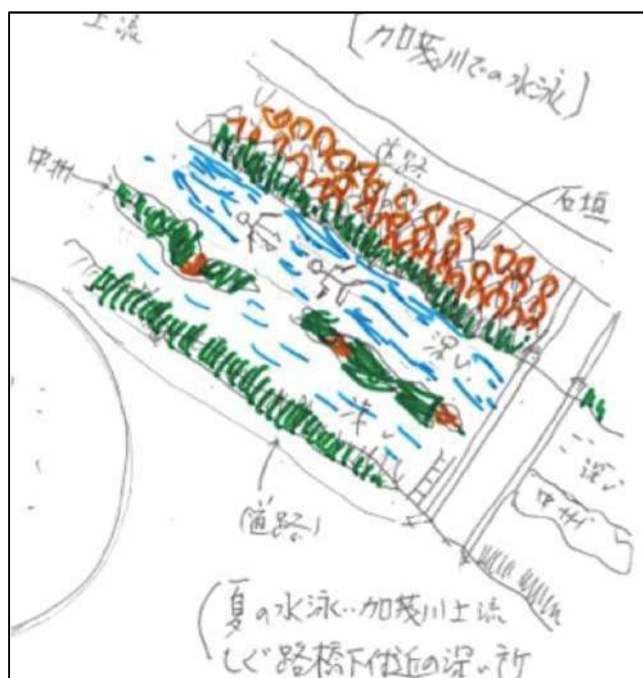


Figure 16. A very rare good and deep swimming place



Figure 17. The older boys of around 12 years old did stone throwing battle across the river river to get good enough deep place to swim for other kids. Instead of throwing the stone directly against the opponent, once kids hit the surface of the water, let the stone fly to the other side.

Let's get into conclusion in this story. In the previous part, I wrote that the relationship between the 82 - year - old leader and the 78 - year - old leader is not good. Especially the 78-year-old leader has a rivalry mind against the other, he was not very supportive of the project of making future vision of the community the 82-year old leader was trying to move forward. Regarding the workshop of Environmental Autobiography that I suggested, he resisted, "I can not mimic children of such a kindergarten." However, he eventually drew two pictures of Environmental Autobiography at a time. These are Figures 13 and 16. He excitedly seemed so enjoyably and introduced figures 13 and 16. He got excited and enjoyably and eagerly introduced figures 13 and 16. After this work he became cooperative with this project and gently respected the leader of 82 years old. And the drawing drawn by the 82 year old leader is Figure 17. What happened to him? Why has he changed? When he explained Figure 16, "My older friend who took a good place was my hero." Figure 13 shows that he longed for older friends and imitated the same play. Figure 17 shows the appearance of his hero. And it is the leader of 82 years old who draw Figure 17. Through work of environmental autobiography, the 78 - year - old leader remembered that the 82 - year - old leader was his hero.

Conclusions

I examined how Environmental Autobiography affects individual awareness and community development. Through environmental autobiography workshops, participants remember places and activities that are attached in their childhood. Favorite places and playing in childhood bring some influence and new awareness to participants. For example, young mothers regain a generous heart for their children through environmental autobiography. Because she recalls that she was enjoying risky playing indeed more than her own child when she was a child. Environmental autobiography arouses her essential freedom which has become her unconscious memory.

On the other hand, if Environmental Autobiography is conducted in a community, what is the impact on participants? There are at least two important points. First, Environmental autobiography visualizes the history of the land. This creates a common understanding of the community land history between the new residents and the old residents. Secondly, empathy and fraternity are born between old residents and new residents. Participants of the work say, "Birth place and birth year are different, but all feel like childhood friend." These two points further connect the people of the community and strengthen the relationship with the land.

Although these relationships are not sufficient conditions for community development, it seems like a necessary condition, particularly when preparing future plans for the community like the local agenda 21.

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Japanese community design in the age of population decrease

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Abstract

In Japan, the age of “population decrease” began in 2006. We need to devise a method of urbanism to help shrinking cities adapt to this phenomenon in a smart way. Since cities never shrink systematically, abandoned buildings and land will appear at random in suburban areas; and random patterns of high-density and low-density areas will be visible. The suburban areas will shrink like a “sponge.” This situation was named “urban spongification” or “to become porous” in Japan. To maintain or increase the value of neighborhoods in “porous cities,” instead of planning and controlling to realize an ideal “compact city” with definite boundaries between high-density city areas, agriculture farmlands, forests, and so on, Japanese urbanism should facilitate designing of small units of land and abandoned buildings that will gradually appear in a random fashion. Replication of small projects will guide smart shrink. To utilize abandoned land and buildings, several community design projects were started in Japan. In this paper, I will discuss the theory of urbanism or community design in the “age of population decrease,” using a case study focusing on two projects utilizing abandoned houses in Tokyo suburbs.

Keywords: Population decrease, Porous city, Abandoned building, Community design

Introduction; Japan in a Period of Population Decrease

Japan entered a period of population decrease in 2006. The Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MILT), in its “Grand Design of National Spatial Development towards 2050” (July 2014), advocated for the “Networked compact city” as an image of the city of the future in the age of population decrease. Making a compact city means shrinking the size of urban area, and networking means strengthening the public transportation infrastructure. The idea is to restructure urban spaces by combining the two.

Compact cities are not a new concept. Policies that attempted to curb the expansion of cities have been tried several times, but have not functioned adequately, and the unregulated expansion of urban area and the hollowing out of central urban districts has progressed. Based on a rethinking of this, compact cities are being championed for the period of population decrease. In Japan much of the authority over urban planning is decentralized down to the municipal level, which is the municipality. Therefore, this calls into question what kind of

realistic vision of future cities the municipality plan, and how they put together feasible urban plans based on the images of the future cities advocated by MILT.

Historically, Japan's population stood at 30 million at the latter half of the Edo Period, which extended from 1600 to 1868. The Japanese population immediately before the beginning of population decrease was 130 million, so a simple calculation would show that over a period of 150 years urban space was created accommodating 100 million Japanese people. If urban space expands naturally in proportion to population increase, no significant problems occur and there is no need for urban planning. However, Japan went through a situation of "overpopulation," when there was insufficient urban space in relation to the increase in population during the urban growth process. Overpopulation is the cause of a variety of urban problems, including epidemics and disasters, so Japanese urban planners put together measures to prevent overpopulation from becoming too apparent. Based the result that no slums remain anywhere in Japanese cities today, one could say that Japanese urban planning during the period of growth of cities has been a success.

In other words, as shown in Figure 1, Japanese cities went from small population and small urban space [State A] to large population and small urban space [overpopulation] [State B] to large population and large urban space [State C]. Forward from now, Japanese cities might go from [State C] to [State A] along with the decrease in population. There will be a change from large populations living in large cities to small populations living in small cities. In that process, if urban space contracts naturally in proportion to population decrease, no significant problems would be created and there would be no need for urban planning. However, if in that process population decreases first and the urban space remains large, there is concern that cities might go through [State D] "depopulation." The role of urban planning in a period of population decrease is to make "depopulation" less apparent; in other words, to restructure cities to adapt to population decrease.

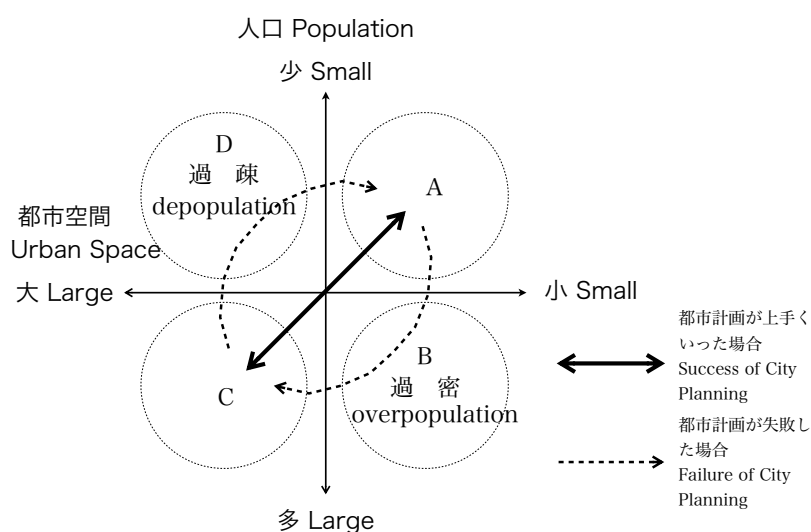


Figure 1. Four state of urbanization

The purpose of this report is to describe how Japanese urban spaces will change as Japan enters the period of population decrease, and to report on urban planning methods and practices.

Changes to the urban space in the period of population decrease

After the end of World War II, Japanese cities expanded by whittling away at the farmland around urban area. The owners of the farmland were farm families. In Japan, land ownership rights are strong, and the decisions of the person who owns the land are absolute. The government cannot fully control them, so the decisions by each and every farm family changed the farmland into cities individually. Farmland was divided into small lots here and there and sold. People built houses on the lots. This was an unregulated movement called sprawl, but each building was created in good compliance with the Building Standard Law, which regulated building architecture, so no slums were created. Urban area with comparatively good environments were formed.

The same mechanism works during a period when a city is shrinking. When we hear that a city is shrinking, we get an image of the city shrinking from the outer edges like a balloon deflating (Figure 2, left), but Japanese cities do not shrink this way (Figure 2, right). During the period of urban expansion, the land in the city was divided into small lots, and each lot is owned by an individual. Each piece of land has an owner who has the strong right to make decisions about each piece of land. Small pieces of land turn into abandoned buildings and vacant lots in a piecemeal way here and there, because the owners decide what to do with their land according to their own family and work circumstances. In other words, even though the population is decreasing, it is not as though the city is shrinking from the outer edges towards the center and realizing a compact city.

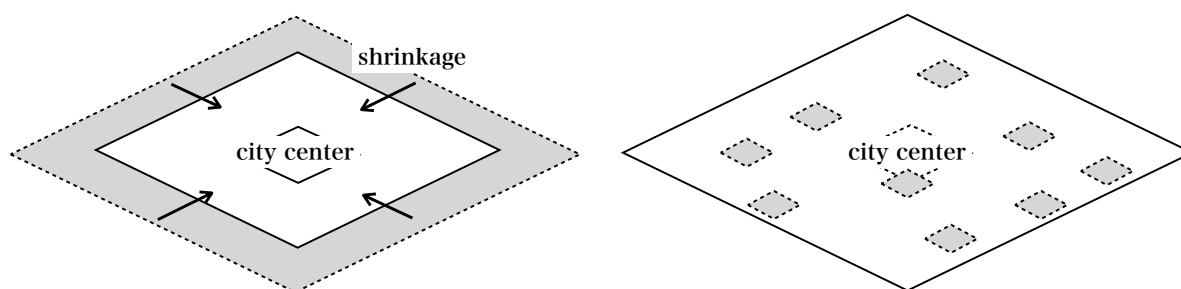


Figure 2. Form of Shrinking city

This phenomenon is called “urban spongification” in Japan. Urban spongification is defined as "The phenomenon inside cities by which underutilized spaces such as abandoned buildings and vacant land occur randomly in time and space in small lot units and in considerable quantities." The term "spongification (*suponji-ka*)" is a Japanese word constructed from the

English word "sponge." In English, the term "to become porous" probably conveys the meaning, so I will use the word "porous" below in this paper.

The porousness of cities is a phenomenon attributable to the system of private land ownership. Unless the land ownership system is fundamentally overhauled, we cannot escape from this phenomenon. Although porousness can only have negative effects if, for example, you want to have a compact city in five years, it is not all bad as long as such far-fetched plans are not set as one's goals. It is very hard for the entire city to change suddenly in order to make the finely-subdivided land change into something different. It is also hard for a city to suddenly slim down in step with a decrease in population. Also, individuals have the right to decide what happens to their land, so it is not possible to easily change abandoned buildings or vacant land unless individuals feel up to it. If we want to make wide-ranging changes to a city, such as large-scale redevelopment projects, building consensus takes a lot of time and money, but it is easy to make small changes. The characteristic of this type of urban porousness is what the author calls "a city that softly yields to change in parts, but stubbornly refuses to change as a whole." What kind of urban planning is possible in this "yielding and stubborn city"?

Urban planning in a porous city

Let's show the images of two urban structures, the compact city championed by MILT and the yielding and stubborn city (Figure 3). It can be said that the compact city is an urban plan that takes the idealistic position. Meanwhile another "realistic" position exists that undertakes urban planning in combination with porous urban structures. Urban planning that is too idealistic will fail, and it is also not good to get carried away with realism. What does urban planning that stands between idealism and realism look like?

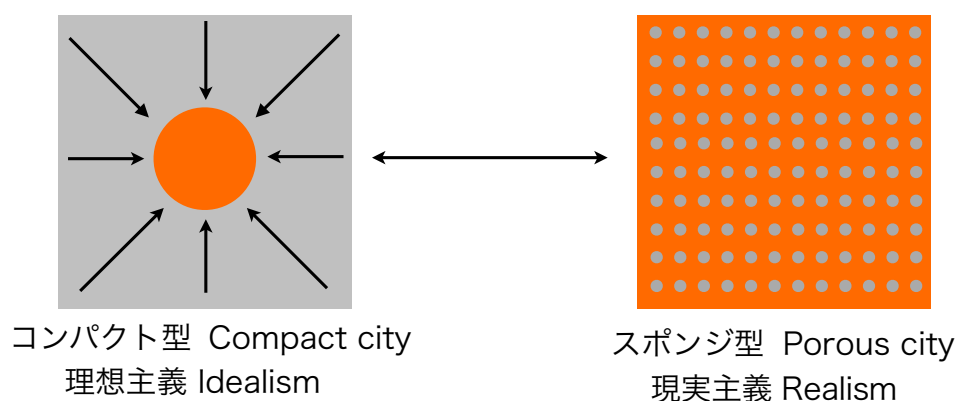


Figure 3. Idealism and Realism of Shrinking city

MILT has started a new planning system called the "Location Optimization Plan" to realize compact cities. It specifies areas in cities where urban functions are to be concentrated, and specifies areas around these for concentrating housing. It is a planning system that attempts to

realize a compact city by concentrating urban functions and housing over a long period of time in these two areas. However, this planning system is too idealistic, and there are doubts about its effectiveness for porous cities. Here, this paper takes a look at some community design projects that are not part of government initiatives, that have been put into practice to make use of abandoned buildings in order to fill small pores that appear in porous cities.

In Japan, where private property rights over land are strong, many people will just not let go of houses they are no longer using, and sometimes abandoned buildings are abandoned for a long time. Many abandoned buildings appear in the period of population decrease, and they have drawn attention to the porousness of cities. Abandoned and abandoned buildings lower the property values in the surrounding city, but on the other hand the possibility exists that if only the owner's consent could be obtained, the abandoned building could be utilized at low cost by local government organizations or non-profit organizations. Starting from the decade that began in 2010, community design projects in which regional government organizations and NPOs utilize abandoned buildings and vacant land have begun to flourish. I will report on the examples of two community design projects utilizing abandoned buildings in housing areas in the suburbs of Tokyo.

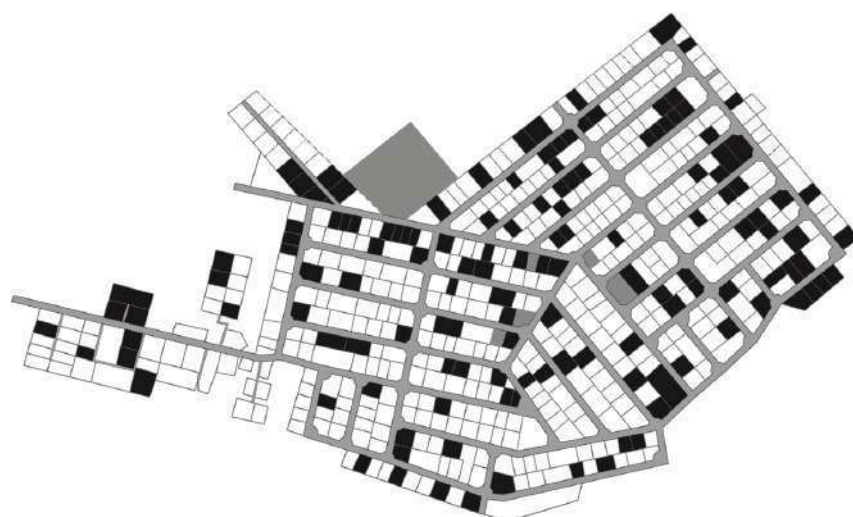


Figure 4. Abandoned lots in Tokyo suburb

Community design utilizing an abandoned building

(1) Yabology

Yabology, the first example, is a project that renovated an abandoned building in the Tokyo suburban area as a community hub. The catalyst was that an architect who was active in the community and an NPO engaged in reclaiming urban farmland discovered the abandoned building, and wondered if they could use it as a hub for their activities. We looked for the owner of the abandoned building, and our project began with creating a utilization proposal to give to the owner. The owner's family had owned the land continuously since the Edo Period, and the owner had been born and raised there, but because of his work he lived far away, so

the house was empty. The members of the NPO, students and acquaintances of members got involved in the proposal creation process, and held a workshop to consider how to use this abandoned building. The workshop uncovered people who wanted to use the abandoned building, and it also put effort into forming a network of human relationships to utilize the abandoned building. After several workshops, they created a mixed-use proposal for a community restaurant and shared office space, etc.

We leased the building on a limited-time basis, having obtained from the owner the terms that we had free use of the building for five years if we would only pay the fixed asset tax and be responsible for the maintenance costs. We created a business plan that would enable us to recoup the cost of the renovations and the fixed asset tax by the rent from the shared house, shared office and community restaurant. Yabology was run as a nonprofit with income and expenses for the five years of approximately 10 million yen respectively. The architect moved in and took the role of manager.

Since opening in 2011, the restaurant has grown to become a popular eating place, and the shared office is always fully booked. Along with these uses, small events such as garden parties and small seminars held in the restaurant take place on a one-time or ongoing basis. The vacant house has been reborn as a lively community hub.



Figure 5. Yabology

(2) The Hodokubo project

The second example, the Hodokubo project, was a project that demolished an abandoned building in a suburban area of Tokyo and created a small public square. The catalyst was that my university department had been looking for a suitable location for our research on community design using abandoned buildings, and we were introduced to M district by the local government. M district had been developed in around 1960 by reclaiming the slope of a

hilly area. It was becoming older overall, and the number of abandoned buildings had started becoming noticeable. After approaching the residents' association of M district and holding workshops, we started an initiative regarding Abandoned building S within the M district.

Abandoned building S was a wooden apartment building that had been built for single occupancy apartments, but there were no occupants and it was vacant. The local government researched abandoned buildings inside the city, and asked the owners about how they intended to utilize the properties. The owner of Abandoned building S answered affirmatively to the survey statement "I am interested in utilization of abandoned buildings by residents' association."

It was also clear that M district doesn't have a public square for residents to gather. The residents' association contacted the owner via the local government and negotiated with him, saying that they wanted to demolish the abandoned building and build a public square on the vacant lot. The terms were that the city would rent the vacant lot of the abandoned building for free, in exchange for a tax exemption for the owner, and the residents' association would set up the square and use the lot. The reaction from the owner was positive, so the abandoned building was demolished and in its place a public square was built. Since there was no budget for building the public square, the public administration provided the necessary materials, and volunteers from the residents' association built the benches, flowerbeds and vegetable gardens themselves. An organization was established to manage the public square. In addition to having the vegetable garden and the flower beds, small regional events are held there, and it functions as a regional public hub.



Figure 6. Hodokubo project

Conclusions; What kind of cities will be realized?

These two projects are examples of initiatives that have utilized small pores that appear in many porous cities. By developing cooperative relationships between NPOs and government

organizations, each had the common element of achieving their objectives in short time frames of approximately one year. They represent well the characteristics of porous cities, namely that they “yield to change in parts.” Also, these two initiatives are small in scale but improved the urban space. Yabology opened the space of the abandoned building to the outside. And along with improving the surrounding housing environment it had another effect. Young creators who were attracted to Yabology began to move into the surrounding abandoned buildings. The Hodokubo project activated the human relationships among the citizens of an aging region, and the atmosphere of the side street with the open space became decidedly livelier.

Let's try positioning the significance of initiatives to utilize small pores, within urban planning in the period of population decrease.

The figure shows government initiatives and community design initiatives in porous cities. Stage 1 shows what it looks like when space in cities becomes porous. Then Stage 2 shows when the government creates an initiative to form hubs (large circle in the middle) and initiatives for community design using small pores. If these succeed, utilization of the small pores surrounding it, namely abandoned buildings and vacant land, progresses. This is Stage 3. At first glance, this figure resembles the structure of the compact city, but these are not only hubs formed under government direction. Community design is creating the core of many of these hubs. In this way, a variety of community designs using small pores make their appearance. These and the government initiatives mutually influence each other, and thus abundant urban space is reorganized. Isn't this the way urban planning should work in a period of population decrease?

For porous cities, the role of urban planning is not to make cities compact through idealistic visions and mathematical models. Its role is to embed projects that will improve the environments of cities into the pores that occur randomly, at a slow pace and in small units, and to build up more and more of these projects.

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Living With/in the Differences

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Abstract

Public space, as it has demonstrated in the long-lasting urban debate and the recently published New Urban Agenda, seen as an essential element that could evoke civic participation to revitalise the deteriorating fragmented space, upgrade unprivileged urban, enhance quality of life, foster socio-cultural interaction and social cohesion. However, the tendency of simplification and homogenisation of public space not only risk to lose its heterogeneous and dynamic nature but also miss the possibility to sprint out of and resonate with the local particularity. This paper sets the focus on the particular encounter of public spaces in urban difference to trace the process of development, adaptation, enactment and creation of ‘difference’ shape and shaped by ‘public spaces’. The empirical ground prioritises Dharavi, a ‘world-class slum’ located at the heart of Mumbai for its thick history, outstanding socio-spatial and cultural heterogeneity and the distinguish capacity of making. Through the examination of bottom-up spatial knowledge revealed from the lived experience of ‘community’ and ‘youth’ in Dharavi, the paper seeks to investigate the origins and novelty that public space may bring to the civic urbanism: 1) discussion the methodology of inquiring; 2) implication for theoretical and practical contribution.

Keywords: Public space, slum, Dharavi, urban difference, multicultural

1 Introduction

The 'city' now needs to be considered as a set of spaces where diverse ranges of relational webs coalesce, interconnect and fragment. The contemporary city is a variegated and multiplex entity – a juxtaposition of contradictions and diversities, the theatre of life itself... (Amin & Graham, 1997, p. 418)

Acknowledging the city's multiplex, Amin and Graham claim that it is the interplay of the 'difference' deployed in hybrid 'shared spaces' that offers the potential sources of innovations and creativity for economic renewal, social cohesion and civic democratisation beyond the spatial and social barriers. (Amin & Graham, 1997, p. 422) Amin and Graham's idea sheds light on the departure hypothesis of this paper. The shared spaces (public spaces) are vital in constructing the web of relational and evolving differences, an alternative build-up of the city's multiplex than the official categorisation.

Essentially, public spaces are vital because they are the spatial manifestation shape and shaped by social relations in each of every human society. The long history of interdisciplinary scholars' and practitioners' engagements on various sub-issues of urban public space and the urban collective life see public spaces as the indicator to evaluate the prosperity of the cities. It is also believed to be the recipe to revitalise the deteriorating urban segregation and lost the civic life. Moreover, recently, a possible solution for improving the social cohesion challenged by the rising radicalisation of the global north. (Gehl, 2011; Jacobs, 1961; Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2009; Whyte, 1947) Albeit, in the global south, public spaces have also been the primary focus of the New Urban Agenda to upgrade the physical environment, incubate social participation and other Sustainable Development Goals. (Andersson, 2016; Blanco & Kobayashi, 2009; Habitat, 2013; Varley, 2013) The local authority sees the form of giant plazas, parks, boulevards with planted sidewalks, and even shopping malls as parts of the development goal. With these modern equipment's, poverty and citizen's well-being and conviviality could catch up the 'world-class' level. Such political and capital gestation of public space projects is brutal and seems to forget about the existing and original forms.

Although many attempts have been made to sort the public spaces, the notable difficulty is their elaborate and contested nature across geographies. After critically reviewed the vast body of literature on contemporary public spaces, Carmona (2010b) has concluded two camps – the camp of under-management and the camp of over-management. He draws on the fact that even such straightforward dichotomy may, in the end, lead to the same homogenization of contemporary public space. The two camps face the failure to capture the changing functions, perception and ownership due to 1) the misunderstood communication between different social groups on the ground. 2) New forms of public spaces in capitalism are designed and created only for those who could afford to consume. (Carmona, 2010a)

I agree with Carmona's idea to develop an alternative understanding of public space that accounts the design, socio-cultural and political-economy perspectives. However, over-emphasising 'public space' itself might lose its broader roles played in the multiplex urban environment, highlighted at the beginning of this paper. The literature above unpacks the ontological question: **"How to develop a more inclusive account of public spaces and its role played in the city, that encompass the different origins, linkages and the process of change?"** This paper echoes to Massey (2015)'s consistently promotion that space is international, multiplicity and under construction. I focus on **the particular encounter of public spaces in urban difference and change**. Through the examination of the process of development, adaptation and enactment of the 'difference' shape and shaped by 'public spaces', it seeks to investigate the formation the urban multiplex through space to reveal the socio-political account of multiculturalism in the city.

Therefore, the empirical ground is anchored in the urban neighbourhoods that have been long-time considered as bounded 'spaces of exception' (i.e. slum, informal settlement, camp, ghetto, enclave, urban villages)(Agier, 2011, 2012, 2016) They are the representative and unwanted difference of the urban. They are also milieu always in the making driven by the status of displacement(Heynen, 2013; Heynen & Loeckx, 1998) and evolve to the various forms of 'encampment'(Agier, 2012). Similarly, Nijman (2010) called for a new way of 'seeing' slums and urbanity altogether through re-exam the relevance or irrelevance of the voluntary and forced 'segregation'. There is no better way to look at the old settlement emerged from different roots to gain the potential implication from their transformation and production in relation to the city.(Agier, 2012, p. 284) Therefore, I prioritise Dharavi, a 'world-class slum' located at the heart of Mumbai for its thick history, outstanding socio-spatial and cultural heterogeneity and the distinguish capacity of making within the differences.

This paper is structured in five parts. Following the introduction, the second part begins with an overview of the literature of the public space in relation to the difference that appeared in different temporality and geography. The third and fourth part consists of empirical and analytical engagement on public spaces indicated by the local communities as well as by the youth from Dharavi. Consequently, the co-produced spatial knowledge attempt to reveal how does the production of public spaces shapes the strategies of living with/in the difference. In close, the theoretical and empirical reading offers an alternative angle to understand the transformation of the slum-like settlement, historically and contemporary, are the transform of the publicness and spaces with newly generate inter-scale networks and shifting identities in our city. By doing so, I seek to contribute to the cosmopolitan construction of the city as the engine of civic urbanism.

2 In the difference and in the change

Understanding Urban difference needs to associate with the temporality. The ‘performative school’ (Sennett, 2008) of the public realm underlines the cultural aspect of how an individual expresses the self to the ‘world of strangers’ (Lofland, 1985) at a given moment. One may have three basic patterns of behaviours in the space full of strangers: 1) look for the commonality in the meantime distinguish the others; 2) interact with the difference; or, 3) be indifference. These behaviours, performed at the ‘stage’ or a ‘theatre’ (Lofland, 1989, p. 463) such as square, major street, theatres, community centre, cafes and so on situating at the centre of a community where the order is defined. Alternatively, at the borders where the orders are constantly challenged and in the making through intercultural exchange among differences (Iossifova, 2015; Sennett, 2008). However, being in the difference could be long-lasting, the difference is ultimately wide-ranged. Then, recognising one’s ‘foreigner’ status to urban milieu, laws and its dominant culture (Agier, 2012), the following literature review inquires some operations of the strategies as well as the newly generated socio-spatial form.

2.1 Forming the commonality among the difference

The socio-spatial configuration in the earlier industrial era was understood through the ecological sorting of difference that produced ‘natural areas’ in the city. (Robert Ezra Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1968) The geographical location, enclosure, and the emerged spontaneous neighbourhood organization were the determining factors of the local racial community, which guarantees the intimacy and solidarity at the local level. (Robert E Park, 1915) Therefore, Thus, public spaces under the form of school, church, temple, hall, coffee house, clubs, lodges, gathering place, business enterprise appeared in the center were produced by the various community institution. (Robert E Park, 1924)

Such organisation represents the new possibilities of forming a community as the evolved rural version, as the new technology of communication and mobility have enlarged man's possibility and connection to 1) open up new kind of associations that across the different geographical contiguous. (Robert Ezra Park et al., 1968, pp. 40-41); 2) seeking of more formal control of the public options and law. (Burgess, 1925) Albeit calling for more relational understandings of the ethnical enclave and their centres with the city and the city life (Robert Ezra Park et al., 1968, pp. 121-122; 154), they celebrated and prioritised the immigrants' self-embrace strategy. The doubt was whether the community consciousness, co-operative actions can be developed in the social mixture geographical contiguous. (Robert E Park, 1924)

2.2 Interacting with the difference

Partha Chatterjee reflection of ‘political society’ rooted in the urban margins and their ability

to negotiate the subjunctive right within the ascribed affiliation (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 232). He argues that the use of ethnicity, caste, religious, race and tribe to identifier 4635 communities in India remain the technologies of governance as a colonial legacy, and meanwhile, the attempt of the post-colonial national government's to build up an alternative, original modernity. (Chatterjee, 1993, 1998, 2004) The Non-western community on the ground should be contextually defined with fuzziness boundaries without exhaust all the layers of a member's selfhood. (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 223)

Chatterjee's story of Kolkata's 40 years old squat settlement might look similar as Park and Burgess's ghetto at first glance. The welfare association, several communal spaces (Office, library, medical centre), and common events are the concrete forms of how the squat community operates. However, It is the common survival needs and the spatial contiguity within the territorial limit that initially formed the community which straddles the official categories of population, geography and kinship. (Chatterjee, 1998, p. 281; 2004, p. 58) Through the community body, squatters have set up a large array of the external network facilitated by the social-economic exchange and political negotiation. Although being informal and uncertain, the body and these central spaces enable the demand for basic rights and enactive the collective position in the urban political society network. How the '**new political society in the non-west world**' have "*wedded the imaginative power of the traditional rhetoric (kinship, love, austerity, sacrifice) into the modern emancipatory rhetoric of autonomy and equal rights*" is the most significant part of the survival strategies. (Chatterjee, 1998, p. 282)

2.3 Swing between difference and indifference

Switching the terrain from the post-colonial India to Post-colonial Africa, Simone (2001) illustrates the rise of associational life characterises by the ephemeral, self-managed social formation and their shallow territory as the survival strategies to facing the everyday uncertainty.

"African societies tend to combine and intermixing of heavily calcified social structures, networks of personal relations assuming varying but substantial roles in the elaboration of politics and accumulation, and highly mobile, varying relations among these structures and networks which are usually difficult to pin-down and specify." (Simone, 2001, p. 103)

Opposite to the loyalty appears in Chatterjee's narrative, the non-commitment and open attitude contribute to the maintenance of the social cohesion. Emerged from the everyday practices of tolerant and indifference differences— the development of multi-membership and the excises of when to shift to which membership facilitate access to the economic

opportunities. Simone underlines that the 'imagination of belonging', 'rootless' of space, and the 'indifference' (Simone, 2001, p. 113) helped one to navigate with difference to be able to reduce the conflicts, enhance the position in negotiation, balanced the cohesion but access to the opportunities, and finally achieve the divergence yet interconnected needs.

2.4 Entangle strategies and new forms of difference

Agier's work of the worldwide phenomenon of voluntary or forced "encampment" (slum, refugee camp, informal settlement, etc.) across Europe, Africa, and Asia is notable and inspiring (Agier, 2011, 2012, 2016). He argues that the matter to understanding the formation of the new spaces need for de-centring and embraces a relational imagination on transformation within the disorder. (Agier, 2012, p. 273; 287) In a sense that the precarious shelters would be transformed into a town (Agier, 2012, p. 272), the anthropological place is formed within the original empty world of the off-place, and the new contour of identity is born and transformed within the camp's space, appears against one another or mix together, serving as the multiple forms (social-cultural life) of expression. It is a process of confinement that is driven by the differences, living with the difference, and forming the difference. Reverse to Simone's emphasise on 'body', Agier outlines that territorial and social consolidation has numerous consequences for the occupants. *"It is within the camp's space that transformed, come up against or even mix; it is there the ethnopolitical forces may come into being with new contours of identity and multiple forms of expression."* (Agier, 2012, p. 284)

Transformed on certain levels, as many of the camps written by Agier have achieved, the spaces are integrated into the urban fabrics, and the distinction between the initial foreigners and the city dwellers are entirely blurred. However, class and ethnicity still construct the prevalence of urban boundaries (like in Park and Burgess's analysis). Policy tends to promote cohesion among the politically defined community (like Chatterjee's critics) as the foundation of positive multicultural engagement. (Amin, 2002, p. 971) However, does spatial expression of local is only on territorial belonging of residence in the officially defined community and the single public space? Hall shows vivid examples of the habitual participation and informal membership at several mundane spaces located at a multi-ethnic street in London, allow an individual to navigate within and across the territories of the city. (Hall, 2012, p. 238) The ordinary cosmopolitanism is deployed on the mundane spaces as a network of accumulated micro-publics, then, enable living amongst and recognition of difference without convergence to sameness anchored in the cohesion of community and belonging. (Hall, 2012, p. 108)

Drawing upon the aforementioned authors' rich empirical and theoretical engagements, it becomes apparent that the basic strategies are calculated, entangled, and transformed. The

community is heterogeneous, mobile and contextually defined. Spatial perspective is implicit or even missing. Despite the ultimately diverse forms and functions of (public) spaces within the abovementioned narratives, space seems to be the passive and receiving side of its social groups, political position and local milieu. Nevertheless, the cases also shed light on several potential roles that public spaces are playing in dealing with differences:

- a) Public spaces produce a stable order to form and consolidate the community.
- b) They could often open up and evolve as the node to extend external network for the particular community.
- c) Public spaces invite differences and accommodate chaos to stimulate changes.
- d) In the long run, the various layers of new relations are likely to emerge on public spaces.
- e) Every public space can be positioned into a more extensive network.
- f) Through the regular participation of the prosaic space, one could gradually build the new form of associations and alternative communities thus transform the non-conventional public into the new type of public space.

The question is when and where to enact which role and for what kind of purpose. Time and space are two important lines for the inquiry and implications drawn from the process of decision-making, implementation and change.

3: Reading the geography of difference

3.1 Formatting the difference

*“Through our educational walking tours, visitors experience a wide range of these business activities. We will also visit the residential areas of Dharavi. People from all over India have come to live in Dharavi, making it a microcosm of India. **This diversity is apparent in the temples, mosques, churches and pagodas that stand side by side.** Our three community centres that are funded through the profits from the tours are also located in the residential area...”*

(A quote from a famous slum tour company's writing about Dharavi tour, 2018.)

What would attract people from all over the world to visit a slum? The boosting Dharavi tour anchors the answer to its socio-economic multiplex and the dynamics that contrast to the canons of slum. The organiser has targeted these side-by-side public spaces as the fascinating story to provoke the diversity. Despite the ethical question, slum tour is a very particular gestation of inviting the difference (the national and international tourists) to experience the difference. It is one of the elements that made Dharavi unique among other slums where the majority of Mumbai's population lives.

Flipping through various other stickers on Dharavi can quickly catch up its thick history. Known as a pre-industrial fish village, a peripheral village with factories and labour concentration in the 19th and early half of the 20 centuries, an officially classified slum at 1971, a place of riot social crash at the beginning of the 1990s, and finally, a terrain of redevelopment focus. ("Bombay government gazette," 1831; Roma Chatterji & Mehta, 2007; Desai, 1988; Saglio-Yatzimirsky, 2013; Sciences, 1945; Sharma, 2000) During the 150 years, several rounds of migratory waves contributed to the social heterogeneity and the intensifying and verticalizing of the built environment. The high level of socio-spatial concentration produced community patterns regarding the caste, language, religion, and professions, and became the foundation of policy intervention and design strategies. (R. Chatterji, 2005; Engqvist, Lantz, & Arts, 2009; Patel et al., 2010; Urban Design Research, 2017)

Public spaces have been long seen as veritably lack in Mumbai. Therefore, the redevelopment plan for slums tries to tackle the issue with the idea that the increased Floor Space Index (FSI) to allow more open spaces and parks. At the city level, to be more "competitive, inclusive, and sustainable," (See: Mumbai Vision 2034), the open space in the city became one of the prioritised targets for the planning. However, Charles Correa underlines that sizeable chunks of "public spaces" labelled in governmental maps and reports actually may have little to do with the daily needs of the majority of urban residents (As cited by Miao, 2001, p. 21) The contrast also appears on the ground, "*Designated public space is virtually non-existent, but the spirit of the public infuses every nook and corner.*" (Echanove & Srivastava, 2011)

3.2 Co-produced spatial knowledge as a method

How to approach the public space in such dynamics complex and chaos? Table 1 shows the first attempt of classifying Dharavi's public space underlining the spatial characteristics such as scales, forms and functions.

Table 1. An attempt to classifier Dharavi's public spaces

	Linear space/wide/function	Individual quadrangle	Adjacent open space
Scale 1	Passage (1m), Residence	Yard, Patio	Otla, Wash place, Paar, Stage, Religious objects, Well,
Scale 2	Alley (1-3m), Residence, Residence +Commercial	Yard, Patio, Compound, Ghat, Market, Community Hall/NGO, Church, Mosque, Temple	Klin, Industry courtyard

Scale 3	Main Road (3-7m), Commercial +Residence	Maidan, Cemetery	Open spaces attached to high-rises building/public facility
Scale 4	Artery (7-18m), Commercial +Residence	Gated Park	Pipeline, Waterfront, Railway

To pursue the alternative understanding notably towards the ‘invisibility’ in associating with the rich spatial history, several rounds of intensive fieldwork between 2017-2018 have reached 1) 16 representative communities defined by the caste, religious, professions and language; 2) nearly 50 individual youths (25 in depth) come from or engage in the different locality in Dharavi with various background. The samples encompass those who were born or raised in Dharavi to those who are new arrival and new users. During the semi-structural interview, leaders and members of the communitarian association(s) were asked to point out the vital community space, spaces that accommodate meaningful events, as well as spaces for gathering and spaces that are symbolic landmarks in these settlements. While the individual youth are required to draw their everyday routine, indicate spaces they participate commonly and explain the type, frequency of activity and the relevant group. The ‘popular cartography’ employed as one of the methods to incorporate the oral interview and the walking on the site. Such grounded spatial knowledge seeks to obtain the spatial knowledge of ‘public spaces’ from the lived experience in/with difference.

4: Public spaces and Dharavi

4.1 In the view of Community

The community has pointed out a variety public spaces (**office, hall, school, temple, mosque, church, open ground, community-owned hostel, clinic, library or study room, and shops**) that related to the singular or multiple associations of the community. They have also explicitly talked about the usage of these spaces. Several non-community spaces (restaurant, shops, intersection, former factories) were recognised as landmarks in the locality. The spatial history of the aforementioned public spaces cannot leave with the community’s spatial history, which can be broadly placed into three period.

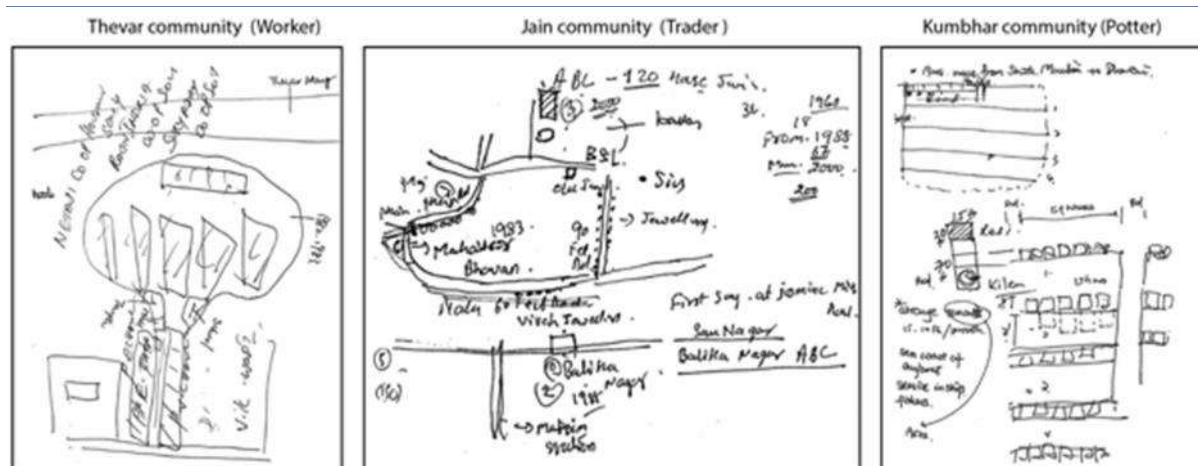


Figure 1. Examples of enclave type of Thevar community (Left) and the linear Jain community's area (middle) and Kumbhar area (right) drawn by the leader of community association. Drawing by the community during the interview, 2017

• Period I: Reclaiming lands, emerging borderland and centres

The voluntary concentration of ethnic communities was developed through the snowball effect. At the end of 19 centuries, the first round of migrants settled next to the indigenous fish village at the margin of the islands city of Bombay, because there were jobs in the factories and rooms in the dormitory or shack. Once the seasonal works have decided to stay longer in the city, families and friends were brought from the rural area. There was a need to reclaim new land to be autonomy and united. Temple, mosque, community office and common room were the central devices for the new spontaneous development surrounded them and the catalyst of the social body as a community. For instance, the famous Ganesh temple belongs to the Adi-Dravidar group was founded in 1913 off the main road on an open land. Before building the house, the group stay in several collective rooms. Gradually, there were 80 families around. It was not till 26 years after the Adi-Dravidar association (Sangh) emerges.

When there is a crowd, the crowd attract others. Traders came for the business opportunities, settled along and followed the extension of the main artery to the newly opened area. The group of Jain traders (Fig 3) from Gujarat that known currently for the jewellery business. They have chosen to rent small shop spaces at the edge of the from the fisherman community. Jains were not the only one on the borderlands, restaurant, market, tea stall emerges as the meeting places that straddled the divided ethnic pockets. One of the remarkable landmark in Dharavi is the restaurant namely "*Dharavi Hotel*", established by a Farsi (Iranian) businessman nearly a century ago. The Farsi in Bombay were controlling the particular Irani café business who have formulated their network which used to reach every corner in the city. Irani cafés became a cultural symbol in the 20 centuries, more than just a place to eat:

“Irani hotels host those social/political discussions, a place of revolution in Bombay”. (Bhau Korde interview, 2017). Since the main road gets flourished, the fisherman village also extends their area to the other side of the road and placed new community space at the edge. Following the extension, various Churches established with the help of the missionary as a centre to attract the fishermen and south Indians Christians.

Simultaneously, at the Eastern side of Dharavi, colonial authority allocated camp and built up public houses to host the certain low-castes groups either relocated from the centre of the island city or works in the public job. These patches were isolated at the beginning with vast open space, one school and one church nearby. Sooner roads were connected between two parts of the built-up area, like squats and business filled in the empty land along the roadside.

- **Period II Rapid urbanisation**

The governmental intervention and the spontaneous development complemented each other after the independence. The construction of mains arteries, canalisation of waters, the establishment of public schools and hospitals, and planning new camp of relocation were the first account of slum upgrading led by the authority. The physical interventions have set up the main skeleton and speeded up the reclamation of the swampy lands in Dharavi.

Meanwhile, The social intervention, such as the survey conducted in the 1970s and 1980s to map the social entities have incubated the fabrication of new group(See R. Chatterji, 2005).

On the other hand, the already established communities learned to formalise their identity by upgrade the communitarian facilities. Therefore, the registration of community association(s) and new sub-groups have multiplied the form of interactions other than from economic exchange in threefold: 1) the local interaction among the group to deal with potential troubles. 2) the authority, political parties, social workers, NGOs and alternative network were outreached. 3) the strong connection with the rural network. Therefore, as a result, various community centres have duplicated the space and kept adding new functions for welfare and educational improvement, locating on public lands and receive financial support.

On the other hand, new functions, spontaneous social relations and users appear at the intermediated public space along with the (new) main arteries. For the geographical convenience, a taxi station and an ephemeral job market appeared in front of the ‘Dharavi hotel’. Every morning between 8-9am, contractors and brokers came for pick up workers who gathered in front of the hotel. The other shops have established agreements with hawkers outside of their door.



Figure 2. Two Iranian hotels in Dharavi functions as a place of gathering. Left: Dharavi Hotel's informal labour market. Right: The evening discussion in front of the Irani Hotel at Matunga Labor camp. Photo by Author, 2017

Period III: Porous territory, strengthen identity and cosmopolitan network

The initial concentration became porous, and the mixed living of social groups were commonly practised in this period for many reasons. Due to the ethnopolitical conflicts (i.e. the 1992-1993 Riots) and economic shift, a large portion of earlier residences have either went back to the rural area or shifted to the new suburbs of Mumbai with accumulated capital. The new arrival has not many opportunities to squat, hence they have to be diffused in the different rental housing and workshops. Differ to the earlier community, the formation of such a community was very loose and uncommitted without build new space. Several rounds of slum redevelopment policy have also changed the community patterns. New housing society that mixed-up different social groups to be eligible for redevelopment, and continuous running from the negotiation with developers till the operation of the built-up apartment. Others residences shifted into Dharavi and became the landlord of slum rehabilitation building.

Some of the earlier established public spaces for the community have lost its power, the others were transformed and became more open. For instance, many of the private schools, where all the classes were initially taught in the native languages has turned to English education after the 1990s. Therefore, the schools established by a particular community became open to all the residences and in competition with others. One the one hand, the public spaces and the community association tend to organize inter-community events such as cricket league, body-building competition and carnival for attracting the young generation. On the other hand, the rise of festivals and large-scale ritual practices on the primary public domain evoke the particular community identity for the political attention as well as a special occasion for inter-cultural linkage.

For instance, every Friday afternoon crowds of different schools of muslims appear in the main street and pray collectively in public. Once per year, festivals such as Pongal, Muharram, Ganesh Chaturthi operate on the same street with different crowds. I will pick up again the story of the Ganesh temple mentioned earlier. Before being immersed in the sea, the statue of idol (a Hindu God) and the celebration crowd circulate the whole main street of Dharavi, make stops in front of different communities' centre including these of Muslims during the Ganesh Chaturthi. The ten days of celebration used to be an occasion for talk to the large public. After the 1992 Riots, this was an occasion to promote the inter-religious exchange that attempts to recover the two split sides. These exchanges were driven locally and voluntary. Although the body of organisation - Dharavi Mohalla Committee - was an initiative proposed by the Bombay Police officers, the network of Dharavi branch relied on volunteers. The intermediate person consisting of community leaders, well-known local businesspeople, or social workers from various neighbourhoods in Dharavi.

The emergence of civic network such as PROUD's chawl association (Chaterje 2005), SNEHA's women's network (XXX) mostly from the second or the third period. They are network based on the accumulation of local voluntary groups other than the one of communities. With a central office, activities could operate at the prosaic spaces such as shop, alley, open space, member's home.

4.2: In the view of youth

Meanwhile, youths have showcases two characteristics: multiple and mobile. Three categories of public spaces are indicated by the youths: everyday necessity, conviviality and symbolic meaning (See Table 2). Multiply showcases the *mélange* of the 'traditional' communitarian spaces as well as the new public spaces (Gym, juice centre, street corner) constitute various live-working-leisure patterns. In sum, we can recognise the 'local world' and the 'global world' earmarked in day-to-day practices. The former enacts with voluntary exclusions of gender, caste, class, level of education and another criterion. Meanwhile the latter underlines the attempt and effort to explore the unfamiliar environment.

Table 2: Public spaces that have indicated by the community and by the individual

	Everyday necessity	Conviviality	Symbolic meaning
In Dharavi	Street Hotel (Restaurant), Bisi (Cantine), Temple, Community Hall Open Ground Market-Street Big Street Hostel School Workshop Alley Office/Shop Patio & Yard Bakery Tapri (Grocery shop) Tea Center Bridge	Streets Hotel (Restaurant), Cricket Ground, Community Hall NGO Related Space (Study Center, Library, Hall) Open Ground Ground Under- Apartment Market (Street) Big Street Alley Patio / Yard Office/Shop Juice Center Tea Center Friend's Home Gym	Streets, Hotel (Restaurant), Temple Open Ground Market-Street Big Street School Patio /Yard Bakery Tapri (Grocery shop) Tea Center Station Clinic Bank, Political Office Former Factory, Intersection of Roads, Religious Facility Area with particular identity (i.e. potter's area, south Indian, Muslim area, north Indian etc.)
Out of Dharavi	Train Cabinet Parks Stations School Cricket Ground	Ngo Space Parks Shopping Mall Waterfront Space Restaurant	Religious Facility Schools, Tourist Spot Stations.

For the group of descendants, the local world consists of the communitarian spaces and 'my spot' within or nearby the community area. We have encountered newcomers and new users with different profiles. Some do not have a consolidated communitarian area, stay in the available room near the workshop. Some was deliberately avoiding the relatives' area and pursuit personal freedom. These youths have to inscribe familiarity on spaces and be in the collective one by one and step by step. Therefore, a juice centre, street corner, the particular restaurant, marketplace, tea stall, workshop space could become the milestone in such processual production of the local world. In both cases, the repetitive participation helped them to construct the alternative, ephemeral fraternity and extend their territory in a new setting. Once the local world and the group in are informally formed, appropriating 'our regular spots' to enlarge the local world to the global world is a commonly practised strategy.

I would like to enumerate several observations of the youth groups. The first is a story of the cricket group consists of young Kumbhars (potter caste) as well others youths whose family inhabited in the potter's community. Every Sunday, groups play cricket at the same corner of the Shivaji Park in a posh middle-class neighbourhood located several kilometres away from Dharavi. Rather than meeting in their community's centre, the group members meet once a week for the cricket. The youth play with other teams from Dharavi outside of Dharavi and frequently participate in leagues all over Mumbai. The second observation refers to the

roaming group mentioned frequently in the interview of descendants and new arrivals. Sunday is an off day for most of the workers and businessmen, therefore, leave one's local world to the new environment for weekly convivial activity is a habit for many of the youths. The global world could be located in Dharavi, spontaneous mass gathering appears at the main streets. Thousands of young men roam on the street with their friends for time-passing, eating at the restaurant they like, chatting around, checking the shops. 'Sunday is Bihari and UP labours' night', said jokingly by a youth. Together with the crowd, numerous pop-up food stall, street vendors, and night market have changed the layers of the streets.



Figure 3. the montage of 'Friday Namaz' and 'Bihari/ UP night' on the same street in Dharavi, Photo by Author, 2017, 2018

However, the presence of gender inequality is also visible. Female's local world is hidden behind the main public domain. The female youths have indicated 'friend's home', the 'alley' and 'patio' as the place of gathering in Dharavi. The limitation comes from the surveillance and predefined good behaviour within the community. "*People will judge you, and gossip you*", said by one of the young girls, "*I go to Churchgate (centre of the island city) every Sunday alone...I met my friends there.*"(Interview, 2018) Despite the limitation in the local, with the age of 18, she has developed various groups consist of colleague friends, NGO friends and even strangers outside of Dharavi. Rather than seeking the commonality, girls prefer to go to the world of strangers to experience the moment of freedom.

Table 3: 8 youths and their life patterns

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
	Group1: Descendants			Group2: Newcomers			Group3: New users	
Age	31	27	16-22	33	17-35	24	28	22
Gender	M	M	F	M	M	M	F	F
Generation	4	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
Occupation	Pottery business owner	Leather business owner	Student	Business owner	Workers in the garment workshop	Worker oversea	Fashion designer	Medical student
Why Dharavi	Initiative	Initiative	Passive	Initiative	Initiative	Initiative	Initiative	Passive
Period in Dharavi	31 years	27 years	16-22 years	20 years	1 month - 8 years	Non-continued 3 years	3 years	5 years
Ownership in Dharavi	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner Tenant	Tenant	Tenant	/	Owner
Primitive community	Kumbhar Kumbharwada	Muslin UP Leather	Dhor Dhorwada	Muslin Bihar Village	Muslin Bengal Village	Christian Tamil Nadu	Muslin	Muslin
Education	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary /Superior	Primary	Primary	Superior	Superior	Superior
Where for Education	O	O	I/O	O	O	O	O	O
Live	Outside	Inside	I	I	I	I	O	I
Work	I/O	I	/	I/O	I	O	I	O
Leisure	I/O	I/O	I/O	I/O	I/O	I/O	O	O
Modality of Transportation								
Daily	Train, Moto	Walk, Moto	Walk, Train	Moto, Walk	Walk	Walk, Bus, Train	Train, Walk	Bus, Train
Weekend	Train, Moto Taxi	Car	Walk, Train	Moto, Walk	Train, Walk	Walk, Bus, Train	Taxi, Train	Train, Taxi
Rarely	Car	Car, Train	Train, flight	Train, Flight	Train	Train, Flight	Flight	Train
Dependence on Dharavi								
	Live + Work+++ Leisure++	Live ++ Work+++ Leisure++	Live +++ Work+ Leisure+	Live +++ Work+++ Leisure+	Live +++ Work+++ Leisure+++	Live +++ Work+ Leisure++	Live+ Work+++ Leisure+	Live +++ Work+ Leisure+
New fraternity								
Associational groups	Train mates, Cricket teammates, Workshop colleagues and clients	Apartment society members, Sunday roaming group	Schoolmates NGO participants, Workshop Followers of temple	Dancing group, Workshop colleagues, and clients	Workshop colleagues Street roaming group	Pongal house residence, Gym group, Job seeking group, Street roaming group	Workshop colleagues Fashion /Acting group	Schoolmate Hospital Colleagues
Spatiality	Train cabinet, Shiyaji Park, workshop, Front space of shop	Downstairs ground of apartment, Showroom, Restaurant, Car	School, Ngo, Room, Other place for event Market,	Workshop, Showroom, Dancing class, other special events,	Workshop, Restaurant, Street. Market, Mobile shop beach, tourist sites	Pongal house, Parks and ground for excises, Restaurant, Street	Workshop Resturant bar studio	Schools, Café, beach, market, Hospital

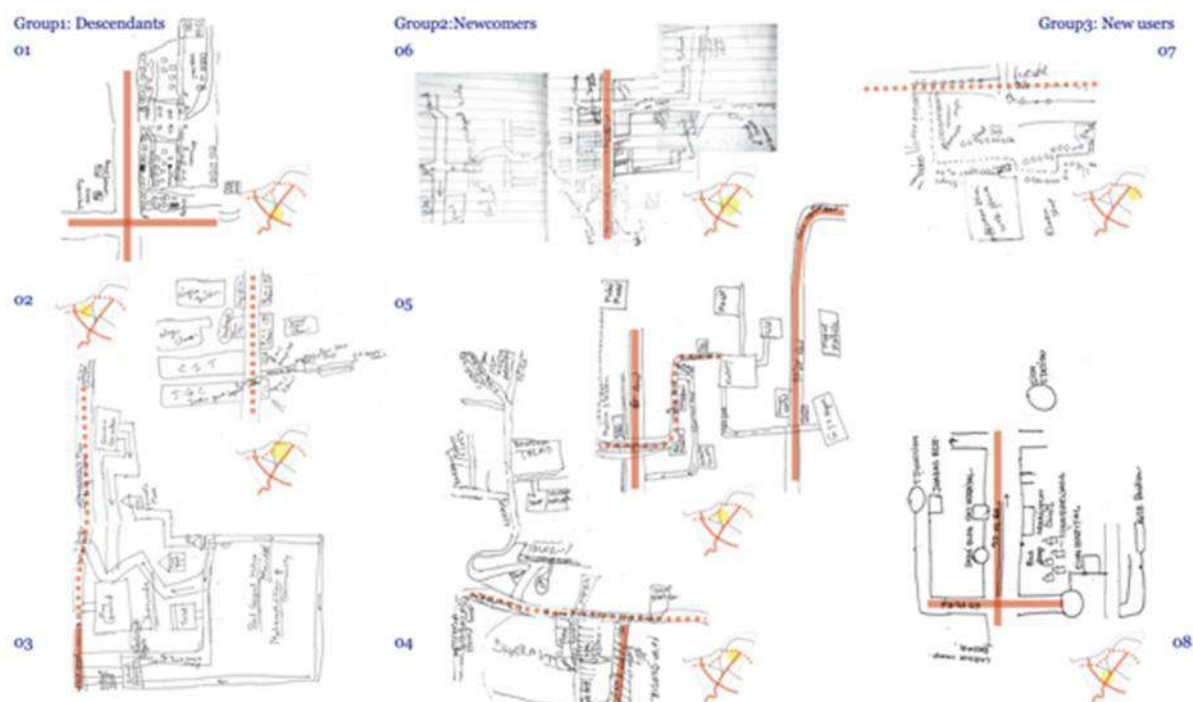


Figure 4. 8 examples of popular cartography drawn by different youths,
Edited by author, 2017

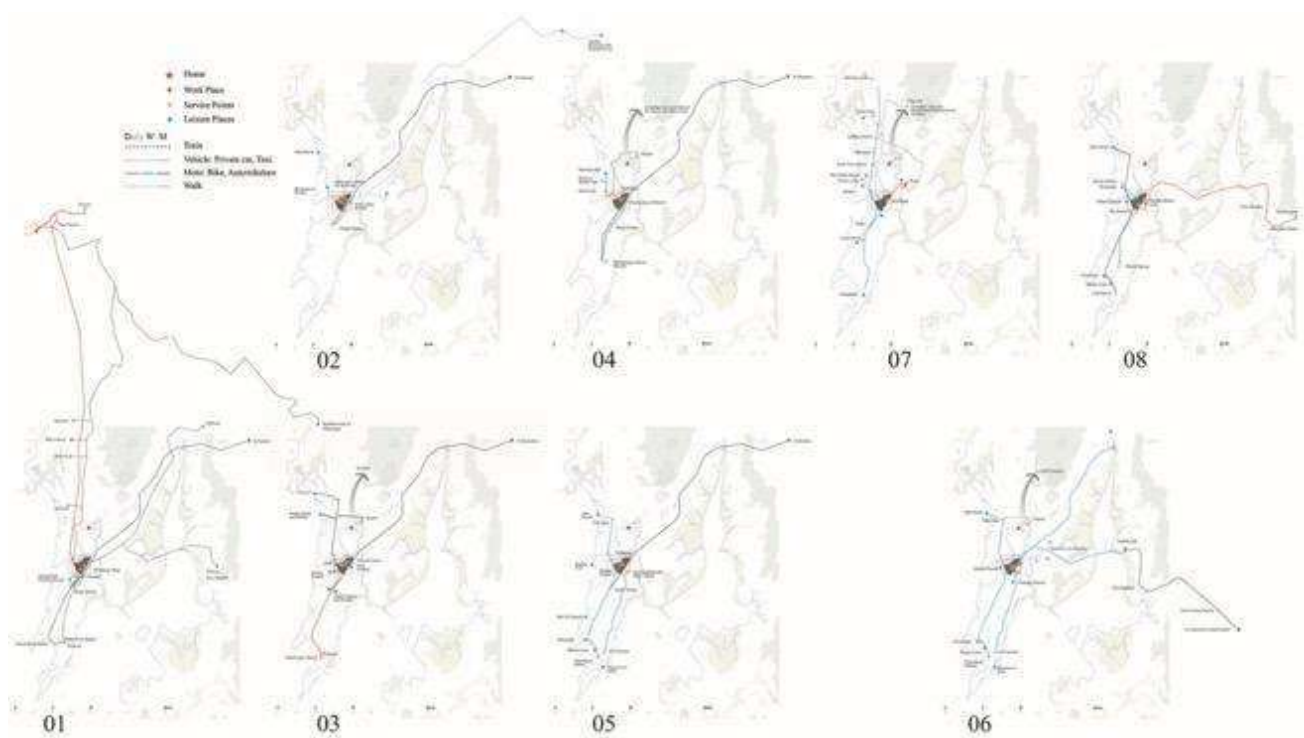


Figure 5. 8 examples of visualised youth mobility at the city scale, Maps by author, 2017

4.3 Landmarks

The category of landmarks outlined by the communities and youths have shared several similarities. Apart from spaces of public service (i.e. post office, police station, bank), the communitarian public spaces (ground, temple, hall, school), restaurants, shops and intersections of roads are the commonly recognised landmark. I want to outline one kind of landmark – community identity particularly. As mentioned earlier, as a matter of fact, the ethnical concentration became porous and hybrid in the residential area, mixed up social groups are common in economic activities. It is hard to place any shop in Dharavi into the rigid ethical category, as the goods, people, and connections are always overlapped. However, residences continue to use the labels refer to the native, caste, profession and religious to identifier the spatial configuration. This kind of spatial knowledge has been passed to the newcomers and navigates their arrival as well while choosing space to settle.



Figure 6. The identity of the particular area and its recognised public spaces.

Maps by author, 2017, 2018

“When I was interviewing people Dharavi at the end of the 1990s for writing my book, everyone tells you about the name of locality if you ask them where is here.” (Interview with Kalpana Sharma, journalist and author of the popular book: “Rediscovering Dharavi”, 2017) Today, if the same question were posted, the answer is “this is Dharavi.” The different localized identities are mingled into the identity of Dharavi sharpened by the public discourse. The youths host a contested emotion between proud and shame. *“I would tell my school friend I am living in Sion (the area next to Dharavi) rather than Dharavi.”* (Interview with a student, 2017) For some of the others, the identity of Dharavi became a symbolic mark: *“Dharavi is the mother for me as it offers me a place to stay and opportunities for achieving my dream”* (Interview with a young entrepreneur, 2017)

5: Conclusion:

The proliferation of multiple public spaces in Dharavi represents a dynamic process of accumulation, transformation and creation. The public spaces in Dharavi were not based on the idea of civic freedom and equality but contain the **origins and novelty**. They are the result of co-production by multitude actors in the rapid urban change, and the cornerstones that emerged from the empty world to a multicultural terrain through three-step transformations.

At the first stage, voluntary and forced concentration was formed based on the commonality defined by authority, kinship, and profession. The community-driven public spaces and its territory lead to the status of ‘communities without community (Amin 2002, P972)’, in a sense that the solidarity and identity were operated within the growing community for the survival needs. However, daily economic activities happen at the border of growing community promote the trans-cultural encounter and interaction. At the second and third stage, the existing of public spaces and their social bodies played the key role in the negotiation with other communities, states and the third parties during the political and economic shift. In the process, those social bodies reformed and diversified, the linkages multiplied and extended. Simultaneously, new forms of social body and spaces emerged, produced and appropriated.

Although the rise of mix-living has disrupted the initial concentration, public spaces sustained for the community identity. “*We can live in the world of strangers only because we have found a way to eliminate some of the strangers.*” (Lofland, 1985, p. 176) To complement Lofland’s statement, I set forth: the elimination of some of the strangers also triggers re-embrace of strangers and their difference through the formation of the ephemeral group and the temporary appropriation of urban spaces. Public spaces and the symbolic meaning, become the foundation for youth to live in/with and navigate alternatively in the urban difference. We could see from the case that the local world is produced through the elimination of difference, and the global world is produced through the re-embrace of the difference in a new setting. Opposite to Simone’s prioritise of ephemeral association and rootless of space, the argument raised in this paper is that spaces play the vital road to constitute the two interdependent worlds. Therefore, the symbolic public spaces of the communities, together with the newly implemented and appropriated public spaces compose a spatial network that functions as the skeleton of Dharavi’s multiplex and articulates the difference in the city of Mumbai. As one youth states:

“People are not disciplinary...however, the best part of Dharavi is that the poorest and the richest can all find their unique way of living here.”

(Interview with a Muslim girl who has recently moved into Dharavi’s Slum redevelopment apartment)

This paper suggests that re-investigating the public spaces and their various roles to the urban difference is essential. As a methodology of inquiring, such perspective enriches the understanding of public spaces contextually and relationally. Notably, it helps to unfold an inclusive reading of the stigmatised and marginalised areas. Emerging from the local specificity, public spaces in relation to difference are also vital theoretical and practical question, as we have seen in the literature review, which could travel between in the south and the north for comparative studies (which unfortunately I couldn't elaborate in this paper). The underlined focus is not about transplant the forms from elsewhere, or about the necessity to make a bible of the public space. It is about how do we encourage civic participation to unfold the various forms of incorporation contextually, which could learn from our spatial history and the imagination of the future of our city.

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Constructed Boundaries: A Case Study of New Town

Development in Peri-Urban Jakarta

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Abstract

This paper critically investigates the new town in the Indonesian context as a site of contestation and transition. Adopting Foresta, a private residential complex in BSD City, Tangerang, Indonesia developed by Sinar Mas Land, as a case study, the paper explores the experience of new town development from the perspective of *kampung* or village residents who are indigenous to the land. Two villages, Pager Haur and Nagrek, located within the compound premises were studied using qualitative methods of ethnography and semi-structured interviewing. The paper finds that the boundaries which once produced a stark separation between two communities in Foresta's initial development phase have been challenged. Contrary to the typical representation of static and bounded territories within such new town developments, the accounts from the field reveal the emergence of interconnection between communities. The role which is played by the concrete border surrounding the two villages has transformed and has become the site of dynamic interaction between village residents and the residents of the gated residential communities within Foresta.

Keywords: New town development; territory; gated communities; borders

Introduction

Jakarta's urban periphery has undergone rapid transformation, especially within the past two decades. One form of transformation stands out: the development of new towns and satellite cities by profit-driven real estate and property developers. Operating in the place of municipal government authorities, private developers have been able to purchase vast expanses of previously agricultural land for residential and commercial development. These towns are developed by groups such as Sinarmas, Lippo Group, or Summarecon Agung along the Jakarta-Merak highway. In the midst of this transition lies the *kampung*, village communities who are indigenous to the land, who are required to adapt to these significant changes in their living environments.

This paper investigates the experience of this transition into a new town development from the *kampung* perspective, and argues that far from being a static object with bounded spaces, the interface of the village and new town is dynamic and contentious. The new town continues to undergo adaptation and transition, with the boundaries which demarcated opposing territories being increasingly obsolete. I first consider the literature surrounding new town development, arguing for the need for richer investigations of community interactions and the environment on the ground. This is followed by an overview of the methodology adopted in my research. Lastly, I analyze my preliminary findings which reveal the contentious nature of boundaries and the traces of interconnection which have emerged.

Theorizing the Transformation of the New Town

I engage with two streams of literature in the study of the new town: enclave urbanism, new town development in the local Indonesian context, and porous enclaves. The analysis of relevant literature is intended to achieve two goals. The first is to unveil the importance of engaging with the perspectives of pre-existing and affected communities, which have been absent from the literature thus far. Second and more significantly, the overview of literature intends to demonstrate the need for strong empirical research focusing on the social and spatial experiences of residences of private developments on the ground, so as to challenge the overarching narrative of bounded and fragmented cities. Understanding the new town as a “transitional space” undergoing a process of “urban restructuring” may prove to be a more productive perspective for analysis (Wu & Ma, 2004: 234).

Enclave Urbanism

Dear & Flusty argue that postmodern urbanism can be characterized by fragmentation, where urbanization “is occurring on a quasi-random field of opportunities” (1998: 66). Adopting this lens of urbanism, “the relationship between the development of one parcel and nondevelopment of another is a disjointed, seemingly unrelated affair” (Ibid). However, such a characterization of urbanization that is preoccupied with specialization fails to consider spatial and temporal continuities, and intensely reduces and devalues the interactions which take place at the intersections of these ‘fragmented parcels’.

This view of fragmentation and separation extends into the characterization of the gated community or urban enclave. Caldeira describes the fortified enclave as “private property for collective use” which are “literal in their creation of separation”. Separation is achieved through “physical barriers and distancing devices”, “establishing boundaries between social groups and establishing new hierarchies among them, and therefore explicitly organizing

difference as inequality” (2008: 263). Caldeira suggests that “the enclaves are, therefore, opposed to the city, which is represented as a deteriorated world not only of pollution and noise, but more important, of confusion and mixture, that is, social heterogeneity” (2008: 264). However, the certainty with which she makes her statement that “exclusion is carefully and rigorously practiced” in such enclaves warrants further investigation. It is seemingly contradictory in light of her observation that “the upper classes fear contact and contamination by the poor, but they continue to depend on their lower-class servants” (2008: 271). The pervasiveness of this form of development is globally significant and reaches far beyond the borders of Brazil, as exemplified in Shatkin’s analysis of private sector led urban development in Indonesia, Cambodia and China (2008).

New Town Development in Indonesia

The literature on new town development in the local Indonesian context has primarily been concerned with identifying and explaining the economic and political forces out of which new towns arose. In doing so, the perspective of segregation has been commonly adopted, where new towns are understood to be a response to demands for security and exclusivity by the upper income class (Firman, 2004). In their analysis of the Jakarta Metropolitan Region (JMR), Firman observes how spatial segregation is reinforced through the polarization of class members, exclusive design, and privately managed urban development (2004). These characteristics serve to inform a distinct new town typology in Indonesia and within the Southeast Asian region more broadly, where property developers have capitalized on the upper-middle class’ desire for “living in a quiet, modern and secure environment” (Leisch, 2002). In her ethnographic study of the Indonesian middle class, *Lost in Mall*, Van Leeuwen illustrates the origins of this desire for separation, producing the dichotomy between *orang komplek* (those who reside inside the middle-class residential complexes), and *orang kampung* (*kampung* dwellers) (31). That new town developments draw inspiration from their global counterparts, but also “create new, local meanings of this form, by interpreting, reinterpreting and transforming global points of departure” points towards a particular new town typology with Indonesian characteristics (35). These include “their immediate personal histories as citizens in Suharto’s Orde Baru”, and a consideration of the historical context, the turbulent and chaotic May 1998 riots, out of which a strong desire for safety and security emerged (35).

With regards to their geographical location, new towns are constructed on previously agricultural land areas, largely in the periphery, acquired precisely because of their low value which allows for greater returns to infrastructure and other development investments (Winarso, 2002). Heralded and marketed as a symbol of modernity, the identity of the new town is specifically constructed in opposition to the integrated, chaotic and unsafe urban

environment found in the city center and as a break from the context in which it has been placed. Most importantly, the enclave is largely depicted as a static object which has imposed a top/down spatial order on the existing urban fabric.

Attempts have been made to achieve greater specificity in the study of new towns, as reflected in Mulyasari et al.'s ethnographic work which revealed the *kampung* dwellers social and spatial experience of the transformation from rural to the new town (2017). However, in pursuing greater ethnographic detail, their work has neglected to embed their findings into relevant theory surrounding the development of new towns.

The Porous Enclave

Recognizing the rise of the enclave, there have been scholars who have begun to challenge the characterization of sealed enclaves. This is seen most clearly in the work of scholars of what Iossifova has termed as 'borderland urbanism' (2015). In her study of everyday life in Shanghai's enclaves, contrary to segregated enclaves, she finds a "wealth of activities, interactions and possibilities that mark the contact zones and spaces in-between urban borderlands" (2015: 90). Iossifova suggests that "studying the very joint lines, the breaks and folds where top-down planning and bottom-up agency converge and where alternative futures become possible, will contribute to a more holistic understanding of emerging cities in China and beyond" (2015: 105). Harms has engaged in such a study, reflecting on the porous nature of enclaves in cities across Asia, where he describes 'porous enclaves' as "spaces marked not only by exclusion but by social interaction that cuts across the interfaces of inside and outside, public and private, city and country and local and foreign - all categories presumed to be kept separate in many modern city plans" (2015: 152).

However, despite acknowledging the porous quality of these spaces, greater attention could be paid to how such porosity is produced, as well as the nature and direction of the flows between the two territories which have been created through the existence of a material wall. The conditions which permit porosity, the extent of intentionality behind the actions of relevant actors, as well as the unevenness of power relations within said interactions receive far less attention than deserved. It is within this ongoing understanding and development of the theory on porous enclaves where I situate my research.

Methodology

Fieldwork was conducted between 22 June and 7 July 2018 in the Foresta residential complex, during which 6-10 hours were spent in the field site conducting observations as well as interviews. The parameters for my selection of respondents were relatively broad. I was primarily looking to speak with individuals who were currently residing in Foresta,

inclusive of the village community as well as those who resided in the gated complexes. Respondents were selected based on physical boundary conditions (e.g despite Pager Haur being split into two locations, I was only concerned with the community living directly inside Foresta). My research was concentrated in four field sites which may be identified from the following map (Figure 1).

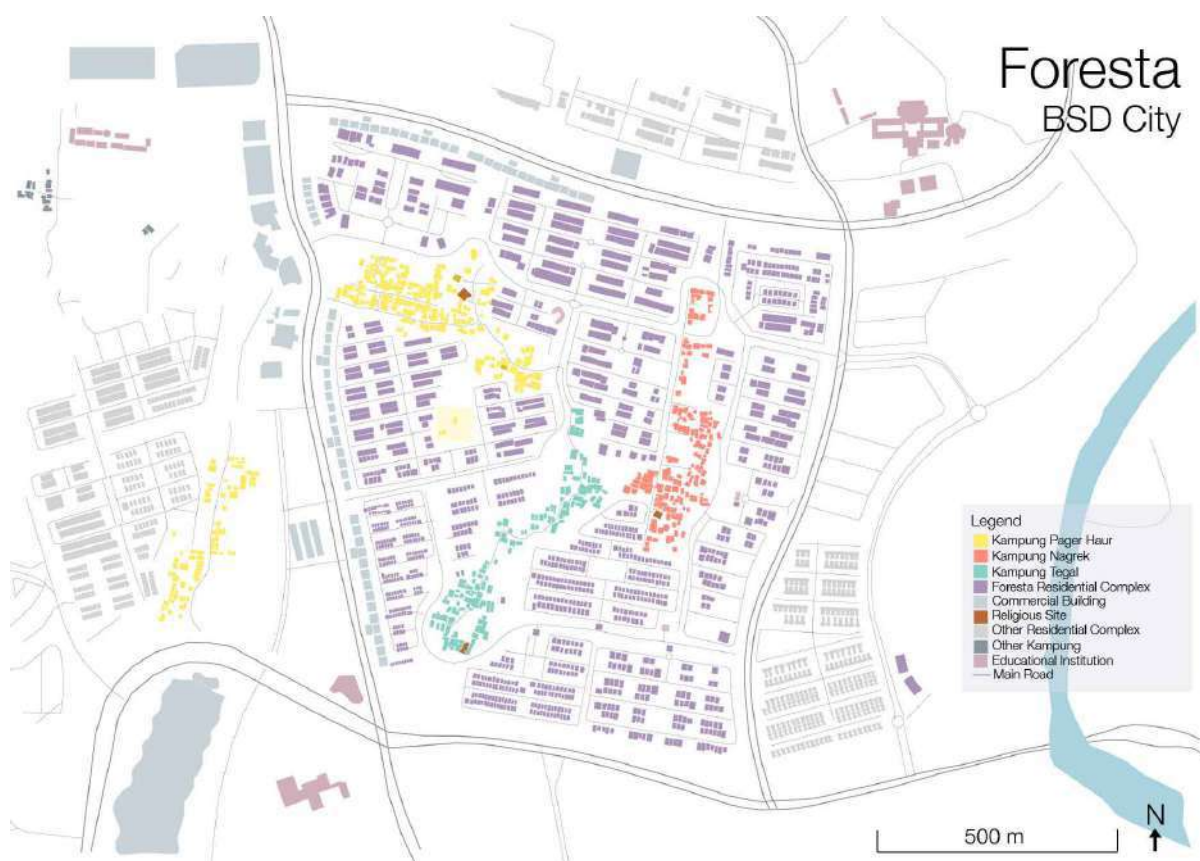


Figure 1. Map of research area in Foresta, BSD City, Tangerang, Indonesia

A total of 61 interviews were conducted on-site throughout the 2 weeks of fieldwork, typically in the respondents' homes (Table 1).

Table 1. Overview of Fieldwork Respondents

No.	Field Site	No. of Respondents	Female	Male	Language of Interview
1	<i>Kampung Pager Haur</i> RW 01	43	23	20	Indonesian
2	<i>Kampung Tegal</i> RW 02	16	7	9	Indonesian

3	Fresco Aria Cluster	1	-	1	Indonesian
4	Albera Cluster	1	1	-	English
	Total	61	31	30	-

Within the village setting, two sampling techniques were used to identify interview respondents. The primary method was opportunity sampling, whereby I would physically cover as much distance within the village as possible by walking, and would interview participants who were available and willing to speak. The supplementary technique used was snowball sampling, whereby interview respondents would refer me to other individuals to speak with. Community leaders, particularly those who were active in negotiating with the developers, were also identified by prior respondents and arrangements were made to speak with them directly. Respondents who resided in the Foresta residential clusters were referred by existing contacts.

In the following sections I engage directly with my findings, which reveal the contentious nature of boundaries and the dynamics which produce their gradual erosion.

Constructing the Divide

Shortly after BSD began constructing the Foresta clusters in 2008-2009, concrete walls were erected along the perimeter of the villages to mark the physical distinction between the developer's territory and the *kampung*'s territory. The walls served to separate the two communities from each other. In addition to creating the separation of the two communities, the developers also actively and intentionally concealed the presence of the *kampung* through the strategic use of greenery.

Separation was achieved through the construction of the physical wall, using concrete grey bricks which are stacked above one another to a height of approximately 3 meters (Figure 2). The wall surrounds the entire village, in some cases even touching the villager's homes, reflecting the developer's complete maximization of space (Figure 3 and 4).



Figure 2. The concrete wall which was built by the developers, comprised of layers of concrete slabs. Image taken from within the village looking towards the Foresta gated complex. BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).



Figure 3. View of the *kampung* from the street level of the gated community in Foresta. In certain areas of Foresta development, the *kampung* is located below the residential street level. There are two boundaries that can be seen in this image, the first is the metal gate fence that surrounds the complex perimeter. The second is the more hidden, thick border towards the bottom of the image which is the concrete wall seen in Figure 2. Foresta, BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).



Figure 4. Minimal distance between a self-constructed home belonging to a *kampung* resident (on the right) and the concrete wall constructed by the developers (on the left). This resident complained about the recent flooding which had taken place in the village following heavy rains. The concretization of the village has left little room for adequate drainage of water.

BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).



Figure 5. Renewed concrete wall constructed atop an existing wall within the village. Village residents share their anxieties surrounding the height of the wall, which could potentially fall, as was the case in a neighboring new town village settlement in BSD.

BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).

This physical wall demarcates a “re-territorialized, shrunken, bordered space” which determines the route and movement of the village residents (Staudt, 2018: 60). The extent of such re-territorialization is reflected in the designated entrance and exit points to the village, which differ extensively from the residents of Pager Haur, Tegal and Nagrek villages’ boundless freedom of movement prior to the development of the Foresta complex.

Greenery was to conceal the *kampung*’s existence, both in marketing material used to promote the sale of homes in the Foresta complex, as well as the physical landscaping techniques which can be observed in the complex. As one prominent community leader commented, “BSD has made us disappear with the fences and the trees.”



Figure 6. Advertising material for the Aria cluster in Foresta obtained from a real estate agent’s reference page in a property sale forum. The house listed for sale was a 2-storey, 4+1 bedroom, 3-bathroom property located in the Aria cluster and being sold for Rp. 2.900.000.000,- or approximately USD \$191,000. (RumahDijual.com 03 Nov 2017)



Figure 7. Advertising material for four clusters in Foresta – Foglio, Albera, Placido, Giardina Height, obtained from a real estate agent’s reference page in a property sale forum. The house listed for sale was a 2 storey, 3+1 bedroom, 3-bathroom property located in the Foglio cluster and being sold for Rp. 2.350.000.000,- or approximately USD \$155,000. (RumahDijual.com 13 Oct 2018)



Figure 8. Advertising material for Foresta superimposed onto a satellite image of the settlement. (Author’s own).

In Figures 6 and 7, the physical locations of the *kampung* have been strategically concealed and replaced with greenery. The three areas are in fact the locations of the three *kampung* settlements, as revealed in Figure 8. Based on this promotional material, there is a clear indication that a potential buyer will not immediately be aware of the presence of the *kampung* within the Foresta complex. Interviewees who resided in the gated complexes remarked that based on their experience of viewing homes in other privately-developed residential areas and eventually purchasing or renting a home in Foresta, some but not all agents will inform buyers about whether or not the residential complex is in close proximity to a “native settlement” (Tangerang, 24 June 2018).

Concealment occurs in layers, with the physical wall being supplemented with additional greenery and landscaping techniques. The physical wall represented a complete maximization of the village land, but interestingly, on the opposite side of the wall, a noticeable buffer has been established to create additional space between the settlement and the residential complexes (Figure 9). The greenery used within this buffer space serves the conceptual design of the Foresta complex as “4.5 hectares of Foresta forest just one step away from your home” (Figure 7) and conceals the harsh concrete wall behind which lies the *kampung*. The topographical variation is most evident in Figure 10 and 11, where the village is located below and above the ground-level of the Foresta complex.



Figure 9. A green buffer between the village and the Foresta compound. The concrete wall is pictured on the left, behind which the village is located. On the village side of the wall, homes are built adjacent to the wall, whereas layers of greenery conceal the harsh appearance

of the wall on the Foresta side of the wall.
Foresta. BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).



Figure 10. The residential complex is pictured on the left, the village settlement on the right. The village settlement is not immediately evident at a first glance of the site, as it is located at the base of the slope. Foresta, BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).



Figure 11. The village is located at the top of the image, concealed by the concrete wall as well as the layers of greenery. In this case, the village was located above street level of the Foresta residential complex. Foresta, BSD, Tangerang, June 2018. (Author's photo).

Both strategies are effectively place-marketing strategies which serve the property developer's interests in crafting the marketable identity of the Foresta complex as a private, green, safe and comfortable residential environment where the upper-middle class can peacefully reside, free from disruption. The territorial identity of the Foresta community is marketed and defined precisely in opposition to the *kampung*, which it has carefully hidden through intentional landscaping and routing. Perhaps the greatest irony lies in such a use of greenery to hide the village. In articulating their experience of the transformation of their village environment, residents frequently make references to the "thick forest" that surrounded their homes in the past - "everything used to be thick forest", many say. The residential estate's chosen name, Foresta, presented as a "green-community living concept" (PT. Bumi Serpong Damai Annual Report 2008), is perhaps an ironic tribute to the land's earlier form – an image that remains in the memory of current village residents who experienced the transformation.

Experiencing the Boundary

The boundary which divides Foresta is not only materially produced and present. Its conceptual production requires attention as well. In my analysis, I engage with Turtle's concept of "evocative objects", which are "material objects that are used to make sense of psychological issues" (Leuenberger, 2006: 18). This will allow me to explore the residents' experience beyond the "inherent meaning of the object", the Foresta wall, and focus on the meanings which are "discursively produced" by social communities and "span social, symbolic and material realms" (Ibid).

Village residents refer to the grey concrete brick wall as '*Berlin*', in reference to the infamous Berlin Wall. Such an allusion to a historical symbol of segregation, control and divisiveness between communities reflects a deep-rooted sense of isolation and exclusion. I sat on Ibu M's cool tiled floor, in a circle of women who had gathered for their daily *petisan*¹. Ibu M had recently opened her *rujak* store. "The wall is too tall. How can such a tall wall be safe for us?" Ibu M commented. Another woman chimed in - "I remember the days when there was a small waterfall that we could visit, and when the scenery was beautiful...now everywhere we look there is the *Berlin*." Indeed, this sense of enclosure by the wall was echoed by many other residents, particularly those in Tegal because the village did not have designated entry and exit points of its own. In order to exit the village, one had to go through the neighboring villages which had access points – Pager Haur or Nagrek. The harsh concrete wall stood in

¹ *Petisan* has no direct translation to English. It is a type of dish composed of sliced fruits and a sauce made out of chili, tamarind and sugar. Residents frequently come together to *metis*, the act of preparing the fruits and eating them, in the afternoons in gazebos or in front of their own homes, inviting their neighbors and passersby (including myself). The fruits that they use - mango, papaya, etc. - often from their own gardens. This is very much an act of community bonding, and it is often over discussions while *metis* that the community shares news, gossip, and update one another on the activities within the village community.

stark opposition to the beauty of the natural surroundings prior to the development of Foresta, where one “could see fields all the way from here [the resident’s home]” and a banana garden lay just behind where the present wall stood. “We have been *Berlin*-ed²”, a Pager Haur village head described in response to a question about what affected the frequency of interaction between the village and Foresta community.

In Mulyasari et al.’s study of another village community located in Foresta, *Kampung Nagrek*, the authors remark that that “the existence of this barrier is physically, spatially, and socially disturbing...For them, *Berlin* displays social distrust between the developer and residents” (2017: 50). This specific allusion has become a part of the everyday vocabulary within the village community. Most significantly, this reference is absent from the language which Foresta residents use to describe their residential environment, utilizing more neutral language by simply referring to the “wall” behind their clusters (24 June 2018).

The anxiety towards the height of the separating wall is not unique to the Foresta community. In May 2014, residents of the Petir sub-district in Cipondoh protested against the construction of the separation wall for Green Lake City, another development within the BSD new town. Residents complained that the wall was too tall and might destroy their houses if it fell. The wall that had been constructed in Green Lake City was 9 meters tall, according to a resident of Petir, citing that the maximum height of the wall should only be 3 meters tall (Tangerang News 18 May 2014). The village leader in Tegal made similar complaints as he guided me through the section of the village which he was in charge of. Two years prior, a piece of the wall had broken and fallen on a young girl’s foot. The incident was reported to the developers, who subsequently covered relevant medical costs for the accident.

The operating logic of the boundary draws strong parallels with the construction of other boundaries elsewhere, such as the separation wall dividing Israel and Palestine. Here, I refer to Alatout’s notion of walls as a “double construction” or “double technology” whose production and subsequent effects are highly uneven and differ for communities on either side of the wall. In Alatout’s study of Israel and Palestine, the “wall’s regime of government uses separation as a double construction of peace and conflict that isolates peace on the Israeli side and conflict on the Palestinian side” (Ibid, 2008). Alatout conceptualizes the Israeli-Palestinian wall to serve multiple purposes including that of occupation, separation and security, as opposed to reducing it to serving a singular function which has often been the case in relevant literature (Ibid: 958).

The concept of double construction has explanatory power in highlighting the effects of the

² “*Kita sudah terberlin sama developer.*”

Foresta wall which promotes peace and security for the middle-class residents, but is denigrating towards the *kampung* residents who endure the projection of fears of crime and theft due to the visible disparity in wealth. “They are scared that we will steal. They are the elite, they don’t want to mix with the common people”, remarks a village elder, one of the few Pager Haur residents who completed tertiary education. Another community leader comments, “They don’t know that people steal from us too. This is our home, why would we steal?”

Though some villagers express an attitude of acceptance and understanding that the wall “is for the protection and interest of the consumer”, as one village head of a community in Pager Haur remarked, the language which is used to describe the wall largely evokes a sense of dissatisfaction and injustice. The wall is the physical existence of the separation between the rich and the poor. A Tegal resident who is active in the village community comments how from the developer, “there is no vision for an integrated community” – this is a vision that contrasts deeply with how the village residents view and understand their own role and position within Foresta.

Building Interconnection

It is under these conditions that the demand for interconnection is expressed by the *kampung* residents. The spatial fixity of the boundary, which was intentionally created to separate the *kampung* residents from the new town residents, is thus actively challenged. The presence of an artificial boundary does not negate the need for interaction to fulfill economic livelihoods, the purchase of household staple items nor does it control potential flows, both human and nonhuman. This transition into a symbiotic relationship between the two communities can be broken down into two phases of connection: Pre and Post Construction.

Pre-Construction

The first stage, the construction of the Foresta residences, saw integration take place through the involvement of local labor. This is buttressed by a prevailing norm in the property development sector, where local *kampung* residents carry an expectation of being hired in developments which are set to be constructed within their territory. Residents are typically contracted as manual building laborers who mainly load and unload building and construction materials from the trucks.

Pak M, a resident of Pager Haur village who was previously head of a group of building laborers from 2012-2017 which were involved in the construction of Foresta, described the “rules of the game” (Tangerang, July 2018). He was tasked with gathering the data of 140

village residents who expressed their interest in the job, and representing his community in their negotiation with the developer to determine the prices for unloading goods. Those who registered were typically males above the age of 40 – gender and age play key roles in determining the labor opportunities for village residents. As an intermediary between the village community and developer, Pak M was required to disseminate the payment and create a roster, which has been useful way to manage conflict - “There will be conflict if there is no roster. I buy them a pack of cigarettes if they are unhappy. It is not worth the trouble.” In return, Pak M receives 10% of the total sum that is paid to him by the developers. Another Pager Haur resident, a migrant who had followed his wife to Pager Haur, worked as an excavator operator for 10 years, during which he was involved in excavating the land where Foresta would be developed.

It is thus evident that local village residents have, to a large extent, been intimately involved in the production of the Foresta residential complex through their participation in the construction process. This construction process ultimately produced the material boundary which now separates the two territories. The community also employs the language and logic of territory to determine their entitlement to future gains from the construction of housing. This reveals a far more complex social and spatial relationship which has thus far been reduced to the overarching term/process of displacement, without consideration of the specific factors in which participants exercise their agency.

Post-Construction

The second stage of development concerns the phase following the construction of the Foresta complex, where middle-upper income residents have already occupied the property. Labor is critical in the maintenance and upkeep of the complex and its image as marketed by the developer-party. To meet the expectations of its new residents, labor is engaged to sweep the roads and work as security guards in service of this new community. The new residents of Foresta also require assistance with domestic work such as cleaning and cooking, or even as drivers for their families. The very design and nature of the residence is strongly dependent upon a labor pool of services, specifically cheap services, to enable a lifestyle which the gated community symbolizes. A large pool of cheap services lies in the village community, who through security guards, their intermediaries, or others who have already been employed, find out about job opportunities in the residential complexes.

Employment moves along lines of gender and age. Originating from Pati, Central Java, a young mother shares her experience of working as a domestic helper in one of the households in Foresta, “I worked in one of the complexes as a live-in helper for 4 years, but stopped when I had my son. I got the job through an agency in my home village. It is more reliable to

use an agency. It is harder to go directly. If you only come in during the day to clean and help with washing and ironing, you can earn Rp. 900.000,- per month working in one house in Foresta.” Her experience is similar to many other younger, married women around the age of 30, both migrants and locals, who have also been able to secure stable employment in the Foresta residences. Contrastingly, they use the Javanese term *serabutan* to describe their husbands’ employment, expressing the uncertainty and instability which characterizes their jobs.

Women overwhelmingly comprise the majority of the village’s population with relatively stable employment – one older male construction worker, a resident of Pager Haur village, comments, “More women work than men. The world has been flipped upside down here.” Older women, aged 50 and above, also find stable employment working as road sweepers. A truck full of such women can often be identified in their brightly colored cotton uniforms and headscarves, brooms in hand, dotted along the Foresta complex streets and sweeping leaves off the road in the early morning. Their work helps to preserve the image of Foresta as a well-kept, middle-class paradise. At 11 am, sweepers whose places of work are slightly further away are shuttled back to the village in an open-back lorry for their lunch break. They depart once again at 1 pm. Those not cramped in the back of the lorry are spotted on the backs of motorcycles driven by family members or ojek, which are motorcycle taxis typically operated by older men in the village. Most older men are unemployed and can be seen smoking and drinking coffee under self-constructed gazebos throughout the day. Many rely on their wives for a stable stream of income, those who are wealthier may have constructed rental housing and earn a passive income from doing so. Most, especially those who are older, wait for the next upcoming construction project which they can “follow” and perhaps earn a small wage from through assisting with the unloading of construction materials.

At 5.30 pm in the evening, another open-back lorry filled with young men carrying construction hard hats enters the village. The young men hop off the lorry, and five of them enter one of the small rental houses in the village. Many young men are migrants from various cities in Java and Lampung, who have come to the village to work. Those who are in the construction industry are typically contracted by construction firms, and will move out of the village upon completion of the project. Others work as security guards for the residential complexes in Foresta, as well as other residential complexes in the larger BSD area. The village serves the migrant communities through self-construction of rental housing, small homes, which are often accompanied by a small shack selling cooked dishes.

The interconnection which transcends the boundary is primarily driven by flows of labor and transactions across the border. Labor creates tangible alterations to the built environment, as demonstrated by what Kusno terms as ‘cuts in the wall’ (forthcoming). As there are only two

access points from the village which are concealed entry and exit points so as not to disturb the Foresta residents or render any feelings of unsafety or discomfort, many villagers who work within the complex have been inconvenienced and have resorted to developing their own access points (Figure 12). In doing so, the wall which was constructed to separate the two territories, is challenged daily, by individuals who walk, and climb through. The materiality of the wall as a marker of “the ultimate and simplified limit” is perhaps its weakness too, as it “always falters or falls to the creativity of life (human and nonhuman, tunneling, by-passing, climbing, outdoing), as well as to the shortcomings and frailties of matter itself that can always break down, be dug under and flow over in political aesthetic acts” (Farman 2017: 4).



Figure 12. A ‘cut in the wall’ connecting the *kampung* with the complex. A set of makeshift steps allow *kampung* residents to travel down a steep slope, supported by an accompanying yellow rope which has been tied to chopped tree just outside the *kampung* wall. This particular hole is located directly opposite the entrance and guardhouse of the most expensive gated complex in Foresta, Ultimo. Tangerang, July 2018. (Author’s photo).

One Foresta resident remarks how “a village in the estate is a good idea”, elaborating upon how it is “useful” from their own experience (Tangerang, June 2018). Though the relationship which exists is primarily transactional, some residents have expressed a preference for greater integration, citing the absence of coexistence as a negative trait in other similar new town developments which were considered prior to their decision to relocate to Foresta. Pak A is a long-time resident of *Kampung Tegal*, and is considered as one of the village elders. His small store occupies the space directly in front of his house, and is located opposite the entry gate from the Foresta complex. A small-sized man, Pak A’s store sells a

myriad of daily goods including LPG, gallons of Aqua water, cigarettes, mobile phone credit and other phone accessories. His wife also runs a small warung selling cooked dishes and other instant drinks. This small store primarily serves those who are renting small rooms from Pak A and his wife in the neighboring building. Renters are usually migrants from across Indonesia who are looking for relatively cheap accommodation. 30 minutes into our conversation, a man in a white t-shirt and white pants in leather shoes, carrying a Louis Vuitton purse walks through the metal gate and into his store. “Pak!” he shouts, “How are you doing?” Pak A smiles, and replies that he is fine. The man asks for a slab of cigarettes, a box of 12. Pak A’s wife hands one over to him, and he slowly walks away. “He lives in Foresta. If you give people what they need, they will come.” Pak A, explaining why he decided to open his store. “They need us and we need them. If not, where will their helpers purchase their daily supplies?”

Conclusions

In the BSD Foresta residential complex, we are witnessing a period of transition, where a material wall which emblemized the division of two communities is gradually eroding. This case study reveals how in contrast to the segregated perspective of new town developments advanced in past studies, the social and spatial reality on the ground is in fact moving towards greater interconnection between the two communities. Such interconnection, as argued in this paper, is possible due to the artificiality of the material boundary and the mutual interdependence of communities on either side of the wall for the purposes of labor exchange. The development of the Foresta new town has significantly shifted the organization of the village community, constructing new networks which allow for the flow of information and people across the two sides of the wall.

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Studies on Self-conscious Community Regeneration in Current Internet+ Era—An Investigation on "Taobao villages" in Jinhai, Tianjin, China

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Abstract

With accelerated intensive urbanization in China, a large number of “hollow villages” have emerged. More and more rural young labor force is migrating to cities to make a living. Local economics and culture are in crisis. However, along with the rise of e-commerce, “Taobao Village” has appeared in China since 2009. It is the "Internet Village Community" formed spontaneously by villagers, and takes online e-commerce as the medium for production, living and trading to rebuild economic and social life. Accordingly, this paper investigates the revival and development process of Taobao Villages, and explores the patterns and mechanisms of conscious transformation of traditional rural communities in current internet+ era.

The paper firstly compares the difference of the development patterns between Taobao Villages and traditional Villages. The villagers spontaneously follow the contemporary trend of “Internet of things” and trigger the formation of Taobao Villages. Villagers are the main actor of bottom-up rural urbanization. Although the internet company of Alibaba and local governments are probably involved in the later period, villagers have always been the core power for the development of Taobao Villages. In this kind of autonomous development pattern, the traditional elements and local characteristics of the countryside have been preserved, but the village’s economic development, agriculture production way, rural lifestyle and farmers’ way of thinking and value concept has undergone profound changes. The research will uncover the continuities and transformations.

Secondly, the paper takes Taobao villages in Jinhai district as specific cases. The three villages are reputed places of producing musical instruments. Via fact observation and field investigation, this paper analyzes the formation and development mechanism of Taobao Village from three aspects, namely, structure, society and individual. It investigates the organization form of production and living of Taobao Village with the value of regional productivity

reconstruction and social transformation, and analyzes how it plays a role in the process of community autonomy. The research further explores the industrial structure, relationship reorganization of these Taobao Villages. Based on above analyses, this paper intends to reveal the problems of rural community autonomy in Taobao Villages, like homo-quality competition, lack of talents and land space, etc.

Keywords: Taobao village, Internet+ Era, Community Regeneration, Local self-conscious

1.Introduction

For a long time, under the influence of urbanization tide of China, we have made great achievements in our urban development. However, a large number of "regional structural voids" tend to appear in rural communities, making them "social corners" forgotten by people. The destruction of rural culture, the appearance of "hollow village" and the slow development of the whole villages have long troubled the countryside for a long time.

The sociologist Fei Xiaotong once pointed out that "the imperial power ends in the level of county". The countryside is in the nerve end of the state power. Under the planned economy system after the founding of the People's Republic of China, China strengthened its construction of rural political power and formed a solid three-level community of interests at counties, towns and villages. Since China implemented village-dismiss and town-combination policy and abolished agricultural tax reform in 2003, the structure of rural governance has undergone a radical change. On the one hand, the weakening of the interest relationship between the government and farmers leads to the government's inaction in rural governance. On the other hand, the reduction of administrative personnel of township governments weakens the government's strength in rural administrative supervision. Government officials at the township level, driven by no interest, are increasingly separated from the countryside and farmers and township-level government was reduced to a "half-pull" government. Under the absence of government supervision at higher levels, the indigenous nature of village cadres makes them easy to be controlled by local black forces. What's more, black forces infiltrate into the rural regime through normal or abnormal means and bully the local people under the cloak of legality.

Village is the most basic governance unit in China. The effectiveness of rural governance not only determines the development, prosperity and stability of rural society, but also reflects the overall level of national governance. In view of dilemma of rural governance, it is urgent to innovate and improve rural autonomous mechanism. 2018 Central Rural Work Conference also put forward that "we must innovate rural governance system and take the road of rural good governance" and we should regard it as one of the specific paths for socialist rural revitalization with Chinese characteristics.

"Taobao village", appearing in 2009 (an "Internet village community" formed by a certain scale of villagers spontaneously with online e-commerce as the medium to conduct production, life and trade across regions to restructure their economic and social life), provides a very good

path for China's rural revitalization, creates a new Chinese program, becomes the pioneer of rural revitalization in an unprecedented way, and also provides a new idea for rural governance.

In order to count the number of Taobao villages in China, AliResearch Institute formulated two quantitative standards: First, the number of active online stores in the village has reached more than 100 or the number of active online stores accounts for more than 10% of local households; Second, the total annual transactions of network businessmen in the village reached more than 10 million Yuan. By 2017, there have been 2,118 Taobao villages across 24 provinces and cities in China, and "Taobao villages" have become a new form of rural economic development and rising in China. The rise and development of "Taobao village" is a local conscious movement in the transformation of traditional rural communities under the background of network globalization. The emergence of Taobao villages has a profound impact on rural production and life, and the rural governance system is undergoing drastic reconstruction because of them. Exploring the self-governance renewal of rural communities in the era of Internet + can help provide reference for the transformation of extensive rural governance.

2.Review of Chinese and foreign literature

At present, China has rich research achievements on community autonomy in China, but a few people have paid attention to rural communities and most researches on rural community autonomy are on theoretical levels. There is a lack of empirical research on exploring the transformation process of rural autonomy, such as "study on the multi-subject interactive rural governance model and structure of the government, market and villagers", "study on rural governance transformation under the influence of institutional environment changes of rural governance and external environment" "weak governance" dilemma and breakthrough of rural autonomy", etc. Different scholars hold the same views on the governance and development of rural areas. Most of them believe that we should actively play the self-governance role of rural villagers so as to fill the governance vacuum. Besides, they also hold the view that multiple subjects should work together to promote the development of rural autonomy, but there is a lack of empirical discussion.

3.Case presentation

Till 2016, there are three Taobao villages in Jinghai district, including Panzhuangzi village and Ziya village in Ziya town and Sidangkouzhong village in Caigongzhuang town. Let us take the case of Sidangkouzhong village as an example. There are 794 households in the village with a population of 3,177. Compared with surrounding villages, its per capita income is higher and its population proportion is more perfect with low hollowness degree of village. At the peak development of Taobao villages, at least one person in each family of Sidangkouzhong village was engaged in musical instrument production and their monthly income per capita reached nearly 4,000 Yuan. Couriers from several delivery companies come to the village every day to collect deliveries. There are 40 or 50 musical instrument factories registered in

Sidangkouzhong village. Except for main foreign trade businesses of some large factories, most small factories survive through electronic trade channels. They take orders through Taobao and send them to the whole country by expressing delivery.

	
<p>Table 1. The making of Musical Instruments in the Sidangkouzhong village</p>	<p>Table 2. The main street of the prosperous village in the Sidangkouzhong village</p>

By exploring the development history of Taobao village, we can see that most Taobao villages are driven by some capable rural people. Let us take Panzhuangzi village as an example. A master who worked in Tianjin national instrument factory lived in Panzhuangzi village. With the efforts of this master, the making of musical instruments took root and blossomed in the whole village. With the advent of the Internet era and the rapid development of rural e-commerce, ethnic musical instruments in Panzhuangzi village took the advantage of Internet and its sales went viral all the way, with its products being sold all over the country and even overseas countries. With the efforts of local governments and talented people in the village, the scale of rural e-commerce has been growing and more and more villagers have started to work for it. A large number of migrant workers are returning to their hometowns. Meanwhile, the emergence of some Taobao villages has also driven the development of surrounding areas. For example, the successful development of Panzhuangzi village has played a good demonstration role, which led the surrounding Ziya Village to embark on such a Taobao village development road.

However, the development of three Taobao villages in Jinghai District was restricted in 2016 because of the strict investigation of pollution environment problem by Tianjin municipal government. Many small workshops are not licensed because they do not get formal enterprise approval procedures and their production equipment and technology do not meet environmental standards. However, due to the high cost of regularization and lack of sufficient financial support to upgrade equipment and meet environmental standards, these small workshops have stopped their continuous operation. Many villagers returned to the previous life mode of going to the surrounding industrial parks and working in other places. It was hard to maintain the development mode of Taobao village and their development also fell into a

dilemma.



Table 3. Neat and clean appearance of village dwellings



Table 4. A statue of an instrument in the village

4.Exploration process of rural community autonomy in the Internet era

Through the development process of Jinghai Taobao village in Tianjin, we can explore how Taobao village model develops spontaneously in rural communities from none to some. Its development process can be roughly divided into three stages.

4.1 Entrepreneurial talents introduce Taobao projects

In the first stage, Taobao villages emerged and was initially developed with the aid of private voluntary forces. Entrepreneurial talents introduced Taobao on-line projects. The formation of each Taobao village started from the introduction of Taobao on-line projects initiated by one or several entrepreneurs. They all finally achieved remarkable results. The initial entrepreneurs would think of setting up Taobao stores in their rural homes, which is directly related to their knowledge and skills, business brains, personal experience and some subjective factors. Thus there is a certain contingency. However, their success cannot be achieved without the assistance of a number of objective factors, which constitute the initial conditions and basic logic for the formation of most Taobao villages in China.

4.2 Spreading of Taobao online project

After new projects are introduced into villages, two conditions must be met if they want to successfully spread and eventually become the main body of the village's economic activities: First, the new projects of the original entrepreneur must have good performance, which attracts the attention of other villagers. Second, new projects require low technical difficulty and capital requirements. A significant reason for the formation of a large number of Taobao villages is the natural fitness of Taobao model for farmer entrepreneurship. Taobao is an e-commerce startup platform mainly serving small and medium-sized enterprises and individual entrepreneurs. It has the features of low threshold and low risks. It does not have high requirements on initial capital investment and technical difficulties. People who are not highly educated or specialized can also master it. This is in line with characteristics of farmers who have small capital stock, risk aversion mentality, relatively generous scattered time and overall low level of education.

After the initial entrepreneur successfully introduced Taobao on-line store projects, their good performance would attract the attention and imitation of villagers, and eventually spread to most families. Three Taobao villages in Jinghai District all developed in this situation. At the same time, this development model of the village began to attract the attention and intervention of external forces, such as the government, media, scientific research institutions and service providers. They played an important positive role in promoting the accelerated proliferation of Taobao villages. For example, media coverage of Sidangkouzhong village has attracted social attention to the development of these villages, which further boosts the number of orders. In addition, some Taobao villages also make use of their own environmental advantages and service systems to attract external personnel to rent rooms in their villages to open online stores, which further promotes the growing number of online merchants and the expansion of their scales.

4.3 Local government involvement

Local government involvement is also important. Existing practice of Taobao villages shows that when Taobao villages grow to a certain level, local governments will start to intervene: On the one hand, with the rapid development of e-commerce in villages, online merchants are appealing for more public products and services. On the other hand, the development of e-commerce is of great positive significance to promoting farmer entrepreneurship, employment and income increase as well as the prosperity of rural economy. Local governments will choose to step in to pursue their political achievements or to serve the people. In the early stage of Taobao village development, governments of three Taobao villages in Jinghai District all encouraged e-commerce, but in the later stage, when Taobao villages had a certain scale, under the pressure of environmental protection, the village government failed to rescue their Taobao village model, and the development of Taobao village moved backward.

5.Improvement of rural communities with the aid of Taobao village model



Table 5. A villager is on their way to the workshop



Table 6. The village express station



Table 7. Trade flourished in the village



Table 8. Some of the villagers live in the buildings

5.1 Transition of non-agriculturization employment

The rising of e-commerce has stimulated diversified employment opportunities in rural areas and promoted the transformation of local employment from primary industry to tertiary industry at the level of villages and towns, which is a hallmark of the new bottom-up process. Rural urbanization process of the last round basically follows the general path that industrialization drives urbanization. It takes the second industry as the leading way to realize the local non-agricultural transformation of “farmers as workers and peasants”, which also drives the development of the tertiary industry in rural areas, mainly involving the circulation of daily consumer goods and agricultural and sideline products. Rural urbanization under the influence of e-commerce breaks away from the traditional development mode of "primary, secondary and tertiary industries" and opens up a transition path of information-based urbanization. With the help of online sales platforms, villagers participate in e-commerce activities in various ways, such as self-sales and consignment sales of products. This forms a new local business mode of "peasant household + online merchant (online merchants for short)". The continuous development of rural online business promotes the rapid growth of production and processing links, and further leads to a large number of service demands, such as logistics, warehousing, art industry, marketing, finance and talent training, which drives the integrated development of processing and manufacturing industry, life service industry and even production service industry, and realizes the integration of the whole industrial chain.

The huge potential of e-commerce in driving non-agricultural employment makes rural areas for the development of e-commerce not only a reservoir for local labor, but also a gathering place for foreign labor and professional and technical people. Non-agricultural employment opportunities have widened income channels of rural residents, narrowed the income gap between urban and rural residents and become the main source of income growth of rural residents. Besides, it also created a number of rural entrepreneurs and affluent groups.

5.2 Comprehensive modernization of life

E-commerce has set up a new channel for two-way flow of elements between urban and rural areas, and promoted the systematic reform of rural lifestyles. The new bottom-up process is a

synchronous process of comprehensive modernization of rural life. Although rural urbanization of the last round opened up channels for rural products to enter the city through infrastructure construction and the development of sales markets, it did not simultaneously open up rural channels for urban services and culture. Although villages have achieved industrialization transformation, the shortcoming in their public services and the gap between traditional local culture and modern civilization still exists, making it an incomplete urbanization process of low level. Experience of Jinghai Taobao village shows that the rise of e-commerce has promoted the modernization process of rural life from the two aspects of rural material consumption and cultural life. In terms of rural material consumption, the continuous improvement of network consumption patterns reduced the scale and threshold of commodity distribution, improve the circulation efficiency and completely changed the situation where retail industries did not have sufficient development because of population density. Therefore, rural residents can also receive varieties of high-quality goods and services like urban residents. In recent years, rural online consumption has shown a trend of rapid development across the country, among which, rural areas with industrial e-commerce basis, have become the most active area of online consumption by virtue of their relatively superior income status and mature networks. This helps realize the benign interaction between e-commerce industry and online consumption. In terms of rural cultural life, influenced by the nature and consumer demands of e-commerce work, farmers' enthusiasm to contact the Internet has been fully stimulated. Besides, the social atmosphere of using the Internet has been gradually formed in rural areas, which has unblocked external communication channels of rural areas. Modern cultural information and ideas permeated into rural areas through the "open" and "fair" Internet. They gradually changed the closed and backward cultural environment in rural areas, and laid a good social foundation for the building of modern rural culture, the integration of urban civilization and the promotion of advanced knowledge in rural areas.

5.3 Intensive space urbanization

Industrial characteristics of e-commerce and the macro environment of urban and rural space governance determine that the new bottom-up process is an intensive process of spatial urbanization. More than 30 years ago, because economic values of lands had not yet been highlighted, production space and urban construction lacked control, so the space of industrialization and urbanization was basically in a disorderly and extensive state. A large number of villages and small towns tend to have low utilization efficiency and mixed functions, which caused many challenges for future planning and construction and intensive development. In the new era with increasingly prominent land resource constraints and increasingly perfect urban and rural integrated space governance systems, the process of rural urbanization is bound to be subject to relatively strict land control constraints. Therefore, the initial development of rural e-commerce industry is highly compatible with rural stock space. In Taobao villages of Jinghai District, we can see that farmers are fully engaged in e-commerce activities and

production of musical instruments by using their own self-built houses and courtyards which have multiple functions, such as residence, offices, processing sites and storage sites. This has greatly improved the efficiency of space use, lowered the threshold of industrial development and realized local urbanization of functions.

6. Development dilemma of Taobao villages

6.1 Homogeneity competition

The emergence of "Taobao village" has brought earthshaking changes to villages. Due to the low entry threshold of online stores, the business model is easy to be copied and expanded. Because of the advantages of abundant land resources and relatively cheap labor forces, in the early stage, all households in some villages with distinctive industries set up online stores driven by high profits. However, after a short burst of growth, many phenomena appeared from time to time, such as the low cost price war, creating fake online sales, selling seconds at best quality prices, with no brands, counterfeit and fake projects. For example, many Taobao merchants in three Taobao villages of Jinghai District do not have the ability to design and produce and operate products and they steal others' pictures of goods on online stores and sell fake goods. Besides, they lack intellectual property rights and technological innovation ability. The products sold in the same village are too similar, resulting in internal competition. This decentralized, individualized and competitive business models lacks sustainability. Once the "Taobao fever" of a village spreads to the whole county area, homogenization competition will become serious and local products will no longer have exclusive features. In addition, the lack of legal regulatory measures makes the development of rural e-commerce complex and disorderly.

6.2 Dilemma of normalization

When Taobao villages develop to a certain extent, it often leads to the dilemma of regularization. For example, the production of musical Instruments in Taobao villages of Jinghai District involves environmental pollution, which requires higher cost to upgrade production facilities and production technologies to meet environmental protection standards. However, many merchants often lack funds to upgrade production standards. Because of this, many Taobao villages will find themselves hard to survive in their development situation. In addition, Taobao villages often face the dilemma of talent shortage. Most people do not want to work in the countryside if they can get the same income. At the same time, the poor cultural quality of villagers makes Taobao villages lack professional talents. This is also the dilemma that many workshops will face in their formal transformation.

7. External Guidance of Rural Community Autonomy

7.1 Reasonable guidance of governments

The good operation of mechanisms of Taobao village needs the participation of local governments. In the early development stage of Taobao villages, they often develop spontaneously, but in the middle and later stages, the government must participate in and give

proper guidance. Take Jinghai Taobao villages as an example. If the local government supports the upgrading of merchants' production technology and provides help for its normalization through financial support, concept training and other means, Taobao villages will get a healthy development. Therefore, local governments should adhere to the "non-offside" and "non-absent" governance concepts to make market mechanism play its decisive role. Besides, they shall also focus on strengthening scientific guidance and service capacity and timely improve the supply level of public products to meet development demands of Taobao villages. The government can take the following incubation measures: first, strengthen infrastructure construction such as transportation and networks; secondly, it can help villages meet enterprise production standards by means of fiscal subsidy, tax reduction and exemption and rewards. Fourth, it can encourage migrant workers and university graduates of the new generation to return home to engage in e-commerce entrepreneurship so as to drive the enthusiasm of local villagers for e-commerce entrepreneurship.

7.2 Establish new governance subject

Faced with many problems in the rapid development of rural e-commerce, it is obvious that the original "village-village government" dual structure is not suitable for its development. The expression of villagers' individual opinions and the playing of the governance's role in controlling the environment need the help of more professional organizations or groups of a third party. However, the social destitution brought by scattered operations and large number of migrant workers in China's villages for a long time makes the villages have few other types of organizations except the village committee. In this case, the village government should play a leading role in organizing and setting up an e-commerce chamber for commerce organizations. The main function of e-commerce chamber of commerce organizations is to strengthen the coordination, collaboration and exchange among e-commerce enterprises, communicate the relationship between enterprises and the government, promote the technological progress of enterprises, and standardize the development of rural e-commerce. Their mainly need to solve the problem of homogeneous and vicious competition in the development process, to promote the independent innovation and development of qualified manufacturers and to give suggestions for the healthy and sustainable development of local e-commerce industries. This kind of bottom-up e-commerce business will constitute an important level of intermediate governance between the government and villagers, and become a communication channel between them. It is also an indispensable organization for the development of rural autonomy at a certain stage.

8. Conclusions and discussions

In a sense, the rising and development of "Taobao village" is a spontaneous rural construction movement of Chinese farmers under the background of Internet technology and a bottom-up conscious activity of locals. In this campaign with local awareness, "Taobao village" provides a new way to promote the "localization of employment" in rural areas, the

differentiation of urban and rural consumption and the "online" industry. Traditional agricultural production and lifestyles are "embedded" into urban life through the Internet, forming a benign interaction between rural and urban areas. This interaction has a typical meaning of rural urbanization. Therefore, in a certain sense, rural urbanization refers to the orderly withdrawal of rural areas in the process of urbanization expansion. This process aims not at turning rural areas into cities, but at realizing the modernization of social life of farmers. "Taobao village" model, based on the Internet conditions is quietly changing the traditional small-scale rural economic structure in a bottom-up way. Although this model is still not mature enough, reasonable external guidance on the basis of this voluntary movement will promote the healthy development of Taobao village. Anyhow, under the background of globalization, all individuals and members cannot be "independent". They must take the initiative to meet challenges. "Local self-conscious" behaviors of contemporary Chinese farmers represented by "Taobao village" is probably the best footnote for China's deeply participating in the globalization process.

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Impacts of Community Arts and Culture Initiatives:

A Study of Five Singaporean Neighbourhoods

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Abstract

The last few decades of cultural development in Singapore brought significant shift from focusing on formal arts and culture venues in the city centre towards embracing community-centred arts initiatives and informal venues for arts engagement. One of such initiatives is 'Arts and Culture Nodes' strategy, started in 2012 by the National Arts Council (NAC), with the objectives to bring regular quality arts programmes closer to where people live, enrich identity and public life of local neighbourhoods and boost community bonding. The strategy established a comprehensive network of node partnerships with local artists and neighbourhood institutions (libraries, community clubs, recreational clubs, corporate and non-profit organisations), as well as a range of neighbourhood public spaces island-wide to facilitate arts activities in more informal venues. This paper outlines the 2-year-long research conducted in five Singaporean neighbourhoods, which investigated the role of arts in placemaking strategies, the capacities of node partners to develop neighbourhood arts ecology and the impacts of community arts events and activities. 'Neighbourhood Arts and Culture Impact Assessment (NACIA)' framework was developed to capture and measure such capacities and impacts. While differing in spatial capacities, human resources, target audience groups and outreach strategies, each arts and culture node contributes to the overall strategy and brings a distinct flavour to its surrounding neighbourhood. Findings reveal numerous positive spatial, social, wellbeing, educational and participation impacts of arts on local neighbourhoods and communities, ranging from bringing vibrancy to public spaces and boosting positive emotions to community bonding, volunteerism and building new skills.

Keywords: arts and culture nodes, community arts, arts and culture impact assessment, community building, placemaking and neighbourhood arts ecology

Introduction: Impacts of Arts and Culture

The emergence of the public art and community art in the 1960s (as well as other related genres in the following decades¹) not only brought arts beyond the conventional settings of museums and galleries, but also prompted a debate about its new role in shaping the public realm (e.g., Cartiere and Willis, 2008; Partal and Dunphy, 2016; Reeves, 2002).

Consequently, it attracted a substantial interest in studying the benefits and the impacts of arts and culture on use, perception and design of public spaces and on local communities. With the increased pressure to justify spending on arts and culture, funders and policymakers sought for gathering evidence about the tangible outcomes of the arts, which pressed arts organisations to justify their performance based on outcomes that had little to do with their key objectives (e.g., Holden, 2004). This was clearly reflected in the predominant emphasis on economic impacts of the arts in the early research (e.g., Crompton et al., 2001; Dwyer et al., 2000).

The late 1990s brought new interest in capturing and assessing the non-economic outcomes of the arts (e.g., Dwyer et al. 2000; Wood, 2009). Some of such impacts include fostering personal development (e.g., Matarasso, 1997, 2000), improving educational performance and skill-building (e.g., Fiske, 2000; Hetland and Winner, 2001; Ruppert, 2006), building social capital and social cohesion (e.g., Barraket 2005; Guetzkow 2004), boosting civic engagement (Korza and Schaffer Bacon, 2010; Stern and Seifert, 2009), and improving health and well-being (e.g., Cohen et al., 2006; Johnson and Stanley, 2007; Staricoff, 2006; Stuckey and Nobel, 2010), among other impacts. However, such studies are still relatively scarce and are often initiated by the government bodies and policymakers, who tend to approach to arts and culture as remedies for all kinds of societal problems. Such an “over-faith” in the arts capacities is well termed by Zebracki and colleagues (2010) as ‘public artopia’, which is often fed by the problematic, over-estimated and under-researched claims about what art does and what it should do to places and communities.

From ‘Hardware’ to ‘Heartware’ – Arts and Culture Development in Singapore

Over the last few decades, Singapore has also witnessed substantial growth in the arts and cultural sectors’ development. Such a growth brought a significant shift from focusing on “high arts” and formal arts venues in the city centre towards embracing community-centred

¹ The 1980s and 1990s engendered new public art genres, such as ‘contextual art’, ‘relational art’, ‘new genre public art’, ‘participatory art’, ‘dialogic art’ and ‘activist art’, among others, which questioned the traditional forms and roles of artistic presence in public space. While differing in approaches and outcomes, they all shared the idea of arts being a means for contextualisation, dialogue, social change and civic activism.

arts initiatives and informal venues for arts engagement (Kong, 2012; Lee and Sim, 2016; Lim, 2014; Low, 2015).

Early arts and culture development in Singapore in the years after gaining independence (1965) is characterised by the strong aspiration to shape a distinctive identity of the new nation and promote racial harmony. With the ‘1989 Report of the Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts (ACCA)’, new goals were set towards building culturally vibrant society and establishing key infrastructure to support the ambition of becoming a “global city for the arts” (Centre for Liveable Cities [CLC], 2017). Two key institutions were established to support the implementation of such goals - the National Arts Council (NAC) in 1991 and the National Heritage Board (NHB) in 1993.

Since 2000, a series of cultural plans were released, marking the first attempts to shift the predominant focus from the cultural infrastructure (hardware) towards the community-focused arts initiatives (heartware). The ‘Renaissance City Plan I’ (Ministry of Information and the Arts [MITA], 2000) put an emphasis on boosting the sense of belonging and cohesion among local citizens, while the ‘Renaissance City Plan II’ (Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts [MICA], 2005) focused on developing new skills within the arts and culture sector and promoting partnerships with the industry. The ‘Renaissance City Plan III’ (MICA, 2008) highlighted the need for building an integrated arts and culture ecosystem and strategies for encouraging community engagement. In result, in 2008 NAC initiated the “Arts for All” movement to support community engagement through arts.

The ‘renaissance plans’ culminated with the ‘Arts and Culture Strategic Review’ (ACSR) launched by the Ministry of Culture, Community and Youth (MCCY) in 2010, which articulated the direction of Singapore’s cultural development until 2025. This review for the first time clearly highlighted the changing demands and aspirations of the arts community to actively engage the public in shaping Singapore’s cultural development and the need for making arts more accessible to all. The resulting ‘Community Engagement’ and ‘Arts and Culture Education’ masterplans framed the strategies to foster active community participation in all arts-related processes, beyond passive arts consumption, including learning, practicing, creating and performing arts, as well as curating, organising and supporting arts activities. The latest ‘Our SG Arts Plan (2018-2022)’ (NAC, 2018a) continues the emphasis on arts as an important vehicle for community participation, social cohesion and international branding.

ACSR prompted a number of community arts initiatives across Singapore² and further enriched NAC’s ‘Arts for All’ initiative with carefully tailored schemes to support reaching

² In 2012, People’s Association (PA) started ‘PA PassionArts Movement’ to promote collaborations between artists,

out to different places and communities through specific arts and culture programmes and activities. ‘Arts in Your Neighbourhood’, for instance, brings arts programmes performed by established artists and arts groups to various locations across the island, typically throughout March and November of every year. ‘ArtReach’ offers arts projects together with the social service, healthcare and voluntary welfare organisations for disadvantaged communities, while ‘Silver Arts’ targets at senior residents. ‘Busking Scheme’ enables individuals and groups to showcase their creative talents on streets of Singapore, while ‘Got To Move’ brings free dance performances and classes (NAC, 2018b). These efforts to activate neighbourhood spaces for better accessibility to arts within the community significantly contributed to continuously increased interest and participation in the arts among Singaporeans since 2005, as reported in the latest ‘Population Survey on the Arts’ (NAC, 2017).³

Scope and Objectives - ‘Arts and Culture Node’ Initiative

‘Arts and Culture Node’, the focus of this study, is another initiative started in 2012 under ‘Arts for All’ movement. The aims of this initiative are to bring quality arts closer to where people live, work and play, foster regular arts engagement, enrich public life and neighbourhood identity and build stronger community bonds. This is done through building a comprehensive network of arts touch-points and partnerships across the island with various neighbourhood institutions such as community clubs and centres, libraries, recreational clubs, corporate and non-profit organisations. Each of these nodes offers a variety of arts programmes and brings unique flavour to the arts scene in the heartlands, while bringing arts beyond the conventional arts venues (e.g. museums, arts galleries or theatres) into less formal neighbourhood spaces. By 2018, NAC has established 17 arts and culture nodes (Figure 1), with the vision to reach 22 nodes by 2022. Until 2017, the nodes offered over 1000 arts and culture programmes, engaged more than 200 artists and arts groups and attracted over 240,000 attendees (NAC, 2017).

Focusing on ‘Arts and Culture Nodes’ strategy, this paper outlines the 2-year-long research conducted in five Singaporean neighbourhoods with the objectives to investigate the initiative’s capacities to boost and sustain culturally rich and vibrant neighbourhoods and engender positive impacts on local spaces and communities through arts and culture.

community talents and grassroots organisations through arts within local neighbourhoods. ‘Community Week’ by Housing Development Board (HDB) (2012) and ‘Our Favourite Place’ by Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) (2013) are some of the other initiatives started to support community-initiated arts and creative placemaking projects.

³ The peaks in arts attendance and participation were observed in 2015, which can be attributed to an exceptional surge in arts and culture events to celebrate Singapore’s 50th birthday (SG50).

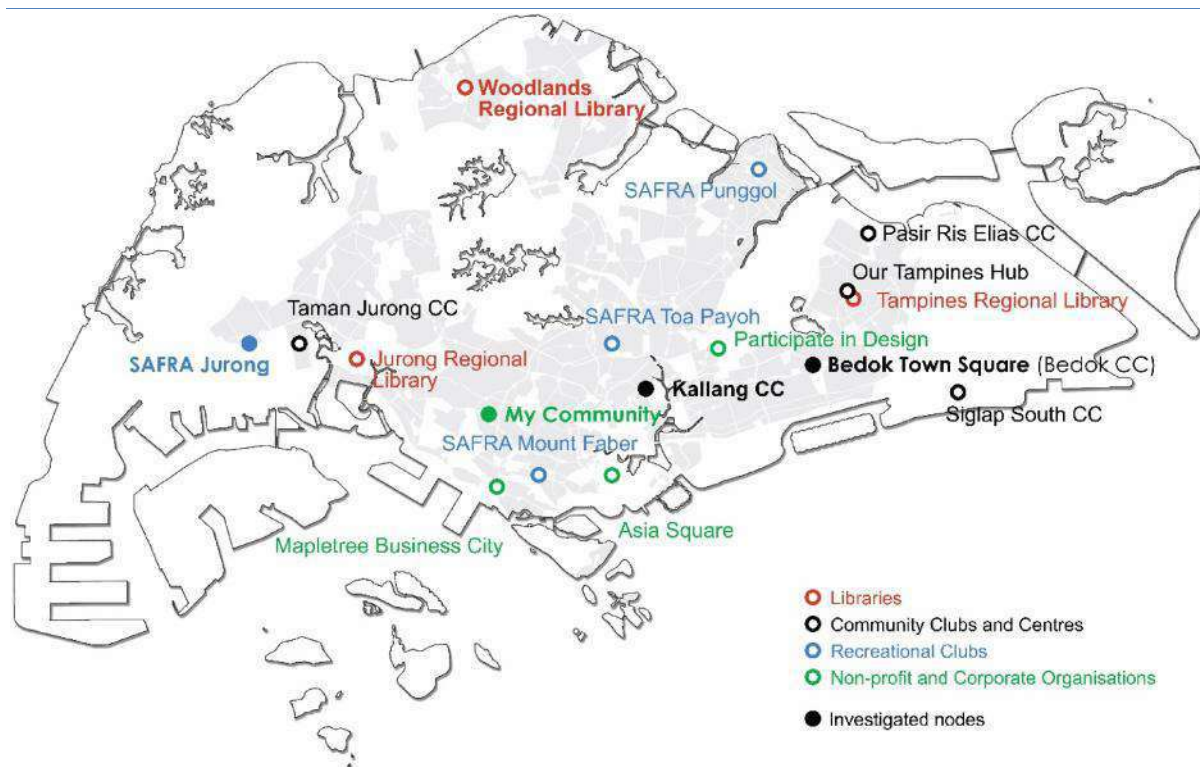


Figure 1. The network of 'Arts and Culture Nodes' (Source: By Authors)

Selected Neighbourhoods. The five investigated nodes and their neighbourhoods (400m radius) differ significantly in respect to their maturity, spatial capacities, target audiences and outreach. For example, Kallang Community Club (CC), Woodlands Regional Library (WRL) and recreational club SAFRA Jurong (Figure 2) possess their own indoor or outdoor premises (e.g., multi-purpose halls, auditoriums, courtyards, function rooms). Kallang CC tailors regular monthly programmes (mainly music and dance performances) for families with children and senior citizens within and beyond its premises, while WRL and SAFRA Jurong focus mainly on their own premises to engage their regular members (across Singapore), young adults and families with children, through a variety of small and large scale events.



Figure 2. Nodes with their own premises: Courtyard at Kallang CC [left], Auditorium at WRL [middle], Atrium at SAFRA Jurong [right] (Source: By Authors)

Other two nodes utilise public spaces in their neighbourhoods as they do not own any premises. Tanglin Halt at Queenstown is a medium-scale sheltered public space operated by 'My Community', a non-profit organisation that focuses on showcasing the local artists and the neighbourhood's cultural heritage. Bedok Town Square is operated directly by NAC and occasionally hosts large-scale events at the commercial and transportation heart of the neighbourhood (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Nodes utilising public spaces: Bedok Town Square operated by NAC [left], Tanglin Halt at Queenstown operated by 'My Community' [right] (Source: By Authors)

Approach and Methods

The research consisted of 2 key phases, each employing different complementary quantitative and qualitative methods:

- Part 1: Conceptual framework and study of spatial opportunities for the arts - focusing on strategies and opportunities to activate neighbourhood spaces through arts and culture; and
- Part 2: Study of impacts – evaluating the impacts of 'Arts and Culture Nodes' programmes employing the original 'Neighbourhood Arts and Culture Impact Assessment (NACIA)' framework.

Part 1: Conceptual Framework and Study of Spatial Opportunities for the Arts

Conceptual Framework

Our enquiry into neighbourhood public space and community arts discourse started with the three key questions: 'What can space do for the arts?', 'What can arts do for the space?', and 'What can arts and space do for the community, and *vice versa*?'. 'Creative placemaking' and 'cultural ecology' conceptualised the initial framework of the study.

Placemaking is a community-focused approach to designing, planning and managing public spaces, pioneered by Jane Jacobs (1961) and William H. Whyte (1980) in the 1960s. It is typically defined as a process of strategic and deliberate shaping of the built environment with an aim to bring positive impacts to the community, such as promoting social interaction, boosting civic pride or encouraging community engagement (Artscape, 2016a; Project for Public Space, 2013; Silberg et al., 2013). As a sub-concept of placemaking, creative placemaking puts an emphasis on the role of arts in shaping social life, seeking for symbiotic relationship between arts, space and people (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010; Pollock and Paddison, 2014; Stern, 2014). While it may or may not involve permanent changes to spaces, creative placemaking always involves enhancing the sense of attachment and belonging to the neighbourhood. Active participation in the processes of spectating, creative learning, practicing, creating and performing as well as in organising arts and culture events and activities in the neighbourhood is an integral part of creative placemaking, with the capacity to enhance place identity, animate communities and build stronger social bonds.

Cultural ecology refers to a comprehensive network of physical infrastructure (space), people and organisations established to support and sustain creative arts and culture practices in the neighbourhood, while leveraging on the symbiotic clustering of creative resources and activities (e.g., Artscape, 2016b; Stern, 2014). Physical infrastructure does not only comprise spaces for arts display and consumption (exhibition or performance), but also spaces for arts education, production and practice (training or rehearsal). Such spaces include both dedicated venues, usually formal settings primarily used by the professional arts community, and non-dedicated venues, less conventional semi-formal and informal settings at the community or neighbourhood level, predominantly used by the semi-professionals and the amateur arts sector (Taylor, 2008). Informal venues also include “third place” spaces, such as cafés, restaurants, bookstores, hair salons and other small private hangouts, which can facilitate creative networking and exchange and thus provide the necessary social and economic support to the arts (Artscape, 2016b; GovHK, 2015). Finally, a blend of artists, residents, various community institutions and non-profit and corporate organisations into formal and informal networks is crucial for sustained cultural landscape in the neighbourhood (Stern and Pray, 2014). The presence of creative and cultural sector workers and businesses in a neighbourhood results in face-to-face networking and social exchange, which further facilitates collaboration, finding of markets and suppliers and cross-fertilisation between the stakeholders (Artscape, 2016b).

Spatial Opportunity Analysis

Urban designer Jan Gehl (1987) argued that the overall design quality of urban public spaces considerably affects the type, frequency and intensity of activities that may occur in these

spaces. Compared to the necessary activities (e.g., going to work, buying groceries), optional and social activities, such as arts and culture activities, demand for a more conducive environment. While various forms of arts can happen almost anywhere, certain spaces seem to be more suitable for the arts than others. Type and design quality of these venues directly affect the scale, nature and content of both the artwork itself and the participants' experience and response to it (Brown and Ratzkin, 2012). Moreover, some spaces are more attractive and accessible to the public than the others, although not necessarily possessing high design quality (Walker et al., 2002). On the other hand, when situated in a good public space, arts can encourage supporting activities to occur and flourish around the artwork, making it a multi-use destination and place for the community (Kent and Nikitin, 2011).

Therefore, careful selection of formal and informal arts venues is the first step towards establishing neighbourhood arts ecology and can considerably contribute to the success of community arts initiatives. Consequently, a systematic investigation of five arts and culture node neighbourhoods was conducted to identify and evaluate spatial opportunities for the arts and to guide the choice of the most suitable formal and informal venues for community arts and culture activities in the neighbourhood.

Spatial opportunity analysis involved a series of on-site observations and spatial mapping to capture and document two layers of information, followed by more detailed space evaluation. Filter 1 documented basic conditions of neighbourhood spaces, such as scale, enclosure and type of ground surface (Figure 4), while Filter 2 captured land use, intensity and patterns of transient and stationary pedestrian activity in the neighbourhood (Figure 5), using simple snap-shot counting and 'shadowing' techniques, proposed by Gehl and Svarre (2013). The map-overlay technique, inspired by McHarg (1969), was employed to overlap the generated maps and pre-select the most suitable neighbourhood spaces for the arts venues.

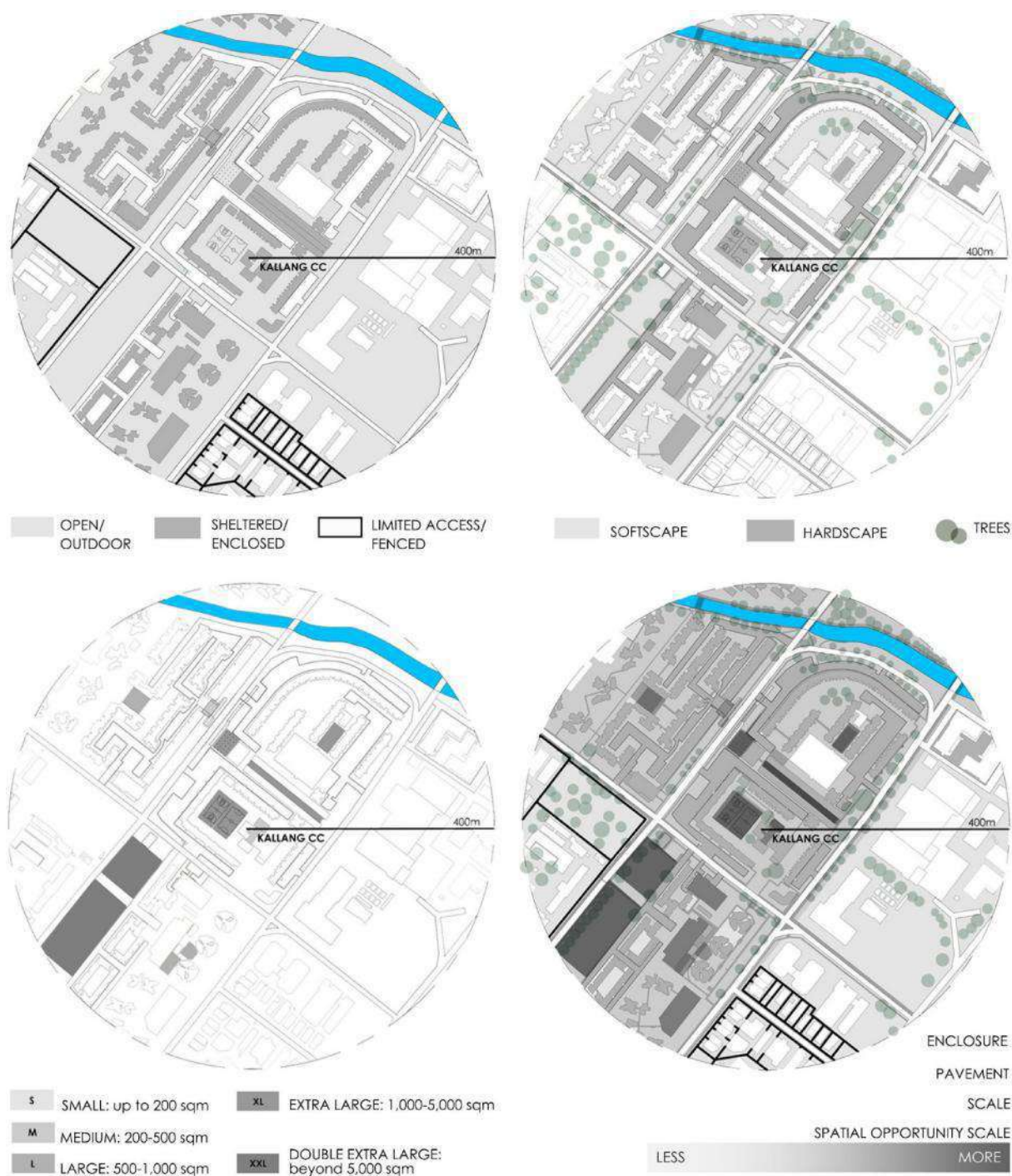


Figure 4. Filter 1: Mapping spaces around Kallang CC node - Enclosure [top left]; Ground Surfaces [top right]; Scale [bottom left]; and Overlay [bottom right] (Source: by authors)

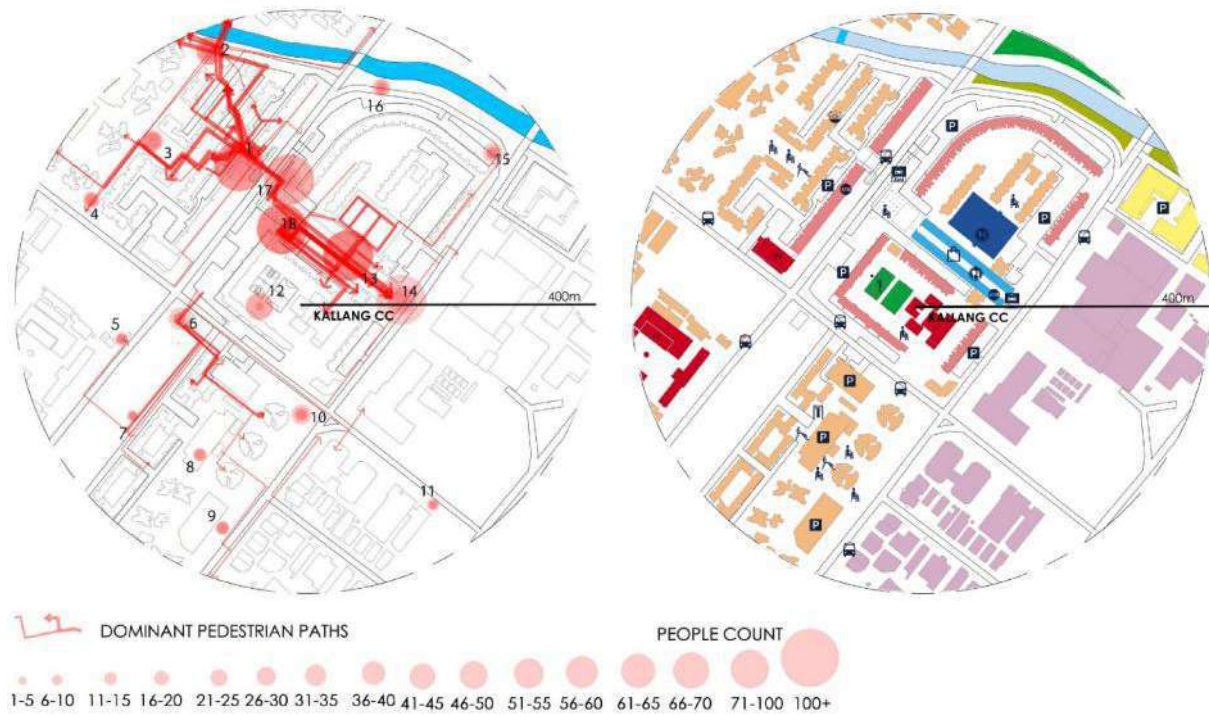


Figure 5. Filter 2: Mapping of Pedestrian Movement Patterns and Activities [left] and Land Use and Amenities [right] (Source: by authors)



Figure 6. Four types of spaces utilised at Kallang neighbourhood (Source: by authors)

Such pre-selected spaces can be categorised into four main types (Figure 6). Type A spaces can be found at the intersections of pedestrian flow and gathering points, typically next to public transportation hubs and commercial areas. They are characterised by high visibility, accessibility and adjacent uses that provide reasons for people to visit and remain in space and are thus suitable for broadening and diversifying the incidental audience. However, such spaces are often contested, crowded and noisy settings, with many distractions, which may not be suitable for arts activities that require deeper engagement and focused. Type B involves spaces that are close to well-utilised neighbourhood amenities (such as food courts, children's playgrounds or sports courts) but somewhat away from the major movement paths. These more intimate spaces may not attract incidental audience, but can provide opportunities for synergising the main function with the specific arts activities and deepening residents' engagement with the arts. Type C spaces are found near frequented pedestrian paths, but provide little or no incentives for people to dwell in space, such as covered walkways or pavilions. Such spaces are potentially suitable for small pop-up events and event teasers to publicise arts events that are held in other less accessible venues. Finally, Type D involves the so-called "white elephants", underutilised neighbourhood spaces that are often away from pedestrian movement paths, such as amphitheatres, parking spaces or roofs of multi-storey car parks. These are typically quiet spaces and often good overall quality, but may require stronger publicity measures.

The pre-selected spaces are then assessed against 21 criteria for good public space and suitability for arts and culture events and activities (grouped into 6 aspects: accessibility, configuration, comfort, supporting infrastructure, multi-functionality, image), carefully tailored in reference to available evaluation frameworks (e.g., Carmona et al., 2010; Cho et al., 2016; GovHK, 2015; Shaftoe, 2008). The criteria were further refined based on subsequent interviews and focus group discussions with artists, arts event organisers and residents, as they all have different views and priorities regarding the characteristics a suitable arts venue should have. Such detailed assessment assists arts event organisers in matching the strengths and weaknesses of available spaces with the requirements of their specific arts programmes.

Part 2: Study of Impacts

Towards the Impacts Assessment Framework

Although refined over time, many of the early studies investigating the non-economic impacts of the arts offered only anecdotal evidence, showing terminological consistency and methodological and empirical weaknesses (e.g., Belfiore and Bennett, 2010; Guetzkow, 2002, Jermyn, 2001; White and Hede, 2008). The main issues were problematic assessment

methods and measurement techniques (Crompton and McKay, 1994; Seaman, 1997; Snowball, 2000, 2007) and the lack of holistic approach and comprehensiveness to encompass a wide range of events and communities and impacts (Carlsen et al., 2001). The key challenges lie in the fact that many of the outcomes of arts and culture are often subjective, difficult to capture and measure immediately, and resist any statistical casualty.

In general, impacts imply a arrange of positive and negative changes resulting from arts-based actions and arts experiences, whether short-, intermediate- or long- term (Brown, 2006; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Keeney and Korza, 2015; Selwood, 2010). Impacts are often classified into intrinsic and instrumental. Intrinsic impacts arise from the subjective encounters with arts (e.g., captivation, emotional resonance, intellectual stimulation, or aesthetic growth), while instrumental impacts refer to secondary effects of the arts, which could also be triggered through means other than arts (e.g., reduced crime rates, health or educational benefits) (Brown and Novak-Leonard, 2013; Holden 2004; Holden and Baltà, 2012; Kong, 2008; McCarthy et al., 2004).

‘Neighbourhood Arts and Culture Impact Assessment’ (NACIA) Framework

Based on an extensive review of available frameworks and instruments to capture and evaluate the benefits and impacts arts, especially those by Brown (2006), Brown and Novak-Leonard (2013), Dunphy (2014), Jackson and Herranz Jr. (2002), Matarasso (1997) and McCarthy and colleagues (2004), this study proposed an original ‘Neighbourhood Arts and Culture Impact Assessment’ (NACIA) framework is proposed. NACIA builds upon the ‘Urban Space Framework’. The initial database of nearly 200 impact indicators gathered from the literature (excluding economic impact indicators) was then narrowed down consulting the insights from the node partners, residents and artists gathered through focus group discussions (FGDs) and interviews.

Reflecting the priorities of different stakeholders, the final NACIA comprises 20 indicators, categorised into 8 dimensions and 2 domains – attributes and impacts (Figure 7), focusing on spatial, social and participation outcomes. Attributes should be distinguished from the impacts. They describe or quantify certain conditions related to arts and culture events (e.g., the number of audiences, or the perceived quality of arts events). While they may indicate the success of arts programmes and influence certain impacts, attributes do not fully reflect the impacts experienced by the community.

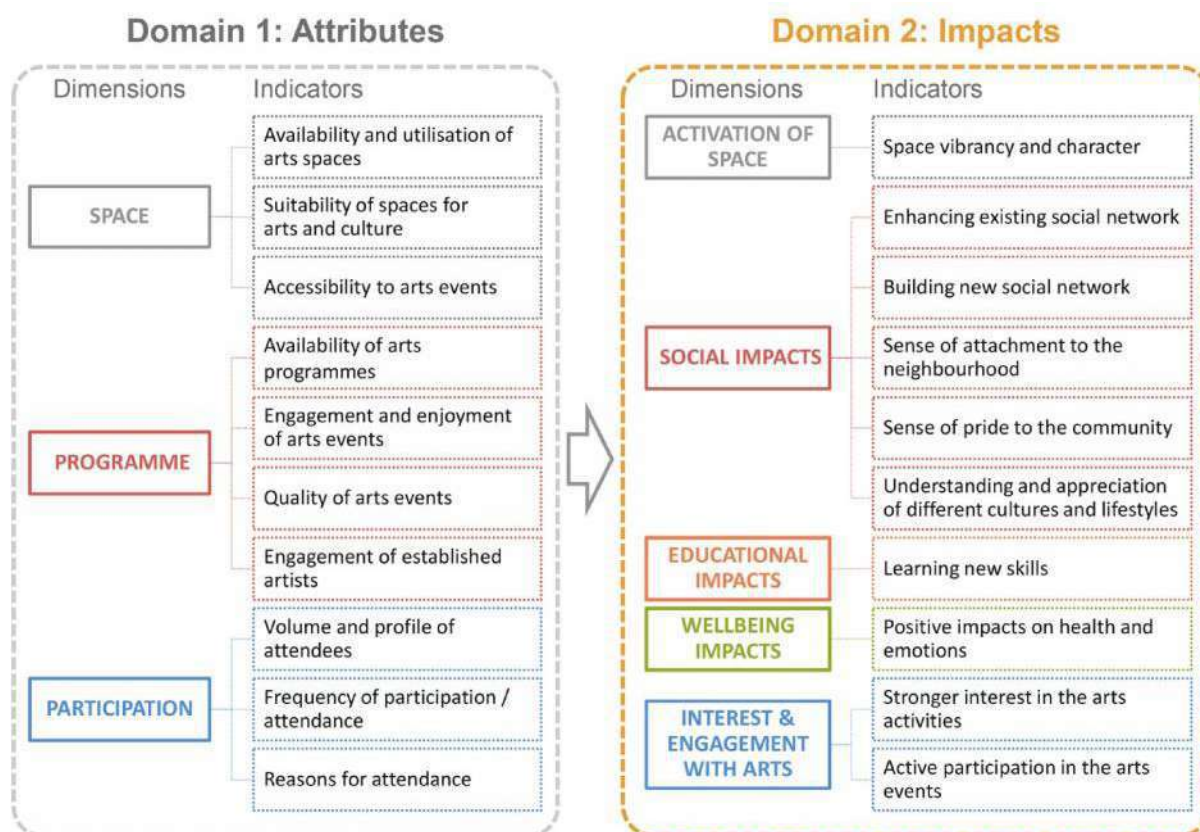


Figure 7. 'Neighbourhood Arts and Culture Impact Assessment' (NACIA) framework
(Source: By Authors)

NACIA framework was applied in two rounds of impact assessment using surveys, focus-group discussions (FGDs) with residents and interviews with arts and event organisers (Figure 8).

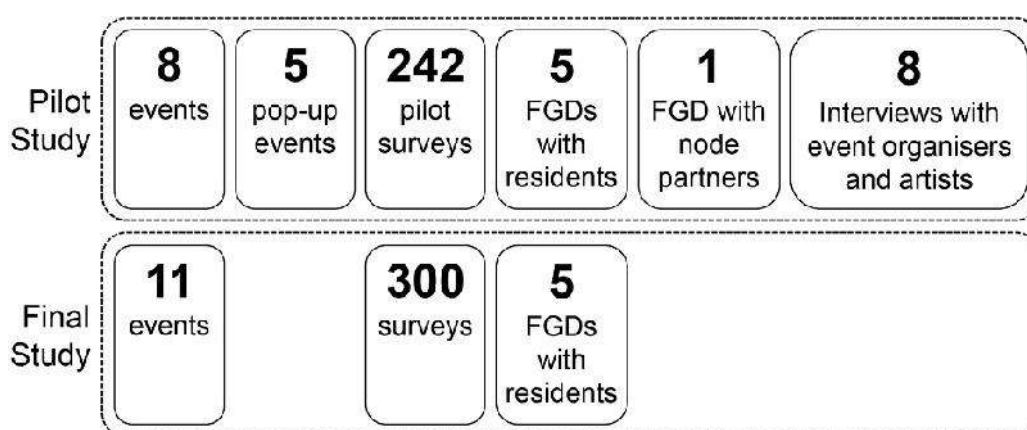


Figure 8. Application of NACIA framework (Source: By Authors)

Key Research Findings and Discussion

The following section provides an overview of the key research findings combining quantitative and qualitative analysis of survey and FGD data and following the structure of NACIA Framework.

Attributes: Space dimension

Accessibility to arts. The key findings indicate the overall success of ‘Arts and Culture Nodes’ strategy in providing greater access to quality arts and culture in the heartlands. Over 90% of the surveyed participants expressed their preference for having arts events in their neighbourhood. This was particularly raised by the senior residents and mothers with young children, who find going to city centre to attend an arts event as challenging or time-consuming. Accessibility is also associated with the presence of adjacent amenities (e.g., shopping malls, food courts, grocery stores), which provides opportunities for the residents to combine their arts event attendance with other activities.

“I prefer events to be held in the neighbourhood rather than somewhere central. If arts events happen after dinner time and close to eateries, it is very easy and convenient to attend. (...) I don’t really have a lot of time to bring my kids somewhere central.” (FGD participant, Tanglin Halt, 26 Feb’ 2017)

Availability, utilisation and suitability of spaces. While the investigated nodes activate a range of spaces for arts and culture activities, the degrees and approaches to space utilisation varies substantially. While WRL and SAFRA Jurong tend to offer arts programmes within their own premises, Kallang CC and ‘My Community’ utilise various spots in their neighbourhoods. Over 80% of surveyed residents found all utilised spaces “suitable” or “very suitable” for the arts events and activities. However, the perception of space suitability considerably depends on the type of arts event and the type of audiences – i.e., artists vs. event organisers, ‘art lovers’ vs. incidental audience, where the artists and ‘art lovers’ are more demanding groups (Figure 9). Spaces near high pedestrian traffic flows are generally favoured for the performances. However, such spaces may also be noisy and distracting, and thus less conducive for more intimate and attention demanding activities, such as workshops.

“Sometimes it can be very distracting. So we got to find ways to find the most suitable spot, so that people can focus on the performances.” (Interview with Artist, 2017)

“It’s sheltered [the community centre hall], so you don’t have to worry about the weather and also there’s air-conditioning. It’s conducive for an art performance.”
(FGD participant, Kallang CC, 21 Jan’ 2017)

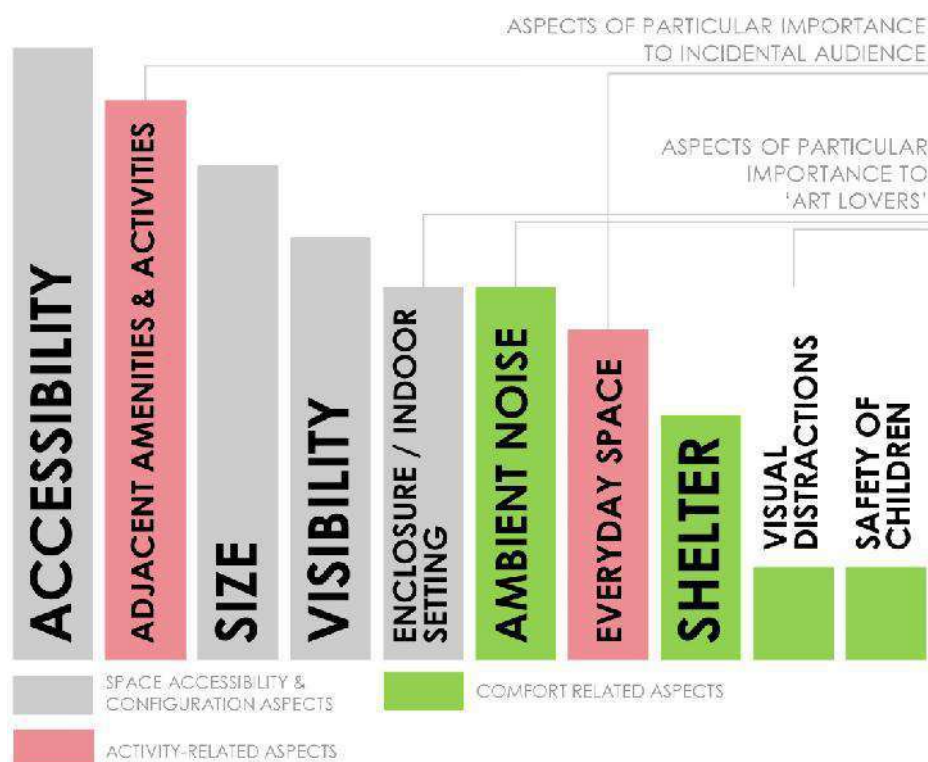


Figure 9. Ranking of key suitability conditions by frequency of occurrence in FGDs with residents (Source: By Authors)

Attributes: Programme dimension

Availability, diversity and quality of arts programmes. Overall, nodes provide a good variety of arts programmes, from more intimate storytelling events and hands-on workshops to larger scale theatre, music and dance performances. However, often due to limited spatial or human resources, such programmes are not offered regularly and frequently enough.⁴ While 90% of surveyed event attendees found community all arts programmes (regardless the type and whether they involve established artists) of overall very good quality, enjoyable and engaging, not all creative activities were seen as “arts”, but rather as entertainment, especially by the ‘art lovers’. Moreover, some FGD participants associated events that are free or do not require pre-registration with the “lower quality arts”.

“I think (...) that the neighbourhood events are not really about arts – it’s simply singing songs and that kind of thing.” (FGD Participant, Tanglin Halt, 26 Feb’ 2017)

⁴ However, it is important to note that residents may still have opportunities to be exposed to arts on regular basis, as there are other arts initiatives in the neighbourhoods that may not be integral part of the ‘Arts and Culture Nodes’ strategy.

Attributes: Participation dimension

Frequency of attendance. The survey findings showed that nearly 70% of arts event attendees were the ‘first-timers’ and over 40% were incidental audiences, which contributes to achieving the key objective of the ‘Nodes’ strategy to attract new audience. However, attracting repeat audience seems to be the challenge. Findings reveal that strong correlation between the regularity and the frequency of events and the number of returning audiences. Repeat attendees tend to experience higher number of positive impacts; they communicate more with other event participants, show stronger aspiration to be actively involved in future events (as performers or volunteers) and report higher positive impacts on mood, sense of wellbeing and appreciation of others.

Impacts: Activation of space

Space vibrancy and character. Over 90% of surveyed participants agreed that community arts events contributed to liveliness, festive atmosphere, sense of identity and surprise of their familiar neighbourhood spaces, due to the presence of unexpected crowd and temporary changes, such as audience seats, temporary stage and shelter, advertisements, colourful lighting and music. It was also observed that such temporary elements enrich the use of public spaces before and after the actual events, including informal socialisation or resting. Over 80% of surveyed residents also felt more attached to their neighbourhood spaces after attending an art event.

“It was the music that attracted me to this place. I was actually going home (...) and then I realised it was something live, so I thought it was quite cool (...). [It] made the whole place livelier.” (FGD Participant, Kallang CC, 21 Jan’ 2017)

Social impacts

Strengthening the existing social networks. Arts events proved to be important occasions for strengthening the existing social networks. Nearly 80% of the residents attended the events with family members or friends and nearly 45% of them stated that they communicated with their neighbours during the event.

“Art events give a reason for the family to come out, rather than stay at home and watch TV or play with handphones.” (FGD Participant, Tanglin Halt, 26 Feb’ 2017)

“I came to this event for two reasons. Number one, I am a big fan of Lego. Number two, it is because of my children. I thought it was a good opportunity for us to have some interaction with kids so that we can play along and have some creativity and some fun together.” (FGD Participant, Tanglin Halt, 24 Jun’ 2017)

Building new social networks. Attending arts events also support building new social networks, not only among residents but also artists, volunteers and event organisers, which is critical for building strong neighbourhood arts ecology. Arts attendance provides opportunities for progressing along all stages of ‘neighbouring’ namely: passive face-to-face contact, mutual recognition, shared experience, further interaction and friendship (Grannis, 2009). The findings also revealed higher level of social interaction at informal venues and among the return audience.

*“The person sitting behind me today was from my floor. **He was there for the event as well, so we started talking, which we normally would not do.**”* (FGD Participant, Tanglin Halt, 26 Feb’ 2017)

*“An arts event creates interest, interest creates topics that you can **make small talk** about. **If you’re in a lift with a fellow neighbour you can say ‘Oh hey, I saw you at so and so event!’**”* (FGD Participant, Kallang CC, 21 Jan’ 2017)

*“**Art breaks the ice between people** who are enjoying the music together regardless of age.”* (FGD Participant, Bedok Town Square, 26 Nov’ 2016)

Pride to community and appreciation of other cultures. 89% of surveyed residents stated that arts participation contributed to their sense of pride to the community. Cultural celebrations and supporting friends or family members who are performing in an arts event are the most reported “pride triggers”. 87% of surveyed participants also thought that arts and culture programmes enhanced their appreciation of other cultures, which is essential for building cohesive multi-cultural society like Singapore.

*“I am from China and I know only about some Chinese arts. **I don’t really know much about Indian or Malay arts, or arts from other countries.** By listening to their songs or watching them dance, **we can understand more about their cultures, even when we don’t know the language.**”* (FGD Participant, Tanglin Halt, 26 Feb’, 2017)

Educational impacts

Learning new skills. Some residents highlighted that arts engagement can contribute to promoting creativity and skill building, and learning new knowledge in a creative and playful way.

“Arts encourages people to think out of the box. People can think of different ways to look at common objects.” (FGD Participant, SAFRA Jurong, 21 Jan ’17)

“It’s unexpected (...). I’m experiencing things I might not know, or listen to things that I never heard before.” (FGD Participant, Kallang CC, 21 Jan’ 2017)

Wellbeing impacts

Good mood and positive thinking. Boosting good mood is one of the most immediate impacts and it was reported by 90% of the surveyed participants. Sense of relaxation, joy, inspiration, appreciation of life and supporting active lifestyle are some of the most frequently mentioned wellbeing impacts during the FGDs.

“It’s true when you say we live a very mundane life, a lot of people say ‘Singaporeans got no life, we are not happy’, so this [arts] brings the life back to us.” (FGD Participant, Kallang CC, 21 Jan’ 2017)

“Singing is an activity which keeps one healthy (...). When I visit the doctor, he will ask me, ‘Did you exercise?’. I reply, ‘No, but I sing. I sing while walking.’ (...) I am 76 years old. (...) I came from Woodlands. I took the MRT here alone.” (FGD Participant, Kallang CC, 28 Apr’ 2017)

Impacts: Interest and engagement with the arts

Art events, as described by the residents, build stronger interest in arts and culture and encourage new discoveries. Over 70% of surveyed participants expressed an aspiration to pursue future arts-related activities after engagement in an arts event. Some FGD participants also aspired to be mentored by artists and have their work showcased together at community venues. However, 84.5% of surveyed attendees still saw themselves as ‘passive’ arts consumers. 24.2% of residents expressed the desire to volunteer and only 8.3% to perform. The findings indicate that active participation is more likely to occur among the repeated audiences and ‘art lovers’, as compared to the ‘first-timers’ and incidental audiences.

“There is also a lot of talent within the community who would be looking for a platform to perform. (...) You can also join on a volunteer basis.” (FGD Participant, Tanglin Halt, 25 Feb’ 2017)

“I am just volunteering as a logistic person. I don’t want to be at the forefront.” (FGD Participant, WRL, 15 Oct’ 2017)

Conclusions

Overall, the key findings show that ‘Arts and Culture Nodes’ strategy is a systematic and comprehensive approach that bringing diverse arts programmes and a range of positive impacts to the heartland neighbourhoods and communities island-wide. It was indicated that even temporary arts and culture events and activities (performing arts) can considerably contribute to stronger identities of the neighbourhood spaces and communities and become important collective anchor-points for the local communities.

Findings also suggest that even greater impacts might be created through stronger engagement of available neighbourhood spaces and human assets (building stronger neighbourhood arts ecology) as well as through offering arts and culture programmes on a more frequent and regular basis. Community participation and volunteerism are the essential ingredients of placemaking strategies and arts ecology and keep presenting some of the most difficult challenges. Kallang CC, one of the most mature arts and culture nodes, however, shows that such challenges can be overcome through building stronger neighbourhood arts ecology. The key approach involves not only employing a range of spaces within and beyond the CC’s premises, but also establishing strong interdependence between professional artists, arts interest groups and volunteers.

Important contributions of this study are two guides developed for community arts organisers, artists, agencies and policy makers to support the growth of community arts in Singapore. ‘Guide to Arts and Culture Ecology’ offers a step-by-step framework to identify and evaluate spatial opportunities in the neighbourhood and choose the most suitable formal and informal venues for community arts and culture activities, as well as to articulate strategies for activating public space and communities through arts and culture. ‘Guide to Neighbourhood Arts and Culture Impact Assessment (NACIA)’ provides an evaluation framework to assess short and long term impacts of community arts projects, events and initiatives on local neighbourhoods, public life and communities, gather feedback to improve future arts programmes, and document the history of achievements to support future funding and promotion strategies (attracting artists and volunteers).

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Designing the Contemporary Civic: Three Australian Squares

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Abstract

The recent announcement to construct a flagship Apple store in Melbourne's Federation Square has ignited debate over the role of civic space in Australian cities. This essay explores this question through the interrogation of the design and management of Melbourne's Federation Square (2002), Adelaide's Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square (2012) and Perth's Yagan Square (2018). Constructed over a fifteen-year period, these prominent squares located in three capital cities were conceived as contemporary urban spaces, reflective of a post-colonial Australia. Collectively the squares have won numerous design awards, and have been the focus of extensive architecture, urban design and landscape architecture critiques.

Moving beyond their individual contribution, this essay examines the squares as a suite of responses to reveal how strategies for establishing an inclusive civic space have altered over time. Two major shifts are apparent. First, the transformation of creative place-making strategies from post-modern approaches driven by non-Indigenous designers and curators to strategies of co-creation between non-Indigenous and Indigenous designers and the broader Indigenous community. Secondly, increased difficulties in balancing civic values (such as community ownership) with commercial interest. While the first shift is welcomed, reflective of the growing maturity of Reconciliation processes in Australia, the second highlights the challenges of distinguishing the civic and cultural from the commercial, with contemporary global corporations particularly apt at adopting the language of creative place-making to legitimise their claims on civic space.

Keywords: civic space, Reconciliation, place-making, urban design

Introduction: From Public Space to Place-Making

The design of successful civic space has generated extensive discourse over the past 50 years. Beginning in the 1960s with a focus on morphological and social aspects of urban space, attention in the 1980s turned to Lefebvres' concept of the 'right to the city,' with scholars such as David Harvey, Leonie Sandercock and Peter Rowe warning of the dangers of neoliberal capitalism. Writing in 1997, Rowe highlighted the challenges of producing design that resist 'the whims' of the private developer, the 'consumerist pabulum of market forces' and the 'co-option by states in the form of grandiose projects.'¹ Responding to the political and technological influences on the twenty-first-century city, theorists now challenge the expectation that public spaces operate as the primary sites for civic practices. Urban scholar Ash Admin, for instance, observes that 'sites of civic and political formation' are now distributed in a variety of civic practices 'that are not reducible to the urban.'²

This expanded notion of the civic has been paralleled by the rise of 'creative' place-making, along with the emergence of the professional 'place-maker.' Definitions of place-making are elusive ranging from an 'ideology, a theoretical framework for urban policy and design, a technique or set of tools for practitioners and more recently 'an art or science.'³ Distinctions are drawn between the neighbourhood activism place-making strategies advanced by Jane Jacobs, and the concept of 'creative' place-making which promotes the movement of the arts from the studio into urban spaces.⁴ In their 2010 white paper outlining the attributes of creative place-making, Markusen and Gadwa describe art and cultural based strategies developed in partnerships between private, public and community and non-profit which animate and rejuvenate public and private spaces and bring together diverse people to 'celebrate, inspire, and be inspired.'⁵

In the Australian context, concepts of civic space and creative place-making are further complicated by legislative requirements to respond to Reconciliation. Without any formal Treaty between the traditional owners and the British settlers, Australia has struggled to address the ramifications of colonisation, legally and culturally. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, legislative changes recognising native title attempted to rectify some of the injustices. However, the avoidance of fundamental issues such as sovereignty led to limited success. Over the last decade this challenge has been tied into processes of Reconciliation, which

¹ (Rowe, 1997) p.204.

² (Amin, 2008) p.6.

³ (Fincher, Parry, & Shaw, 2016) pp.518-519.

⁴ (Zitcer, 2018) p.2.

⁵ (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010) p.3

began formally in 1991 with the passing of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Act. Ambitions have evolved from addressing the misunderstandings of Australian history and race relations towards instigating policies and practices which encourage relationships and dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, along with questions of equity and equality.⁶ Designers are increasingly being asked to consider how their designs encourage Reconciliation processes.

It is against these evolving theoretical ideas of civic space, creative place-making and Reconciliation that the aspirations for Melbourne's Federation Square (2002), Adelaide's Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square (2012) and Perth's Yagan Square (2018) emerged.

The idea for a public square in the heart of Melbourne surfaced in the early 1990s as part of the new State government's campaign to boost the economy through public works. In 1997 an international design competition called for a new civic space to be constructed over railway infrastructure, adjacent to Melbourne's major rail station and the Yarra River. Designers were challenged to propose a space that could encourage community engagement, innovation and creative expression, whilst also recognising the Centenary of Federation.⁷ The winning scheme by LAB architecture studio (Peter Davidson and Donald Bates) and Bates Smart Architects proved contentious, presenting a deconstructed architectural form never seen before in Australia. A fragmented series of buildings, with fractal facades clad in sandstone glass and zinc, referenced Melbourne's laneways and arcades to develop a precinct scale urban order. This highly permeable urbanism loosely defined a large undulating gathering space, shown in Figure 1, which can accommodate up to 15,000 people.



Figure 1. View to the central gathering space of Federation Square.

Source: <http://fedsquare.com/venue-hire/the-square>

⁶ (Elder, 2017) pp. 79-82.

⁷ In 1901 six of the seven colonies of Australasia were federated into an independent nation. The remaining colony of New Zealand became a Dominion.

Designed as a collaboration between Lyons Architects in association with iredale pederson hook architects and ASPECT Studios, Perth's Yagan Square shares similar site challenges to Federation Square. Located adjacent to Perth's major train station, Yagan Square forms part of the City link plan to better connect the city to surrounding suburbs by sinking railway infrastructure and infilling with an entertainment precinct, public open space and commercial redevelopment. The complex resolution of level changes and movement patterns demanded by the site resulted in a stepped architectural form punctuated by ramps, staircases and constructed peninsulas (Figure 2). A central gathering space located at the upper level accommodates up to 1,000 people and is framed by a signature canopy structure.



Figure 2. An aerial perspective of Yagan Square

Source: <https://www.mra.wa.gov.au/projects-and-places/yagan-square/about>

Adelaide's Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga Square presented a significantly different design challenge. Rather than create a 'new' space, this square already had existed since Surveyor Colonel Light's 1837 colonial plan for Adelaide. While located at the geographical heart of the grid, the square was dissected and bounded by major roads and had struggled to perform as a vibrant civic space, disconnected from the major cultural and entertainment activities located on North Terrace. Prior to its redesign, the square was already cultural and politically significant to Indigenous people, for instance, the first place in Australia to fly an Aboriginal

flag in recognition of land rights for Aboriginal people.⁸ In 2002, the dual naming of Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square was adopted in acknowledgement of the square's significance to the Kaurna people.⁹

In 2011 landscape architects Taylor Cullity and Lethlean (TCL) in collaboration with architects Tonkin Zulaikha Greer, led the development of a revitalising masterplan which aimed to 'enable a new civic life reflective of our 21st century to emerge.'¹⁰ Stage one of the plan (the northern section) was constructed in 2014 and features a raised grassed event space which can accommodate up to 6000 people, temporary shelters which can be turned into larger arbour structures in the future, toilets and a central plaza accommodating cars and pedestrians. As shown in Figure 3, the master plan proposes a more complex built program featuring a culture centre and a mosaic of gardens for the so far unrealised southern part of the square.



Figure 3. Master plan for Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square

Source: <http://www.tcl.net.au/projects/urban-design/victoria-square--tarndanyangga-stage-1->

⁸ Pitjantjatjara elders discussed their Native Title claim at Victoria Square before they met with then Premier Don Dunstan.

⁹ The city of Adelaide is located on the Kaurna's people land of Tarndanyangga (the red kangaroo dreaming). Victoria Square is located close to the former site of their central camp.

¹⁰ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p.17.

This essay moves beyond formal architectural and spatial design strategies to examine more closely the role of creative place-making (through art and culture) and program (event and commercial tenancies) in the design and management of the squares.

Shifting Authorships of Place

All three sites have a long history of Indigenous occupation that predates the colonial cities of Perth (1829), Melbourne (1835) and Adelaide (1836) by thousands of years. Review of creative place-making strategies reveals a common intent to re-inscribe pre-colonial stories and environmental histories onto the contemporary spaces. However, there are significant differences in how stories are conceived, moving from the representation of Indigenous stories (from secondary sources) by non-Indigenous designers to strategies of convergence and co-creation.

The artwork 'Nearamnew' forms the most explicit creative place-making strategy for Federation Square. Covering over 7500 square metres, new stories of place are presented through a text and sculptural work inscribed directly onto the sloping sandstone surface. A collaboration between LAB architects and writer Paul Carter, 'Nearamnew' critiques the making of the Australian nation and offers new perspectives on the concept of Federation. Cultural historian and writer, Paul Carter has spent over thirty years exploring connections between landscape, place, storytelling and overlaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia. In the early 1990s, he began to collaborate with designers and artists to explore how story-telling offers 'a process of cultural reimagining that is the remaking of place.'¹¹



Figure 4. A section of Nearamnew

Source: <http://www.materialthinking.com.au/>

¹¹ (Potter, 2007)p. 253.

Drawing on western and non-western cultural framings, Carter suggests that public space should be ‘narrated into being,’ offering a reimagining of what is already there.¹² This approach is clearly apparent in the techniques and stories underpinning ‘Neararnnew,’ named after the settler miss hearing of the word Narr-m (the Kullin nation’s name for the site of Melbourne). The art piece is dispersed across the surface in nine irregular fissures that spell out n-e-a-r-a-m-n-e-w. As shown in Figure 4, text is overlaid to develop nine readings of a Federal society, mixing together Indigenous, environmental and colonial discourses that ‘have tracked through, over and under this site.’¹³ A global whorl pattern inspired by an 1860 bark etching made by a Boorong artist who lived near Lake Tyrell is adopted as a unifying form for the entire surface, suggestive of an eddying of water across the square. Conceived without any clear order or narrative, the reader ‘performs’ Neararnnew through the act of treading on its surface.¹⁴

Alternative stories and histories of place feature in the Design Development Report (2011) for Adelaide’s Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga. Framed under the ‘new civic,’ this creative place-making strategy was driven by cultural curator Peter Emmett, who has extensive experience as a museum curator, most notably for the Museum of Sydney (1995), located on the site of Australia’s first government house. Without any museum collection, Emmett introduced a place-based philosophy for the museum, working with creative practitioners, artists and writers (including Paul Carter) to develop new representations of place-based stories and histories which acknowledge ‘the gaps, absences, the in-between spaces, the memory places.’¹⁵ The ‘new civic,’ states Emmett, shifts:

the paradigm of urban culture from grand city symbols, strategies and master-narratives to many stories about personal and collective memory of its citizens, interpreting place through spatial experience and interaction with others. Place becomes experience and not thing. We ask not what is this place but what is taking place here?¹⁶

This concept shares similarities with the ‘new’ museum which emerged in the late twentieth century following growing dissatisfaction with the cultural authority of museums. This theoretical framing was particularly influential in the post-colonial national museums emerging in Canada, Australia and New Zealand in the late 1990s, challenging curatorial practices considered ‘elitist and anti-democratic,’ and reinforcing processes of Imperialism

¹² (Potter, 2007) p.248

¹³ (Carter)

¹⁴ (Rutherford, 2005) p.8.

¹⁵ (Emmett, 1996) p.120.

¹⁶ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p. 131.

and colonialism.¹⁷ Influenced by post-structuralism, attention focused on the politics of representation and the ideological construction of the museum accompanied by more ‘reflexive and self-aware’ museum practice. Displays were re-configured to present plural and inclusive story-telling, often through the adoption of post-modern techniques of bricolage and montage.¹⁸

This emphasis is clearly evident in the creative place-making strategies for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga, presented under the concept of ‘The Curated Square,’ which described principles for the appropriate ‘cultural expression’ to integrate and guide the design of public art, wayfinding and site interpretation. Three major story-telling and interactive strategies are proposed; the Arbour Text, the Arcadian Grove, and the Digital Sigh, none of which have been realised so far in the half-constructed square.

The Arbour Text directs the scattering of text fragments amongst the pillars of the Arbour structure. This installation seeks to represent the ‘collective unconscious of Adelaide’ and promote inclusivity and diversity by presenting ‘fragments of past mutterings about civic life.’¹⁹ For instance, official announcements and regulations are juxtaposed with protest references and more everyday observations such as the lateness of trams. Emmett suggests that this ‘musing and debating over who has the right to be or not to be in this place?’ enacts ‘new civic values of acknowledging difference and diversity.’²⁰



Figure 5: The Oracles of Victoria Square
(TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011)

The ‘Arcadian Grove,’ shown in Figure 5, focuses on four colonial-era statues in the square, proposing they be ‘metaphorically knocked off their pedestals’ and repositioned within a

¹⁷ (Witcomb, 2003) p.128.

¹⁸ (Message, 2006) p.28.

¹⁹ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p.132.

²⁰ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p.132.

‘ruin-like’ installation in the south-east corner.²¹ Removed from their heavy bases, the public would have the opportunity to engage with the historical values of the statues, further enhanced by a commissioned soundscape installation. This soundscape reconceives the statues as ‘The Oracles of Victoria Square’ which act as witnesses to past events in the square, with the audio content curated to promote a civic rights story.²²

With an emphasis on juxtaposition, fragmentation, inclusivity and pluralism, the interpretative strategies underpinning the Arbour Text and the Arcadian Grove are strongly aligned with the exhibition practices of the new museum. This agenda extends further in the final strategy which looks to the emerging potentials of ‘new’ media and real-time data to encourage public interactivity. The Digital Sigh project, for instance, collects daytime use data (registering places of congregation and pedestrian desire lines) and transforms this information into a light projection which registers the daytime presence of citizens on the night space.²³ Other digital concepts include the incorporation of surfaces for digital graffiti and the insertion of digital information pods throughout the square.

The concept of a ‘creative template’ is introduced at Yagan Square to ensure common language across the public art, landscape architecture and architecture. While sharing similarities with the ‘The Curated Square,’ the process and intent of the template varies, reflective of a more comprehensive engagement with the local Indigenous community. Developed as a collaboration between Paul Carter, the project artists and designers along with Dr Richard Walley, a well-respected Nyungar artist and Indigenous leader,²⁴ the creative template establishes ‘common ground between Indigenous and white settler heritages, and uses these to generate new forms, symbols and stories.’²⁵

This focus on cross-cultural convergences differs from the post-colonial framings driving Emmett’s concept of ‘new civic’ which instead focuses on pluralism and diversity. While his proposal includes artists (non-Indigenous) and the Indigenous cultural curator Karl Telford, the direction is distinctly museological. In contrast, Yagan’s Square’s creative template was established in close consultation with the Whadjuk Working Party and South West Aboriginal land and sea council, along with many Wadjuk and Nyungar artists and provides the

²¹ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p. 133-134.

²² (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p.133-134.

²³ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p. 139.

²⁴ Walley is a visual artist and major Indigenous leader in Australia who served as Chair of the Australia Council's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts Board for many years. In 1993 he was awarded the Order of Australia Medal for his contribution to the Performing Arts and Nyungar culture.

²⁵ (Lyons, 2014) p.38.

processes and framework for a meaningful and respectful engagement with Indigenous stories and understandings of place.

A commitment to Indigenous values is signalled immediately by the decision to name the square after Yagan -an influential Nyungar warrior and leader who was murdered in the early days of the colony.²⁶ Naming such a prominent space in Yagan's honour reflects the acceptance of his significance to Nyungar people and his importance in understanding the full story of Perth's colonial history. The creative template identifies points of site convergence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous stories including the significance of tracks and tracking, the integration of the local and the cosmic, the site's role as a gathering place and the importance of the Black swan to Nyungar and European culture.²⁷ A diverse range of public artworks explore these convergences, ranging from the nine-metre tall 'Wirin' statue designed by Noongar artist Tjyllyungoo which greets visitors on the William Street frontage through to artist John Tarry's 'Waterline' - a 200-metre water feature carved from Western Australian granite which references the wetland ecology of the site. Unlike Carter's textual descriptions of a watery environment at Federation Square, this work physically brings water into the site, transforming from a small trickle over urban steps close to the amphitheatre into free-flowing water channels and finishing in a shallow reflection pool at street level, shown in Figure 6.



Figure 6: The Waterline as it meets the street (AP)

²⁶ Controversially Yagan's head was exhibited in a London museum before being buried in a Liverpool cemetery in 1964. For decades, the Nyungar community lobbied for a memorial to recognise Yagan, with a life-size bronze statue constructed in 1984 on an island in Perth's Swan River. However, in 1997, within weeks of the repatriation of Yagan's remains to Perth, the statue was beheaded (twice) by vandals using an angle grinder

²⁷ (Lyons, 2014), p.333.

The textual storytelling of Paul Carter is still apparent in the square but easily missed in comparison to the art pieces, spatial elements and the extensive digital program.²⁸ In a further evolution of creative place-making strategies, digital technologies are applied in a more comprehensive manner than discussed for Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga -a reflection of technological advancements. Two digital surfaces project image and sound (night and day) and introduce a public digital art gallery which can show visually dynamic representations of stories, histories and artworks from community groups, emerging and established artists. The high shade canopy framing the amphitheatre reflects digital content from above and below, while a digital tower on the street frontage adjoining the square projects visuals into the surrounding urban fabric, forming a major digital 'totem' for Perth's CBD.²⁹

This examination of creative place-making strategies reveals a major change in the way stories are conceptualised and inscribed onto the squares, moving from an emphasis on plural stories and histories constructed in non-linear strategies of bricolage and juxtaposition to more diverse and dynamic representations presented through public art and ambitious digital programs. Even more important is the transformation of the politics of authorship which accompany this shift, changing from post-modern inspired representations of cultural plurality, inclusive of Indigenous stories (but curated by non-Indigenous designers) to processes which bring non-Indigenous and Indigenous artists, designers and communities together in a cross-cultural convergence. In the context of Australia's political history, this move to dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is of major significance, offering evidence of the ambitions for Reconciliation influencing the design of civic urban space. Creative place-making strategies though are only one way in which place is established. Equally influential is the way cultural events, along with other commercial uses, are embedded in the squares.

Programming Space

In his essay 'Collective culture and urban public spaces', Admin highlights the role that 'multiplicity' plays in the conceptualisation of contemporary civic culture.³⁰ Not to be confused with 'mixed-use,' multiplicity refers to the encouragement of social inclusion. This concept of 'multiplicity' is championed in all plans of management, with the squares collectively conceived as event spaces, that celebrate diverse heritage and multi-culturalism, along with arts, creativity and entertainment. Federation Square, for example, highlights its

²⁸ Carter proposed the 'Passenger' story which celebrates an early Nyungar resistance fighter, Fanny Balbuk, who defiantly walked through Perth's rapidly developing colonial settlement to access her food gathering places.

²⁹ The tower is crowned by 14 metal bull rushes (which represent the 14 Nyungar language groups).

³⁰ (Amin, 2008) p.9.

extensive calendar of cultural festivals,³¹ which can host up to 35 different multi-cultural festivals and over 2,000 events in one year.³² The contemporary square, however, is as much a commercial venture as cultural, and it is in consideration of appropriate commercial uses that distinctions emerge. Here the ‘imagined’ geographic positioning of the spaces strongly influence the types of commercial uses and tenancies promoted.

Yagan Square is conceived as a Western Australian space, with food forming the dominant commercial program. A market hall stretching over two floors houses small food stalls (many of which originated from local food trucks), featuring Western Australian specialties such as farm to plate dining, lobster rolls, toasted sandwiches and produce from a honey farm. The design of the food hall is highly permeable, with a double height void, large windows, and a thickened wall (which provides sitting nooks), establishing a strong physical and visual relationship to external spaces. A playground is located behind the amphitheatre, while an Asian themed food street and more food, drink and entertainment establishments are positioned away from the central gathering space along the street perimeter. The complex is devoid of museums, galleries and cultural centres, an omission explained by the close proximity of major cultural institutions such as Art Gallery of Western Australia and Perth Institute of Contemporary Art located just 200 metres down the road. Instead, the focus remains on food, entertainment, play and gathering, contributing an everyday feel to the square.

Considered of ‘city significance,’ Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square aspires to be one of Adelaide’s premium events space. Importantly the management plan does not encourage late night or alcohol focused activities,³³ instead favouring major annual celebrations such as Santos Tour Down Under (an International cycling event), acting as a hub for the Adelaide Fringe Festival and a staging point for annual Indigenous related events and celebrations such as National Sorry Day.³⁴ Beyond hosting feature Adelaide events and occasional recreational activities such as a temporary ice skating rink, the day to day use of the square are low key and passive.

As mentioned earlier, a far more explicit cultural program is envisaged for the so far unbuilt southern side of the square in the form of the Mullabukka Cultural Centre. Developed by

³¹ All events (including the right to protest) require permits.

³² (Brennan, 2018) p.167.

³³ (Council, 2015) p.24.

³⁴ In recognition of the site’s significance to Indigenous communities, the road dividing the square was renamed Reconciliation Plaza in 2014

architects Tonkin Zuliakha Greer in collaboration with Indigenous consultant Karl Telfer, (on behalf of the traditional owners) and Peter Emmett, the centre is conceived as a ‘Living Kultja’ a place for the transfer and activation of the knowledge of country, ritual, song, custom, memory, place and belonging.³⁵ As shown in Figure 7, the Centre is surrounded by a mosaic garden of South Australian native plants, and together they are intended to offer visitors an orientating experience of Indigenous culture and the unique environment of South Australia before they head into other regions of the state.³⁶ The intent to include a stand-alone centre is surprising, given the difficulties arising from Indigenous cultural centres constructed throughout Australia in the 1990s. The concept, as presented in the development document, replicates major mistakes of earlier experiences by focusing solely on architectural form and design intent, without considering more critical questions of governance, organisational structures and the dilemma of on-going funding.³⁷

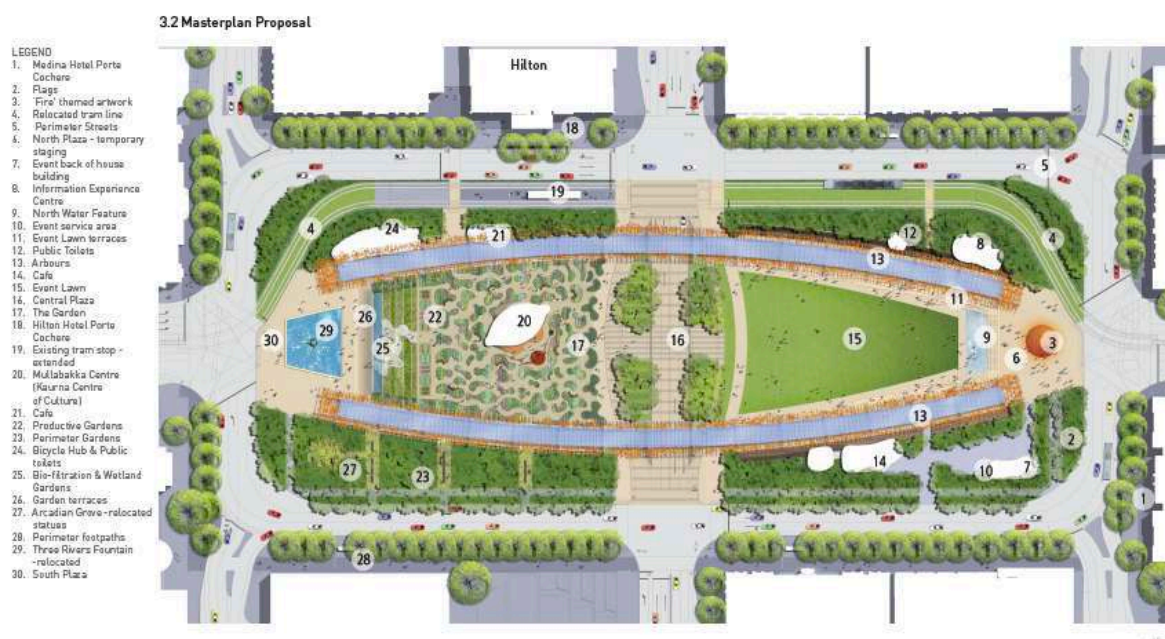


Figure 7. Master plan showing cultural centre and mosaic gardens
(TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011)

Whether the cultural centre and garden will ever be realised is questionable. Adelaide City Council who funded the stage one development (\$30 million) are requesting the South Australian State government funding stage two. The State government is reluctant to invest until after the redevelopment of the nearby Adelaide Central markets. Consequently, many of

³⁵ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) p.153

³⁶ (TaylorCullityLethlean, 2011) pp. 153.

³⁷ For a comprehensive discussion see (McGaw & Pieris, 2015)

the issues which inspired the revitalising master plan remain, such as the continuing dominance of traffic around the square's perimeter and no permanent cultural, recreational or commercial attractors.

With over 40 tenancies and the ambition to operate simultaneously as a global, national and Melbourne space, Federation Square has the most developed cultural and commercial program. The square houses major cultural institution such as The National Gallery of Victoria (Australia Collection), Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), Australian Centre for Moving Image (ACMI) along with the Melbourne Visitor Centre. Over time there have been shifts in tenancies. For example, in 2009 the Australian Racing Museum closed, with the Koori Heritage Trust relocating to their space, inserting the first explicit Indigenous program into the precinct. Surprising for a city known for its food culture, Federation Space has struggled to develop successful food venues and cafes, with existing businesses presenting an uninspiring collection of food outlets.

The emphasis on cultural rather than commercial tenancies was challenged in December 2017, by the announcement to demolish Federation Square's eastern building and replace it with an Apple Global Flagship store. Designed by Norman Foster, the new store as shown in Figure 8, has little in common with the architecture of the original design. With no consultation with the public or Melbourne City Council, yet with a charter claiming the square under 'community ownership,' this development shocked the public. Many were outraged that a much-loved Melbourne place would now be branded by Apple, while others argued that if Apple had to be a tenant why couldn't they simply move into the existing building.

The relevance of a global brand to Federation Square's cultural and civic charter was argued through the language of creative place-making championing innovation, creativity and cultural expression. Federation Square CEO Mr Tribe stated:

Apple's Global Flagship Store is an ideal fit with Federation Square's civic and cultural charter which calls for 'innovation and creativity in all forms of cultural expression' as well as activities that attract national and international visitors. In its fifteen years as the heart of Melbourne, Federation Square has championed the values of innovation, creativity, design and community.³⁸

³⁸ ("Federation Square management welcomes Apple," 2017)

The support of Donald Bates, one of the original designers, further muddled the argument. In an opinion piece published days after the announcement Bates gave his support for the proposal, claiming that Federation Square ‘was conceived – most importantly – as a precinct that conjoins the civic, the cultural and the commercial.’³⁹ He argued that without government funding, Federation Square struggled financially to function ‘while honouring its public charter’ and that a corporate tenant ‘will go a long way to re-balancing the operational impost on Fed Square.’⁴⁰ Ten months of community protests driven by the ‘Our City Our Square group’ has inspired a redesign of the architecture (which resulted in minimal change) and the application of an interim heritage order to slow the redevelopment process. With a State election planned for November, the issue has become a major part of political campaigns. With no clear outcome in sight, this on-going debate highlights the conflicting values underpinning the management of the square; declared as community-owned, yet expected to yield profit, with Federation Square not funded in the same manner as other cultural institutions.⁴¹

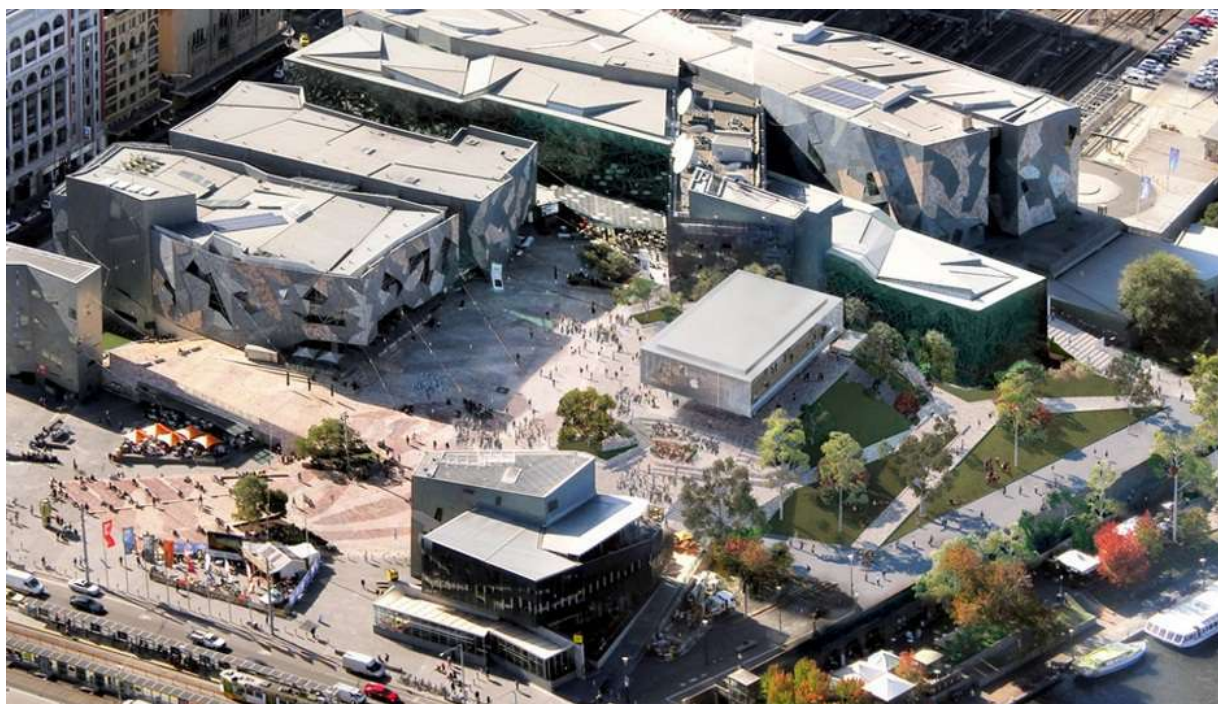


Figure 8. The Foster designed Apple Store located on the eastern edge.

<https://theurbandeveloper.com/articles/apple-releases-redesign-federation-square-store>

³⁹ (Bates, 2017)

⁴⁰ (Bates, 2017)

⁴¹ ("Andrews Government: Debate audience says no Apple megastore," 2018)

Yagan Square, in its first iteration, appears to be free of this tension surrounding commerciality and culture. The project was developed and managed by Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority (MRA) who champion their role as 'Place Manager, Planning Regulator and Developer, claiming to be the only Australian government developer to have 'all three functions in-house.'⁴² Only time will tell how this model might respond if corporate brands primed to capitalise on the community town square come knocking. As the MRA's 'place-making model' diagram shown in Figure 9 demonstrates market appetite and fiscal conditions remain major drivers in this development model.

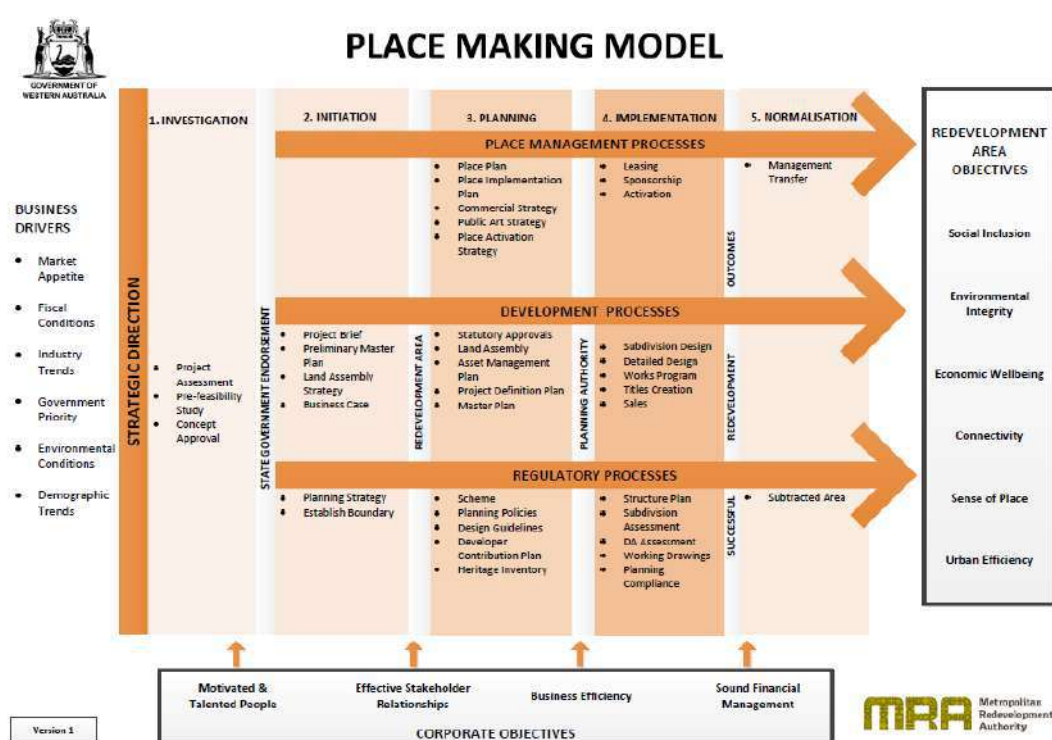


Figure 9. Place Making model

Source: <https://www.mra.wa.gov.au/>

It could be argued that Federation Square is a victim of its own success. The ambition to have significance beyond the local and national has contributed to its attractiveness to global brands which strategically capitalise on the increasingly blurred relationship between culture, community and commerce. Apple is particularly astute in this realm, with the design of physical spaces now considered their 'largest physical product,' aiming for their stores to become 'one with the community.'⁴³ The debate over Apple is not unique to Federation

⁴² (Authority, 2018)

⁴³ (Statt, 2016)

Square, replicated in other parts of the world as the company aggressively inserts itself into culturally significant sites. Recently in Stockholm, the newly elected City Council has opposed the construction of an Apple Store in Kungsträdgården, a historic park.⁴⁴ While commercial uses have always been associated with vibrant civic space, the real question is about the effect of corporate branding. Ironically many of the tactics used by Apple such as focusing on creativity and community building, are aligned with the ambitions of creative place-making, making the debate increasingly difficult to negotiate.

Conclusion: A Contemporary Australian Civic?

At first glance, these three contemporary civic squares share similar theoretical and cultural agendas, conceived as post-colonial Australian spaces, celebratory of cultural diversity, Reconciliation, culture, creativity and entertainment. However, this paper's comparison of design and management approaches reveals that the design of contemporary civic space in Australia remains an evolving cultural and economic challenge, requiring the negotiation of two new influences- Indigenous communities who have historically been absent from the conceptualization of urban civic space and global corporations who increasingly view themselves as builders of contemporary communities.

From a creative place-making perspective, all schemes adopt 'alternative' stories as a means for constructing a post-colonial place. However, the conceptualisation and representation of these stories differs markedly. At Federation Square, non-Indigenous designers and writers produced a sculptural text narrative of place, encompassing environmental histories, western histories and Indigenous values. The concept of the 'new civic' guides the (so far unrealised) creative place-making strategies for Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square, 'curating' diverse histories and stories using strategies aligned with the post-modern exhibition approaches of the 'new' museum. And at Yagan Square a strategy of co-creation is adopted, formalised by a 'creative template,' and a robust consultation process between the designers, Indigenous artists, leaders and the Whadjuk Working Party and South West Aboriginal land and sea council. This evolution reflects a maturing of Reconciliation processes, moving from *recognition* of Indigenous perspective to *dialogue* between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

As event spaces, all share goals of 'multiplicity' within their cultural and civic charter. However, the 'imagined' geographies underpinning the squares, along with the increasingly blurred delineation between the civic, the cultural and the commercial produces contrasting

⁴⁴ (Steeber, 2018)

outcomes. Without any permanent cultural or commercial attractor, Victoria /Tarntanyangga Square remains unfinished, still suffering many of the same issues which inspired its revitalisation. Globally recognised Federation Square is now highly attractive to corporate entities such as Apple who increasingly aim to situate their stores within the heart of the community. Yagan Square, in its first iteration, remains West Australian and locally focused, but this could easily change depending on the commercial viability of tenancies.

As this analysis has revealed, to design Australian urban civic space in the early twenty-first century is an extremely complex affair, requiring the negotiation of the increasingly blurred boundaries between the civic, cultural and commercial realms, the spatial imaginings of the global, national and local, and the growing cultural and political ambitions of Reconciliation.

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Communitization of Village: Peitian Community College's Experiments on Rural Publicness

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Abstract

This paper takes Peitian Hakka Community College in Fujian Province as an example. Learning from Taiwan's experience, the Community College tried to explore the public sphere of villages by encouraging villagers to conduct various experiments about publicness, so as to empower the village and help them realize self-governance. The establishment of the community college has started the communitization of Peitian village. The College, though at first doubted by the government, was welcomed by villagers due to the public services it provided. It was accepted later by the government and delivered concrete results in areas like reviving traditional culture and organizing cultural events. However, due to funding issues, it rebuilt itself into a commercial organization for cultural tourism, organizing village study tours and operating homestay hotels. Its role as public service provider was thus weakened and also its relations with the village and the government. The author discovered although the community college's goals of conducting those publicness experiments were not fully achieved, it has increased the ability of the villagers to participate in public affairs and opened other possibilities for the development of rural publicness. The author has compared the case of Peitian with the idea of public sphere proposed by Western thinkers represented by Jurgen Habermas. She pointed out the limitation of these urban bourgeoisie, the differences between the publicness of Western and Chinese societies, and between the context of Taiwan and Fujian. She also pointed out that the differences are embedded in different social relations and political systems. Finally, she proposed the concept of "iterating publicness" to describe the communitization of Chinese villages.

Keywords: communitization of village, publicness, rurality, community college, Peitian

Introduction

The contemporary villages in China have undergone tremendous transformations and have been affected politically, economically, socially and culturally. In particular, when the power of market extended into villages, the disintegration of village publicness was accelerated under the influence of the Western modernity and new liberalization. Indigenous people's migration took the vigor and vitality of the villages away and also transformed and alienated the original rural ethics and culture. As a consequence, the spirit of mutual aid and cooperation among neighbors was eliminated; public opinion lost its publicness; public morality declined; public affairs shrunk and rural communities were in the process of disintegration (Wu, 2012).

On the other hand, due to the long-term urban-rural binary opposition, Three Rural Issues, i.e. issues concerning farmers, agriculture, and rural areas, are prominent (Wen, 1996). Since 2003, China has shifted its focus from urban to rural areas. Since 2004, the Central Government has issued "No. 1 Document" about rural areas for 10 consecutive years to ease Three Rural Issues. In this context, Wen Tiejun, an expert on Three Rural Issues, established the Rural Reconstruction Centre in Renmin University of China. Intellectuals represented by Wen Tiejun adhered to the concept of mass education and spiritual education in rural construction proposed by the predecessors such as Yan Yangchu, Liang Shuming and Tao Xingzhi in the early years of the Republic of China. They hoped to reconstruct the rural society through the construction of rural ecosystems, urban-rural interaction, and interactive education, thus alleviating the Three Rural Issues (Wang et al., 2012). Peitian Community College is an important part in this system as well as the community college with the longest duration.

Taking Peitian Community College as an example, this research reexamines the community college established by intellectuals with Wen Tiejun as the core by drawing on the experience of Taiwan community construction and community college, which aims at promoting villagers' self-organization, participation in public affairs and the restoration of rural public spheres through education. Analyzing the community action it has taken at different stages, this research endeavors to clarify the publicness introduced by the Peitian Community College to the village publicness experiments, thus responding to the Western publicness and public spheres represented by Habermas. First, this research puts forward the limitation of Habermas's concept of public spheres on behalf of the urban bourgeoisie and points out the differences between the publicness in Western society and that in Chinese society. Secondly, it points out that these differences of publicness are embedded in different social relations and political systems. Finally, this research discusses the characteristics, hidden concerns and possibilities of rural areas in contemporary China in the development course of publicness.

Literature Review

(1) Publicness and the public realm

Publicness is the key in the public sphere. Therefore, the definition of the public sphere should be made before discussing publicness-related issues. The concept of public sphere proposed by Jurgen Habermas is the most typical one. He regarded public sphere as salons, societies, newspapers and magazines and other critically-analyzed common spaces set up by the male bourgeoisie in the 18th century's Western world. Public participation in the public sphere, which communicates the nation and society, opens a way for free and equal talks in an aim for reaching rational consensus. But these views were criticized and doubted by the later academic fields in countries such as Germany, the UK and the US. The criticisms focused on the mode of the overidealized public sphere and on the views of male bourgeoisie who equalized civil society excluding class, gender and ethnic groups (McLaughlin, 1993; Robbins, 1993; Hohendahl, 1979; Elstain, 1981).

Therefore, the public sphere should keep open for new possibilities. We should identify specific content of publicness under certain historical and social backgrounds. Ferree (2002) and other scholars thought that there was no single kind of public sphere. Rather, it was decided by the democratic mode. That's why under China's specific village background we center on the publicness in this paper.

In Chinese society, scholars started to reflect on the difficulties and possibilities in the public sphere under Western influences of enlightenment reason. Xia Zhujie (1994) doubted western world's publicness from the perspective of Marxist-political economy. He reminded us of the political intentions of publicness and resorted to pluralistic culture and the public sphere's practical needs to reconstruct publicness and social production in the public sphere. Gu Zhonghua (2004) pointed out that medias and the third parties controlled by political power also influenced the development of the public sphere. He Mingxiu (2005) further criticized that in society, strengthening the publicness of words would, on the contrary, exclude the ethnic groups deficient of cultural capitals, and that rational communication could just reflect the existing power-controlling mode. Therefore, we should think about the development of the Western public sphere in non-Western world, as well as the political features of publicness.

Another group of scholars tried to analyze Chinese social behaviors in the public sphere by comparing with Western societies. Chen Ruoshui (2004) thought the public sphere was so exclusive that it was simply confined within Chinese clans locally in traditional society. Ding Renjie (2007) thought the concept of public sphere in the western world was quite different from that in traditional Chinese society, with the latter one containing traditional ethics and moralities in Chinese clans because of cultural habits. Yang Hongren (2007) supported the view that publicness in moral context was highly reasonable. He added that once social behaviors

were related to such publicness, people were easily mobilized, and yet we should notice differences among generations.

Additionally, other scholars strived to figure out how the public sphere was developed and transformed under Western influence in Chinese society. Weller (1999) adopted the term of Alternate Civilities to illustrate a new form of self-governing democratic principle based on the original cultures and social organizing principles while Ding Renjie (2007) thought the term of Alternate Traditionality may be more suitable.

To sum up, we need to clarify that even though Jurgen Habermas's definition of the public sphere contains the publicness with public's involvement and the features of criticalness, which would contribute to civil society development, it is not suitable for all. Thus, while developing the social publicness, we shall not adopt Western views completely. Rather, we should analyze different meanings of publicness and its influence on power according to different social, political and economic contexts.

(2) Communitization and community college

The concept of community was firstly proposed by Tönnies (1999), who regarded community as a society connected by clan kinship. The scholars later identified community as composed by a group of people living together in one place. But this paper focuses on the social behaviors rather than the concept of community itself. Xia Zhujiu (2007) analyzed social mobilization to define the concept and scope of community. Only by participating in the social mobilization can people discover and then protect their common interests, forming an autonomous structure of community empowering and demonstrating community awareness. Therefore, community is no longer a common nostalgia in tradition, but contains the features of public sphere in civil society. This paper transforms the concept of community into communitization to indicate a process. Social mobilization involving different participants and the process of public activities together form the basic content of public sphere.

Peitian Community College drew on the experience of the community construction and community colleges in Taiwan. That's why we need to learn from cases in Taiwan to understand the features of Peitian Community College. The general community construction in Taiwan is the result of Taiwan's gradually mature democratization, which emphasizes power delegation and public participation. The key position of the community could both continue the local history and culture and encourage people to participate in civil affairs with self-awareness (Chen, 1992; Huang, Guo and Lin, 2001; Lin, Dai and Wang, 2002). After the general community construction and the awareness of community, under the trend of community autonomy, the community college was set up with the support from Professor Huang Wuxiong and his colleagues. Li Chongzhi (2000) related the movement of establishing the community college with the educational reform movement, social movement, community construction

movement and the local autonomy movement. Huang Fushun (2002) deemed the function of community college as building cooperation with local community and cultivating modern civic awareness to ensure that citizens have the capability to engage in public affairs. Xiao Jiachun (2004) further proposed that the community college reshaped the Taiwan public's culture and values, which could guide Taiwan into a civil society. Li Boyu (2005) thought the community college in Taiwan was functioned by the coordination between public and private sectors, which would form a new community governance model with the expectation to achieve the vision of civil society.

Given the above, Peitian Community College learned from Taiwan experience to cultivate villagers' ability to join public affairs through education, and further to realize the self-organization of villagers, in a bid to realize the communitization of Peitian Village.

The History of Peitian Community College

To understand the origin and development course of Peitian Community College, it is necessary to comb through the intellectual action team dedicated to rural construction with Wen Tiejun as the pioneer as well as the venation and experience of the rural community college experiment based on the Rural Reconstruction Centre of Renmin University of China.

Wen Tiejun, a famous expert on the Three Rural Issues, has long been engaged in rural investigations and researches and rural reform pilot sites. From 2004 to 2013, he served as dean of the School of Agriculture and Rural Development of Renmin University of China. He pointed out in the analysis of the team's rural practices that, his goal is to actively undertake the rural construction reform by the predecessors such as Yan Yangchu and Liang Shumin in the last century under the premise of reflection on modernization, endeavoring to launch a new rural construction movement in the new century. Giving full play to his resources in the academia, Wen arranged for the further education for volunteers engaged in rural construction and continued to practice the new rural construction ideals in different universities and township construction centers nationwide in an effort to form a "thought community" (Wen, 2016). Cooperating with the grassroots and local governments, they emphasized a program of action that integrates action, research and experiments (Pan, 2018).

His team took the Rural Construction Center of Renmin University of China as the main body of action; their rural construction practice form followed that of indigenous education, which took rural schools and community colleges as carriers to carry out rural experiments. Experiment in its nature contained various development paths, such as success, transformation and failure. For example, Yan Yangchu Rural Construction College was banned by the government in 2007 (Wen, 2016); Futian Township Community College was also banned in 2013; Peitian Community College was initially stigmatized and then it was forced to transform in 2014 due to the suspension of funding and other reasons; Putian Tingtang Community

College has survived due to the long-term funding from financial groups in rural areas.

This paper defines colleges established before 2010 as the first stage, which exists as a stage of preliminary experiment. Its main effect is training more than 700 rural construction volunteers from other places, but little attention has been paid to locality and community capacity building. The community colleges established in Fujian after 2010 is the second stage, drawing on the experience of community building and community colleges in Taiwan, which were a kind of publicness experiment. With a series of new rural construction experiments that take education as the means and empowering and capacity building in rural areas as the purpose, Peitian Community College is the representative in the second stage.

Village publicness experimentation in Peitian Village

(1) Peitian Village Profile

Peitian village, located in Xuanhe Town, Liancheng County, Fujian Province, is an ancient Hakka village with a history of more than 800 years. Most villagers are from the same clan and surnamed Wu. The village still keeps many residential buildings built in Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-c.1911) that remain intact. Due to its cultural value and historical significance, and with the development of cultural and tourism economy, Peitian Village is becoming increasing well-known and the village's heritage has become its name card.

Why did Rural Reconstruction Centre of Renmin University choose to conduct their rural experimentation in Peitian Village, then? What of its characteristics meet their criteria? First of all, the rich cultural heritage is one of its most prominent features; it is easy for Peitian to attract the attention and resources from the outside world. The second feature is its geographical location. There are three types of geographical locations for China's villages. The first kind are in remote areas and lose many of its population, represented by some "vacant" villages. The second type are located near the urban area, which, during the process of urban sprawl, either will be transformed into a part of the city or become a "urban village". Villages of the third category are neither far away or too close to the urban area, to which Peitian belong. Its characteristics have been well reserved due to its location and meanwhile it is more accessible to the urban residents than those in remote areas. The third reason is Peitian residents' strong motives for heritage reservation. Heritage protection discourses have been uttered by the non-governmental cultural elites since 1987. Finally, in 2010 when an article titled "Education, Blood Vessels of a Village" appeared in the column "Freezing Point", China Youth Daily, it became a blasting fuse for a large-scale heritage protection movement. The article was written against the background when the Peitian Primary School faced the threat of closure to call for the community's attention. The article has reviewed the history of indigenous education in Peitian featuring a farming-reading culture and its autonomy tradition that emphasizes both production and education (Wang, 2010). These ideas happen to coincide in those of the

community college. Therefore, the Peitian village is an ideal place to build the experimental rural community college.

After the publication of the above-mentioned article, Qiu Jiansheng and his colleagues came to Peitian in 2010 and initiated to build a community college here. Under their efforts, Peitian Hakka Community College was established in March 2011 jointly by the Rural Reconstruction Centre of Renmi University and several NPOs headquartered in Beijing. Funded by Zhengrong Group, it operated as a non-profit public service organization (Xie, 2013). Qiu is an important figure in Wen Tiejun's thought community, serving as Deputy Secretary General at the Rural Reconstruction Centre of Renmi University, Director General at Beijing Yanyangchu Civil Education and Development Center, and Deputy Director at Center for Rural Construction and Community Construction, Fujian Agriculture and Forestry University. He was also the founder of the Cross Straits Rural Construction School at Fujian Agriculture and Forestry University. The last two institutes have close relations with Taiwan. Qiu's team has been to Taiwan several times to study and exchange with the peer in various Taiwanese academic institutes. Their experimentation with community college, therefore, to a large extent has learned from the experience of Taiwan in developing community colleges and constructing communities.

(2) The Rural Publicness Experimentation: Peitian Hakka Community College

After the Reform and Opening Up started since 1978, the government broke up the land into plots farmed by individual households. As a result, villagers paid less attention to public affairs, leaving it to the government. However, the local authorities had no time to take care of the public services. The rural publicness experimentation of building the Peitian Community College, has made up the government's absence in this area. "What they've done is what we've wanted to do. We just don't have the resources and energy," secretary of the village's CPC party committee said.

Preparations for its establishment have begun since 2010 and it's been run till today. The activities of the College can be divided into three stages. The first stage was from 2010 to 2011 when the project has just been launched; the second from 2012 to 2014, which was the mature stage; the third began from 2015 and last until today and is the transition stage. Below is a brief introduction to the development course of Peitian Community College.

1. Launch Stage (2010-2011)

When Qiu and his colleagues started building the college, they had to earn trust from the villagers in a short time. The means he took was to summon college students to come to the village during the summer holiday as volunteers to organize a summer camp for the local pupils, which charged no fees for attending. As Peitian has a long-lasting tradition that values education, villagers responded with great enthusiasm. Also, Qiu encouraged the women in the

village to learn Square Dancing during the summer camp, and this was the first step the village took towards a public cultural life. At the end of the summer camp, these volunteering college students organized a night performance performed by both the volunteers and the local kids. They also invited a local band to perform. This was the first night performance in the village after the reform and opening up, and thus many villagers were attracted to watch it.

Through these activities, trust was built and more people were willing to contribute to the Community College. With the help of the college volunteers, the children prepared the first Spring Festival Gala Evening for the village. Peitian people hold strong respect for their ancestors, even stronger than those deities. To solve the problem of where to eat of the elderly living alone and fulfill the filial duty, the villagers, motivated by the Community College, worked with the College to build a Seniors' Canteen, utilizing the funds provided by Zhengrong Group.

At the beginning, the local government did not know much about this kind of non-profit organizations and feared that it might be an "evil organization", so they adopted an indifferent attitude of neither support nor interference. When the Community College was going to hold the second summer camp, the government jumped out and said no. The reason was that this organization was not registered. The residents were nicer than the government. They not only provided accommodations to the volunteers but also sent meals to their door. The local respectable persons, especially those cultured seniors, also participated vigorously as the first batch of local volunteers.

2. Mature Stage (2012-2014)

The summer camp became an annual event during this stage. The Community College hoped this activity could help the revitalization of traditional values and reconstruction of identity. The College was devoted more to after-school tutoring than teaching of the local traditions, history and culture, etc. (indigenous education), however, as parents are more eager to improve their children's exam scores. In terms of adult education, taking advantage of the higher education resources it had, the College invited experts of various fields, some from Taiwan, to give lectures. In addition to Square Dancing, women were encouraged to organize a Waist-drum Team and a Pan Drum Team. These performance groups are often invited to participate in various celebration events. In this way, performers can gain additional income.

Based on the forming of these culture and art groups, the College began to motivate the village to establish their own organizations. Economic organizations for mutual help and cooperation was the first step. The College encouraged villagers to join the Economic Cooperative Organizations. However, if no tangible benefits could be gained, villagers would not cooperate with each other. Tobacco Farmers' Cooperation Organization, Tourism Cooperation Organization, Sewing Workers' Cooperation Organization all failed. Finally, aided by the

government's policy of building a ecological village, the College facilitated the forming of a Ecological Cooperation Organization. It invited ecology experts to give technical training and organized study tours for the villagers. In the Spring of 2012, several women from the cultural and art groups attempted to grow rice in a ecological way, but failed due to problems of seed breeding. However, this incident has aroused villagers' interests to try to grow wild rice and learn and teach the traditional farming techniques.

After Reform and Opening up, rituals were performed again. In the middle of 1990s, the village established the Wen Chang Society. Assisted by the Community College, Peitian Council was established in November 2012. The Council was not just responsible for organizing the ancestor worship events, but also negotiating disputes aroused by tourism development that the government could not handle. Urbanization has weakened the village's primary education, and the hundred-year-old Peitian Primary School was forced to close and be incorporated into another school. In 2013, under the joint efforts of the villagers and the College, the Peitian Education Promotion Society was founded to save the primary school from the crisis. When the school was open again, the villagers participated voluntarily in the school matters with vigor haven't been seen since 1978. 160,000 yuan in total was raised; the scholarship system stated in the *Wu Clan Pedigree* was readopted. The Society for the Elderly was founded on the basis of the Seniors' Canteen at the end of 2014.

Accepting the proposal by the villagers, the College helped the village resume their traditional festival celebrations and rituals. For example, the Dragon Lantern Parade hosted during Lantern Festival. This used to be one of the grandest festival in Peitian. Celebration was finally resumed in 2012 after a stoppage of more than ten years. The parade was participated by all villagers; they had never been so closely united. Another example was the Spring Ploughing Festival, which had been a tradition for the village since ancient times during which the God of the Five Grains was worshiped, but was prevented as a result of the political movements in last century. In 2012, the Community College hosted the Festival on a trial basis and invited the urban residents to participate. Later, the government and more villagers were also invited. After being held for several years, the festival has now become a rural tourism brand in Fujian.

Seeing the enthusiastic participation of the villagers in the first stage, the government changed its attitude. The College was finally allowed to hang out its shingle in 2012. The local government also funded the finishing and renting of the College's workplace. When its operation became mature and villagers more experienced, the college's leaders decided to let the community itself play a leading role. In 2014, a gentleman that had served as the principal of Peitian Primary School for many years was appointed as the Secretary General of the Community College, to coordinate the various relations in the village.

3. Transition Stage (from 2015 till now)

Since 2015, the Zhengrong Group stopped providing funds. Thus, the College considered developing the community economy. The College attempted to establish a dyeing workshop, a bookstore, and other semi-non-profit economic organizations, but none of these efforts led to a success. The Seniors' Canteen, faced with funding issue, was barely able to sustain.

Inspired by the Spring Ploughing Festival, the College transfer their energy into developing home-stay hotels and organizing study tours. These tours were mainly about learning the indigenous knowledge. Knowing that the urban middle class like history and nature, the College encouraged villagers to be involved in this project. Having gained support from the villagers, it then started to develop home-stay hotels. The Zinong Tourism Development Co. Ltd. was founded in 2015 by the College to raise funds and operate study tours to Peitian. The workplace of the College was rebuilt into the Xiangyu Homestay Hotel in 2017. As the College stopped providing public services after its transformation, the government stopped giving subsidies for its rental expenditure and removed the sign board. These kind of commercial projects involve the question of how to distribute profits. In addition to that there was also the problem of unequal distribution of profits gained from tourism development that has already existed. These issues made these projects controversial.

The Fifth Spring Ploughing Festival was no longer like the previous ones. As the government was the major fund provider and the festival was linked with tourism projects, how to redistribute economic benefits became a question. The College's original intent to let the villagers be the master was not realized. As a result, the villagers lost their enthusiasm.

What is Rural Publicness?

After the above-mentioned developments of the Community College and with its model of "promote culture and arts to increase participation, participate to promote cooperation, cooperate to increase mutual help, and thus to facilitate development" (Pan, 2018), the idea of community and participation in community affairs has been buried into the minds of the villagers. The Dragon Lantern Parade continues to be the most popular event in Peitian after then College's transformation. The Seniors' Canteen was restored in 2018, rebuilt, operated and managed by the local volunteers who also participated in the building of the Community College, especially the earliest female participators. The Canteen has become not just a place for the elderly to have meals, but also a public sphere for the elder community and has facilitated the forming of a model based on mutual help for elderly care. Those teenagers who joined the summer camps before stepped up to become education volunteers as a way of giving back to the village.

Qiu (2016) summarized four stages of development for realizing the Community College ideal. Mobilization and trust building was the first stage. Nurturing community economic organizations and training talents the second. Consolidation and upgrading of the community

should have been the third stage. Courses design the final stage. In terms of the case of Peitian, its Community College only finished the first and second stages of development. After that, it has shifted towards commercial activities and totally abandoned public services providing. During the first stage, organizing summer camps and encouraging women to participate cultural activities was a low-cost approach to earn trust from and understand the community (Qiu, 2016). The combination of the local cultures and the publicness exists in traditional Chinese society has helped the college obtain recognition and approval from the villagers and thus it was easier to encourage participation. Therefore, the first-stage development can be considered as successful. In the second stage, the College started to renew the old and establish new local organizations. Establishment of the Peitian Council and the Society for the Elderly was comparatively successful. The former's responsibility is to handle the public affairs of the clan such as ancestor worship; the latter is built to fulfill filial duty. Both of them are related with the concept of publicness in traditional Chinese society. However, the economic cooperation organizations were not so successful. The publicness of the traditional Chinese society actually limited gaining of private interests. These organizations involve interest disputes and thus it was difficult to encourage the villagers to participate. Some participators became the mainstay during the process. However, they were restricted by their age.

Habermas's concept of public sphere was one featuring the Western male bourgeoisie in 18th century. Cafés, Newspaper and magazines were its material basis. The emphasis on communication resulted in the forming of rational consensus. Public sphere in Taiwan emerged in 1970s against a specific political context. After the lifting of martial law, community colleges emerged as community awareness was formed and citizens had a high level of participation in public matters, operated with the involvement of the government. Community colleges in China's mainland, however, were established by non-governmental organizations against the background of the marginalization of rural areas after urbanization. Therefore, these differences of publicness are the results of the different social relations and political systems in which they exist.

The difference between community college and Peitian, the public action groups and the village's traditional groups, is actually the difference between two different cultural traditions. It is about the difference between different ways knowledge is produced and different concepts of publicness. Translation is needed between the two cultural traditions to put the community into action (Yang, 2007). The experiment on publicness of the community college which learnt from Taiwan's experience is based on Western ideas represented by Habermas, while the concept of publicness in traditional Chinese villages is based on Chinese moral values. From the success of Peitian Community College, it can be concluded that this newly emerging rural publicness was not simply due to cultural translation. The process of its forming was much more complicated, as villages in China's mainland have not experienced the kind of social

democratization process in Taiwan. Therefore, social production of this new publicness can only be realized after the "communitization" process is finished, i.e., the process of mobilizing villagers to participate. When a kind of publicness that is in compliance with the traditional moral values is formed, the social actions will be justified. Then, it will be possible for these actions to further evolve into the kind of public sphere proposed by Western modern thinkers, the newly emerging publicness to deliver fruitful results, and the villagers to participate in public affairs actively. The new rural publicness is one that iterates again and again. It is sustainability depends on continued communitization process that misses not a single step.

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Reflection on Community Building and Participation at Nandan

New Village

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Abstract

Worker's new villages were the model-housing prototype of Shanghai from 1950s to 1990s. Built in 1990s from a shanty village at the city fringe then, Nandan New Village turned into a neighbourhood of high-density and super-ageing population in the city center now. Like many other workers new village, Nandan was facing environmental and social problems such as building deterioration, insufficient public space, imbalanced public services, and the intergenerational segregation, etc.

Aiming to solve the problems, neighbourhood refurbishment program and public facility upgrade program were introduced to Nandan. As the designer for the newly planned neighbourhood center, the Service Learning team involved in the community building from the spatial design to public participation, and functional optimization. The team video recorded a whole year's transformation in the neighbourhood. The proposed neighbourhood center composed of a three-story former sub-activity center, an abandoned one-story office building, and an enclosed courtyard half occupied by an illegal-built mahjong shed. In order to empower the neighbourhood and engage intergeneration integration, the designer proposed the concept of "everyone's neighbourhood, everyone's home" at the very beginning and hoped to design the new place for all generations.

Public Participation was emphasized throughout the transformation of Nandan New Village. A series of participation events were planned from the first stage along with the draft design scheme, to the trial operation, and even after the grand opening. To initial participation in the community regeneration, the Exchange Day was held in April 2017, in the busiest passageway crossing of Nandan. According to the neighbors' suggestions, a new proposal was introduced in the Hearing Day in May 2017. It turned into the first open discussion in

public for many neighbors in their lifetime. Public involvement kept going with the construction. Lots of compromise/optimization had been made to meet the requests from the neighbors, via planned participation tubes as well as unexpected on street protest. According to the feedback from the users, many functional changes were made even after the grand opening. As a result, the new center is efficiently used by neighbors of various ages and turned into the most popular place in the neighborhood.

Three reflections were concluded after a whole year's involvement in the neighbourhood- many former participants turned into supportive partners; service learning team of university professors and students had great advantage in community building; community Building should design not only the space but the creative way of place-making.

Keywords: Community Building, Nandan New Village, Participation, Service Learning

Leveraging design education to empower youth to be agents of change in their community.

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Abstract

In Fall 2016 an RFP for conceptual models for the first Prototyping Festival in the state of Arizona was issued. The call asked for designed proposals to activate public space and engage the community during a three- day event in Fall 2017. By definition, a prototype is a physical model that test the designed idea. If the prototype is successful, it is mass-produced. This article presents a funded studio that prototyped the process other than the object. The studio explored how to leverage education in Interior Architecture to empower youth in the community to be socially embedded in creating a sense of place in their communities (Zingoni 2018).

Design/Build projects by design schools are one of the few places where design research and praxis can intersect (IDEC 2017). The literature from the last two decades provides a clear understanding of the benefits of design build studios for design students. For instance, learning outcomes include: “it extends students’ design skills by making a stronger link with material experimentation and construction” (Wallis, 2007: 201-202); and “the realization of a project and, through that process, explore and learn about design, material properties, fabrication, and construction techniques” (Better, et al, 2002: 180-182). However, there is little evidence about how this type of participatory projects can be beneficial to members of the community. Qualitative interview questions were developed by the researcher and approved by IRB in order to research if such benefits exists. Seventy five children and three elementary teachers involved in the design-build studio participated on the research to determine their experience in the co- creation of an installation for the prototyping festival between Graduate students in Interior Architecture and children from a local title I school.

Keywords: Community project, design build, participatory collaboration

Introduction

Teaching and learning pedagogies continue to be an ongoing conversation because of the changes associated with technology. Collaboration and community participation and co-design or co-creation have been at the center point of the discussion as a sub group of service learning projects. SLP usually add external motivation for students, influencing the intensity, tenacity and quality of students learning behaviors (Ambrose et al 2010). This motivation is also due to students feeling that their learning could better the lives of others, and therefore, they are more apt to engage in the required learning task (Huber, 2015).

In design disciplines, very often the ultimate goal is innovation, conversely, I am more interested in transformation. This paper explores the impact, if any, this type of participatory projects has in the younger collaborators from a local Title I school. Title I schools are recognized as such when more than seventy five of the student population qualifies for free or reduced lunch. The designed studio as a participatory collaboration with middle school students from a local Title I school, included the following intended goals: to expose youth with very little access to college experiences to what college could be about, to demystify the pre conceptions youth might have about college as boring, to expose them to design thinking and creativity, usually hindered by every budget cut in public schools, and to empower youth to be agents of change within their communities.

After the collaboration between sixth graders and graduate students in Interior Architecture to design and build an installation for the first prototyping festival in the state; the question then became, does it matter? Has this experience changed youth's view about college, or design?

Context

Service Learning involves a “creative tension marked by collaboration, reciprocity and diversity” (Mintz and Hessner 1996, p. 34). Yet, most educational pedagogies from elementary school to college still reflect the factory models such as lectures, symposiums and technical courses, in where students are passive learners. The studio based learning and service learning project presented in this paper intended to have learning outcomes for the graduate students in their first semester in Interior Architecture and also an impact in the community partner. Through this collaboration there is the potential to have positive and lasting impacts for both, the youth and the graduate students in Interior Architecture.

Participatory design- build projects in Interior Architecture are often peripheral to the standard education and the value this can have for students and the community is often overlooked.

Seven graduate students in Interior Architecture Studio I from a Research I university in the southwest of the United States were tasked to engage with youth from a local school to explore a relationship between Culture and Play, to design and to build an installation for the

first prototyping festival in the state. The graduate students also collaborated with three students from the School of Music, the Department of Arts and Culture from the city, and other external partners. Seventy five sixth-grade children from a local Title I school and three teachers participated on the first phase of the project and followed closely the other two phases (Figure 1).

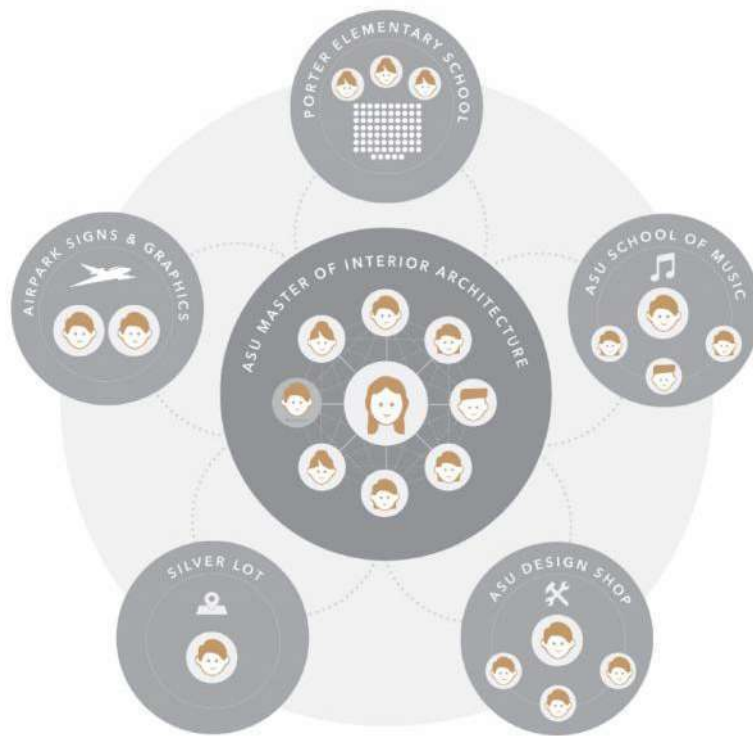


Figure 1- Cross Collaboration

The semester was organized in three phases. The first phase was multimodal engagement with three sixth grade classes, the second phase involved ideation and design development and the third phase involved fabrication. Each of these phases lasted four weeks (Figure 2).

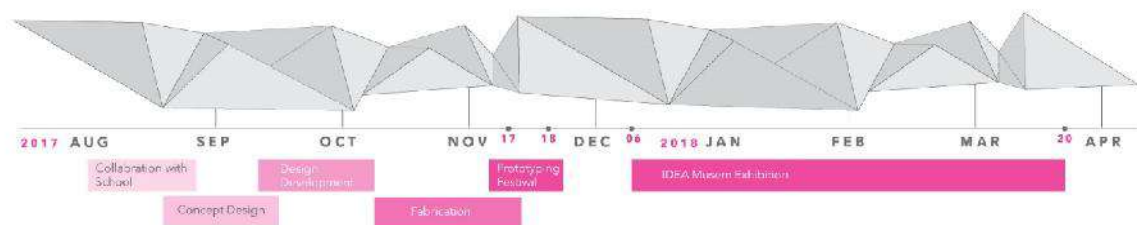


Figure 2- Graduate Interior Architecture semester timeline.

After the participatory phase with the local school, the graduate students in Interior Architecture continued to visit the school to show and discuss progress with the design development and during the fabrication phase, the involvement with the local school continued through weekly skype meetings.

Around twenty percent of the children from the local school attended with their families during their prototyping Festival and shared their excitement with their classmates. Upon the prototyping Festival completion, the installation was transferred to a local Museum where all seventy five sixth grade participants, their teachers, some parents and the principal had an opportunity to experience the installation first hand.

Engaging in participation

The seven graduate students organized a series of activities to engage the youth. The first visit to the local K-6 school involved a series of ice breaker activities to create a dialogue with the youth, beginning with warm-up exercises and bridging activities (Rohd, 1998). One of the rules by the faculty was that all activities planned to be done by the kids should first be done by the graduate students. Therefore, a partner from Rohd's Theater company curated the ice breaker activities with the graduate students and trained them to repeat the activities with the youth. All these activities are described in Rohd's (1998) book Theater for community, conflict and dialogue. The activities carried out with the youth included "circle dash", (p. 10) a game which objective is to find someone else with whom switch places using silent signals and avoiding others to learn their plan to switch; "cover the space" (p. 12), a game that gets people up and involved in the least threatening way; and "zip, zap, zop" (p. 22) a game that quickly gets the participants concentration (Figure 3).



Figure 3- Youth+ teacher + graduate students ice breaker activity.

These activities were not random games to play, but building blocks that allowed us to advance in future planned activities. They enabled the group “to play in a safe space, to energize the space and create a sense of comfort in the collective doing of specific and structured activities” (Rohd, 1998, p.4).

They provided opportunities for the sixth graders to open up and explore their own culture offering a safe place for them to air their views with respect from one another, and freedom. Through the sixth graders’ semi structured interviews answers it was identified that the ice breaker activities also removed all barriers of seniority between the sixth graders, their teachers, the graduate students in Interior Architecture, and university faculty.

The first visit was the only one in which the activities were based in previous literature. The graduate students designed and tested all other activities to collect data from the youth about culture and Play and what they envision for their community. Each set of questions required a specific subset of activities. For instance, following the ice breaker activities, the youth discussed what culture meant for each of them (Figure 4).

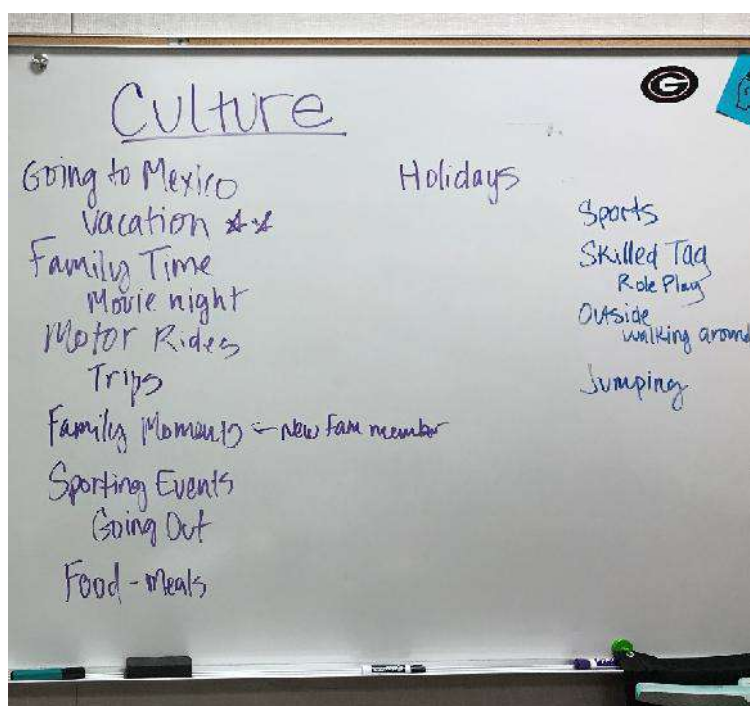


Figure 4- First brainstorming about what culture means to each of the youth.

The second visit the graduate students tasked the sixth graders to write a poem about culture and “make their thoughts” by creating collages about their poems. The graduate students provided magazines, and unused fabrics, wall paper and tiles from the university material library to make the collages (Figures 5 and 6).

During week three the graduate students asked the youth to interview their parents and their grandparents about how they used to play. The intention behind these interviews was to enable

each child to reflect on their own culture. These stories were later applied visually in quotes within the installation, and audible through Arduino boards that would activate the children's stories when stepping on specific places of the installation.



Figure 5- Collages about “my culture”.

Where I Come from...

I come from a family that values love and unity.
A family that is built on diversity.
A mother that has Canadian blood flowing through her veins.
A father that only knows of his artificial background, but not the truth.
For my dad, my personal hero,
He does not wear a cape,
or have super powers to others,
but to me, his heart has powers,
to me, he is my hero.
For my mom, a kindred spirit,
A woman that prides herself on the success of her kids,
She helps me to succeed even when it wasn't an option, she
Does all that she can,
Raising a young boy into a man.

To gather around
With familiar smells abound
Steers the energy homebound

Culture and play,
By my own way,
Through my imagination,
Across generations,
It was our home way,
Playing and having fun,
For all mankind,
East to west,
It's all the same

The warmth,
and Spice that hits the lips.

The silky robes that speak within the humidity
which meets my hair.
It cannot compare to how the seawater brings
it back naturally.
Textured
free
nomadic.

I am nothing but a grain of sand with other
grains that are all home
Like me.

Walking towards the sun
Home.

Figure 6- Poems about “my culture”.

The fourth and last week of activities in the local school, the youth was tasked to generate quick prototype models of their ideal infrastructure for the city that would respond to their findings during the previous three weeks. They supported their models with a written description of their proposals (Figure 7).

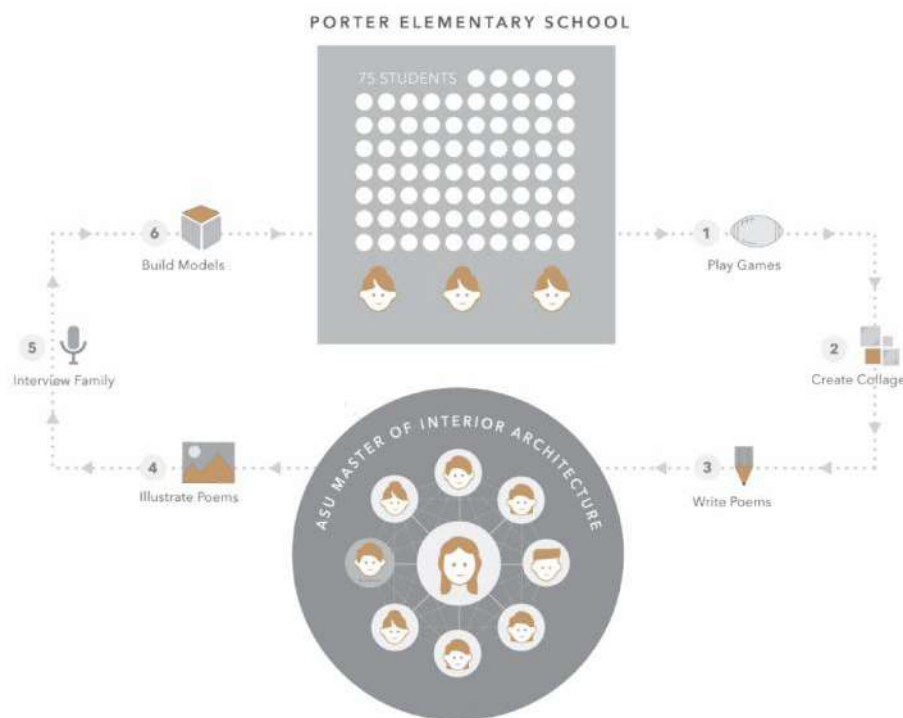


Figure 7- Participatory activities with youth from local school.

Data collection and results

This study obtained human subjects' approval from the IRB office. The researcher developed the surveys and questionnaires for the sixth graders and their teachers. Because the research involved minors the researcher required to get consent from parents through an assent form. The survey was administered by the researcher during class time and the questionnaire was administered by the students' teachers as optional homework.

From the seventy five sixth graders involved in the project, sixty six completed the survey (89% response rate) and the same respondents completed the questionnaires. The three teachers completed both, survey and questionnaire (100 % response rate).

One of the teachers has worked in the past with graduate students from the School of Education, while the other two teachers and the students had no experience working with

university faculty and students. Both the teachers and the students indicated that they had no expectation about the collaboration since they have never done something alike.

Based on the feedback from the sixth grade students, after participating in the semester long collaboration that created “Pause and Play” installation with the graduate students in Interior Architecture, the findings indicate that their perception of college education has changed from just academic studies to experimental and creative. Fifty one out of sixty six respondents (or seventy seven percent) indicated that after this experience they think of college as an opportunity to “create things”.

Collaboration was one of the most favored quality of this type of participatory design process; forty two out of the sixty six respondents (or sixty three percent) said they liked the experience of working with others and being able to create things. The teachers also identified collaboration “outside the classroom” as an unexpected learning outcome and experience for their students. Eighty nine percent of the students and one hundred percent of the teachers indicated they liked the experience as they reported that after visiting the installation in the local museum their expectations were either met or exceeded.

During the ideation process with the youth, their most wanted space for them was a zip line and trampoline. The graduate students explained them that the city didn’t allow these type of infrastructure for liability risks and the youth went through another round of ideas considering this limitation. Sixty three percent of the participants felt the installation designed and fabricated represented their ideas after explaining them the inability to propose trampolines or zip lines due to the city’s regulations for the festival. Fifty eight percent of the students shared the collaborative experience with the graduate students in design with others; including, their parents, friends, other teachers and other family members.

After experiencing the installation first hand, students identified that the audios, triggered by pressure sensors and Arduino boards and the mojis that activated the musical bench appeared to be a popular feature. Although some respondents have mentioned having difficulty listening to the records due to crowd and noise.

Almost all respondents liked the playfulness and creativity of the installation, and the majority of the respondents mentioned they would like the feature being installed in a public or private place close to them.

Eighty nine percent of the sixth graders expressed that they would do a similar participatory collaboration again and the majority expressed that they would also like to be involved in the fabrication phase.

In regards to the teachers’ responses, as mentioned before, only one had experience working with a university professor before, but the professor and the students were from a different discipline. The three teachers also expressed that their expectations were low since they were unfamiliar with design disciplines and the design thinking process. The teachers also

expressed that they would like to have a plan with all the activities and examples of them before the interaction with their students starts. In general, the three teachers saw their students engaged during the collaboration with the graduate students in Interior Architecture and the identified excitement from those who attended the prototyping Festival and shared what they saw with the rest of the classes. The teachers noticed similar excitement in anticipation to the IDEA Museum visit, second temporary home of Pause and Play installation.

The three teachers expressed that they perceived their students enthusiastic towards each interaction with the graduate students and they supported the students comments that they enjoyed better making things and that the students did not like the writing components (descriptions of their models and poems).

Conclusion

In response to the research questions, (1) does it matter?, and (2) Has this experience changed youth's view about college, or design? This type of participatory collaboration between graduate students in interior architecture and sixth graders from a local title I school matters for the youth. The opportunity of exposing youth to the ideation process and communicate design development and fabrication provided excitement in the youth about what was going on in the graduate studio. In general, the sixth graders expressed that this experience changed their ideas about college and that college it could be creative and making things in contrasts with their pre conceived ideas of writing papers and doing math. Their teachers' responses supports this finding, indicated that their students were engaged in the process even when they did not have a clear definition of the outcome.

One observation the teachers made was that they would prefer a clear plan of action for each of the activities, examples and explanations of what the graduate students will do with the students work. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the design studio that requires the graduate in Interior Architecture students to design the participatory activities, the teachers' request would prevent the graduate students in Interior Architecture from designing these experiences, and therefore reducing their learning outcomes in community engagement. The value of this research is evident by: (1) identifying the impact of exposing youth to design thinking and to college experiences; and (2) identifying those areas in which the collaboration can improve.

The sixth grader students' answers indicated that the exercise contributed to explore new paths towards their future, either by thinking about attending college or pursuing a design career.

Being exposed to a complete design process, from ideation to fabrication, also demystify pre-conceived ideas of how things are done.

In a moment where conversations around how to enable a more diverse discipline of

professionals, this type of collaboration might be one way of exposing to audiences that have not access to design yet.

Study Limitations and Future Research

This is one collaboration with one graduate studio in Interior Architecture and one k-6 local school. Alternative perspectives should be investigated to add weight to these conclusions. This exercise done in one design school, in one university should be tested in other design build studios within interior architecture programs, as there is an opportunity to expand this type of exercise.

This service based learning project has also led to new questions for future studies. They include surveying these same cohorts of students in their senior year at high school to determine if this participatory collaboration influenced the rest of their academic education. Another study will address the impact this type of collaboration has on the graduate students in Interior Architecture.

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On Pedagogy in Community Planning: The Case of Doksandong Community Festival in Seoul

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Abstract

In my community planning education, communication and action might be the two pillars. The story of planning education will be dealt with to verify how the above two issues matters in reality. I taught the studio course called as *community planning and design* in my graduate school. In spring semester, 2018, the site was the cattle market areas in Doksandong, Geumcheongu, Seoul. The mission of the studio was to build the trust with local residents and to suggest the creative solution to boost the neighborhood. I urged the students to find out their own ways to communicate with residents. Some solutions were executed at the site by themselves. The students prepared the Doksandong community festival. In the event, students shared their ideas and experiences with local residents. Planning and executing the festival, they could learnt how the idea realized in the field. By reflecting this story, I would like to maintain that action following planning scheme and good communication skills are very critical in planning pedagogy.

Keywords: Urban Regeneration, Tactical Urbanism, Community Planning and Design

Introduction

Recently, civic urbanism is emerging in the form of civic engagement in planning practices in Korea. There has been a great emphasis on community empowerment, communal space and urban governance in field of urban planning and design. In academia, there has been a strong need to reconsider the pedagogy for design education in cope with rising civic urbanism.

In this essay, I am going to share the story of my teaching experience. Community Planning and Design course at Seoul National University has been operated in form of collaborative class both with local government Geumcheon-gu in Spring semester, 2018. The studio site is Doksandong where diverse land uses such as the commercial, the industrial and the residential are intermingled. The cattle market is one of the main urban place within the site. The area around the market has declined. Seoul Metropolitan Government initiated urban regeneration project and diverse public projects will be executed in next few years. The studio will deal with how we can facilitate the resident involvement in planning process.

By using this case, I would like to bring up some issues for planning education. Communication and action might be the two pillars in the teaching and learning process in my course. I asked the students to get involve with residents by listening. Basic premises for pedagogy is related with the planner John Forester' idea for a good communicator as a good planner. Students were being asked to interact the people. They faced many difficulties in communicating with people. However, they slowly build the communal feeling with them. On the other hand, I also urged them to test and act at the site what they imagine and propose. In order to realize the small project, the students need to tackle many real world problems. The idea is related with tactical urbanism.

Finally, the students found out their own themes such as guerrilla gardening, artist collaboration, archiving the lost space etc. They invented Doksandong Community Festival at for the final presentation. The students provided the post it newspaper for the community, the community map, design goods for place marketing, pop-up exhibition. Our endeavor might be a small gesture to facilitate the bottom up approach in urban regeneration. In the essay, I would like to share the some pedagogical issues based on the Donksandong case.

Theoretical Considerations

Planner as communicator has been discussed by many planning theoreticians. Most of planning activities happen when planners meet with people. In planning offices, planners talk with people about planning problems. John Forester argued the most of planner do in their practice is to listen, talk and negotiate with people. Large portion of planning practices are consist of communication activities (Forester, 1988). In the public forum, planners negotiates in various settings with developers and community groups at public hearings (Goldstein, 1984). Additionally, people come to meet planners when they read planning reports (Mandelbaum, 1990). In those cases, a planner is a person who speaks, writes and talks with people.

Practically, planning might be start from listening from people. John Forester maintain that listening can be an act of respect, manifesting that we take the other person seriously. Listening

requires planners' attention, patience and respect of others. Forester also suggested four strategies of listening. He suggested planners to speak 'comprehensibly, sincerely, legitimately and truthfully in the face of distorted communication (Forester, 1980). A good listener and talker might be a premise for a good planner. When planner talks to people, one should abandon the preconceived views and discuss matters with the purpose of providing precious information and of understanding the view of other.

Besides communication, action might be much more important aspects in planning. Good planning report and design scheme does not guarantee good execution. Test bed execution might be a possible alternative. Recently, tactical urbanism or pop up urbanism has been widely discussed in planning and design field. In order to execute the planning scheme at the site, it generally takes time and energy. Tactical urbanism aims at the short term action for long term change (Lyndon and Garcia, 2015). Implementing the small scale at the site will give us the sense of reality. People can grasp how the planning scheme might change the current situation. Planner also can get the confidence of the project or some lessons from the trial and error.

My own pedagogy in community planning and design is based on the two premises. First, I asked the students meet with the residents and talk with them. While mingling with people at the site, I believe students can build trust with them and find the relevant solutions for the community. Second, I believe that any good planning report does not suffice in itself and it completes when action executed at the site. By implementing even in a small scale, students can acquire some capabilities to realize the project.

The Story of Community Festival

The studio site is Doksandong cattle market area, Gumcheon-gu, Seoul, Korea. The size of official urban regeneration site is 232,135m². However, our studio site is not rigid but flexible. I urged the students to involve the micro site where they want to engage in. I would call the site condition as chaotic urbanism where diverse land use such as the commercial, the industrial and the residential are collided. The cattle market has been deteriorated. The urban regeneration project has focused the cattle market as the main target area within the site.

In early stage of the studio course, we studied the concept of urban regeneration and discussed the critical factor in its planning process. Gumcheon-gu officials helped us to provide the useful information concerning the site. We visited the best practice sites in urban regeneration project. Students approached the residents and merchant at the market. However, it was not easy to meet and get along with them. They were frustrated for the first time. They overcame the situation by continuous trials.

I recommended them to find out each student's project theme based on several premises related

to the site. First, the sense of place might be one of critical theme. One can represent the sense of place or archive it. Sometimes, one can celebrate or lament it. Second, the imminent intervention is another possible theme. There are many problems to be solved and many projects to be implemented. Finally, six students selected their own theme.

First project is a guerrilla gardening. In dokсандong, garbage dumping is one of serious problems in neighborhood area. One of the students tried to tackle the problem by guerrilla gardening. One day, she placed the several portable gardens using the concrete block at the spot of garbage dumping. Since then, residents was reluctant to dump the garbage there. Finally, the number of garbage dumping decreased. The elderly people at silver citizen center adopted one portable garden and took care of them. Although it was a simple trial, we could find some possibility of positive nudge effect in community management.

Second project is a film making for the cattle market. The cattle market is regarded as the dirty spot within the community. Some people disliked the market and they urged to relocate it to somewhere. The new image making for the cattle market was needed. However, the cattle market used to be a local economic hub for a long time. One of the students thought that promotion of the cattle market should be an urgent agenda. He decided to make a film about the cattle market. While preparing the film, the student invited the actor who grew up in the area. He had a personal memory and an affinity to the market. The short film was finally made with the help of many professionals who share the vision of the project. *My Cattle Market* (2018) was showing at the community festival.

Third project is a magnolia café vs cattle sculpture. The cattle market is very crowded area. Bad odor is notorious for visitor and even merchants. However, there are little resting space within the market inside. Outside the cattle market, there was a small resting space with chairs and a magnolia tree. The tree was planted by the merchant. It looks very humble but the space was precious for the merchant. One day, the official at Guemcheon-gu with merchant decided to place the cattle sculpture as a landmark. Originally, the tree was supposed to be exterminated. The student persuaded the significance of the magnolia tree to the merchant. Finally, the magnolia tree was survived while the cattle sculpture was placed there. It is a typical case of symbolic representation and memory politics in everyday life. Memory concerning the magnolia café was regarded as trivial matter. New symbolic representation with cattle sculpture seemed to be critical for the merchant and the market. However, the old memory might be meaningful along with new brand image. Preserving the old magnolia tree might be a small contribution of the student's project.

Fourth project is an artwork archiving. To expand the boundary of the site, it can encompass the Gumcheon-gu and Guro-gu area. Those area were the former industrial area where labor

movement was initiated in the face of rapid industrialization in the 1960s-80s. Many artists commemorated and represented the place identity in their art works. In Doksandong, Gumcheon art factory is the artist residence operated by Seoul Culture Foundation. The idea of art factory originally is to provide both the art space for artists as the ground to outreach the local community. Unfortunately, the art factory does not care about the local community. Therefore, the student undertook the archiving research. She found out the several art film dealing with the place. She also interviewed the artist who executed the ceramic art works in the adjacent public school. The idea of artwork was to get involved with residents in painting the ceramic tile at the old fireplace in the school. The student tried to disseminate the artist's idea to local residents.

Five project is called as post it newspaper. One of the students found out the special place identity in a wild and unorganized manner. She found out that post it newspaper might be one of the place characteristic in this area. She suggested that post it newspaper can be an effective communication tool within the community. While working with other students, we decided to utilize the post it newspaper as a communication board to promote the community festival. The community festival was invented to present the students' presentation to the local residents. Post it newspaper was also used as the local communication channel. The student searched the hidden attract places in Doksandong and made a local map. There are rich and fresh information on the neighborhood in the newspaper.

Last project is an exhibition on the communal space. The student focused on the communal space which is about to demolish soon. The space was the former police station and transformed the communal space for the residents. However, the new community center will be built soon. She agitated the importance of the space in itself because we need to archive the place history at least. Nobody cared about the communal space. She did interview the resident who used the communal space to elicit the place memory. Finally, we had the exhibition for the final presentation at the communal space as the part of community festival.

For final presentation, we invented a Doksandong community festival. On June 15, 2108, we had the community festival at community center with local residents and merchants. Guemcheon-gu collaborated with the students for the festival. On that day, there were the student presentation and talk show with local residents. We invited the musician who interviewed the merchant at the cattle market and improvised the song celebrating the merchant's life. Many residents and merchants gathered there and enjoyed the event. Another program was the exhibition at communal space around the community center. The students' works exhibited there for two days. There were warm and positive responses from local residents.

Conclusion: Some Implications for Planning Education

In preparing the community festival and exhibition, students were required to present their projects to diverse audiences in various situation. They are required to meet and persuade the residents and merchants at the site. They prepared the community festival and exhibition with by themselves. They used to tackle the obstacle. While solving the problem, they can get the practical experience in a real world.

To be a good communicator, diverse communication skills were needed. Listening and talking was important. On the other hand, visual communication ability was a powerful rhetorical strategy to persuade people. One of the students finally made a short film to promote the cattle market. Final output for the course was to publish the book covering the whole project process. The book named as *Our Neighborhood, Doksandong* will be published in the end of November, 2108.

I undertook the interview with the students to get some responses. I would like to confirm the significance of communication in community planning and the need of action in planning education. Most of the students agreed that communication was very critical in community planning. Some of them responded they could realize how to meet people by a trial and error. One of the students told me that speaking frankly was indispensable in an effective communication. The other emphasized that she could get the local information after building trust with people. On the other hand, the small scale action at the site was helpful. They told me that they realized how cooperation among diverse stakeholders was valuable. One of the students said that she could get a confidence as a planner. Bodily embedded knowledge can achieved in preparing the community festival and exhibition.

The community festival provided a platform for interacting with other people within the community. It also gave some hints how urban regeneration process should go in the future. All of the stakeholder realized the inherent value of archiving by looking at students' works. Afterward, the urban regeneration team initiated the photographic archiving of the cattle market. Finally, the on-site education is very useful in planning education. Improving communication skills by executing at the site in the studio course cannot be emphasized enough in planning education.

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People, Places, Memories and Pokémon-Go: A Case Study on the Use of Augmented Reality in Public Engagement and Community Development

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Abstract

Digital visualization technologies are powerful tools to facilitate participatory approaches in community design. As a visualization apparatus, Augmented Reality (AR) goes beyond the dichotomy of passive methods of engagement and their one-way communications with the public. AR offers an interactive method to expand both non-computerized and computerized visualization techniques in community design. Moreover, AR increases public engagement by providing comprehensible information to lay citizens and assisting them to express their preferences in an intuitive way. One important aspect of AR is this “fun” factor in the form of mobile games. No other AR game has drawn more players and created this world-wide phenomenon than Niantic’s Pokémon-Go has in the past years. One unique fact of this Pokémon-Go fever is its ability to bring people together and get them out in streets.

Many organizations have used Pokémon-Go in community events. In collaboration with Knight Foundation and Niantic in May 2017, Open Streets 704 organized one event temporarily closing streets to automobile traffic to allow residents to use them for walking, bicycling and meeting their neighbors. Niantic arranged special in-game elements for Pokémon-Go and helped draw people to interesting places along the route of the event. Similar events have taken places in other cities around the world.



This paper discusses three projects conducted by a partnership among four organizations in Charlotte to design three AR mobile apps. These apps along with Pokémon-Go will support a series of community events that will be developed and organized by this partnership.

Neighborhood History Walk App will utilize AR to guide users to visit a number of identified locations in Charlotte's streets. Users will see historical photographs of street scenes through this AR app at these locations.

Neighborhood Pop-up Story-telling Exhibit, imagined as an urban autobiography, will use AR to peel back the layers of time to show the city in new ways through different perspectives. The collection of stories as images will be the cornerstone of this exhibit.

Neighborhood Quality of Life Dash Board App will provide an easy access for people to look for data related to social, economic, environmental and safety conditions in Charlotte. Users can go in streets to explore the data for the immediate area surrounding the exact location where the app is activated.

The underlying principle behind these apps and community events is that innovative digital tools for information-sharing and broad-based public engagement can help build inclusive, healthy, and livable communities.

Keywords: Augmented Reality (AR), Public Engagement, Community Development, Digital Visualization

Community-based Theater project promoting Asset-Based Community Development -A case of Nerima,Tokyo-

Abstract ID # pCE03

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Abstract

This paper is a research of community-based theater in the case of the Choito-Sokomade Project (meaning *a short walk* in Japanese) in Nerima City, Japan, with a focus on creating an opportunity for residents to foster a relationship with the place where they live. Nowadays Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD), a current law in Japan, is based on resident requests and makes use of local characteristics. However, having a relationship with the place where residents live has become difficult in urbanized suburban areas of Japan due to the increase of the nuclear family and decline of traditional local community. In order to promote ABCD, a method conducive to creating a relationship with the local area is required. Theater can be used as a way to objectify community issues and promote conscientization and has been developing globally, however there are few cases for this purpose in Japanese urbanized suburban areas. Thus, this practical research was conducted in order to examine the influence of community-based theater through the case study of the Choito-Sokomade Project.

The Choito-sokomade Project is a community-based theater project organized by a theater group that the first author belongs to. It was started in April, 2017 in the Takamatsu area of Nerima City and continued into 2018. Takamatsu has a long history as a suburban agricultural area, however, because of urbanization associated with population inflow, farmland became residential land, and there were few opportunities to come into touch with the characteristics and history of the place. Action research was used as the main method in this study. Firstly, interviews and workshop were conducted to collect memories of the town and current issues from local residents. Then we created theater performance based on information that had been collected, and performed in the local landscape. An author did a field study on the process, administered questionnaires to the audience of the performance to obtain quantitative data.

Through field notes and the questionnaire (n=56), the following results were obtained;

1. The residents, especially senior citizens, became deeply involved in the Choito-Sokomade Project process by maintaining continuous communication with us.
2. Watching a performance of invisible local history provides a mode for the audience to gain place attachment, especially for new residents and visitors.

3. A new network of local organizations, including ours, were established and have started to collaborate beyond their own fields.

Given these results, Choito-Sokomade Project has a possibility to provide an opportunity to foster a relationship with place and to promote ABCD.

Keywords:

Community-based Theater, Urbanization, Citizen Participation, Conscientization, Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD)

Cultivating Local Community as ‘Community of Practice’ Using Landscape as a Medium - The project of Students Live in Community Center, Matsudo, Japan

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Abstract

In this paper we introduce the process of Community-Based Participatory Action Research developed by the team of students, living in Neighborhood Association building and local citizens of Iwase community from March 2016. This project is an interdisciplinary, process-oriented study, where we observe different phenomena, document them and discuss with the community collaborators, trying to contribute to straightening of a local community, as a community of practice and using landscape as a primary source for community design work. In the process of research, we address the interrelated issues, identified by previous studies and observed in the community.

When new generation of citizens, living as a nuclear family is losing the connection with their neighborhood communities and landscapes, children have less nature play, elderly people, who still remember their experience of natural environment barely transmit their knowledge to their children and grandchildren, we suggest to use the local community, as a place and process to unite the generations in creative work with their landscape with the help of aspiring specialists - students.

In the process of action research, local women created two groups with their own curriculum on how they can use locally growing plants and the landscape in general to contribute to local community well-being.

Various meanings and possibilities of connection in community through the local plants and landscape are discussed.

Key Words: Community Based Participatory Action Research (CBPAR), Community of Practice (CoP), environmental knowledge, participatory planning, landscape

Introduction

Nassauer suggesting to consider the landscape as a method of synthesis in urban ecological

design (Nassauer, 2012). So, as a basis for any community development, landscape is a fundamental component, which has a great influence on people. Local communities around the world for a long time accumulated the knowledge of local environments, and ecosystems, embodied in the landscape. These groups, producing the local knowledge can be defined as the local Communities of Practice, focused on the local environment's use and management.

Community of Practice (CoP) is defined "by knowledge rather than by task and exists because participation has value to its members" (Wenger, 1998). In CoP, participation can happen in different ways and to different degrees (Wenger, 1998). Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP) is a process where the newcomers become experienced members eventually, observing and learning from the more experienced members of a Community of Practice. This model is nicely describing the educational value of the project, conducted in the local community, where the members are coming from different age groups and backgrounds, and show the limited abilities of participation in practices and learning. Following the peripheral participation, they gradually increase their knowledge and ability to contribute to the group's activity. So,

Local community in Japan is associated with the Neighborhood Association (*Jichiakai*, or *Chonakai*). The function of this establishment is to organize activity from everyday life support of citizens like garbage separation and collection, safety and cleaning of common space, to leisure like dance club and annual festivals. Neighborhood Association (NA) in most of cases has a spatial territory historically belonging to a small urban district or village, which become part of a city later. NA is voluntary, self-governed and self-funded organization, which gathers annual fee for the needs of management from the member households. Annual fee varies, from 300 yen per month to 10 000 yen depending on the region of Japan and the number of members. Recently in Japan the number of people who want to join NA is declining. This community organization becoming an old-fashioned practice.

The membership in NA is traditional. As a rule, the manager positions are occupied by the powerful landowners who have a history of settlement and influence in the area. This may cause some disbalance in democratic process and unwillingness to change or work on the community issues, taking in account various points of view (Hou & Kinoshita, 2007).

At the same time, when the area is occupied by the new settlers, or "invaders", like in case of our study site - Iwase Neighborhood in Matsudo, the old landowners are preferring not to participate in the common activities (out of pride) and criticize them.

Neighborhood Associations represent the traditional formations, having a "collective consciousness" nature and for many years have provided a cohesive action of the population to maintain the environment (territory) of the community, as well as representing the interests of citizens and linking it with local authorities (Applbaum, 1996). Nowadays, Neighborhood Associations in Japan facing a decline, on the background of general depopulation and the increase of individualism in society. However, it would be unwise to lose the already existing

effective system, which supported community for so long. We believe that the Neighborhood Associations have the potential for further development of the local community in Japan. The challenge is the involvement of the young population in work of this associations and revitalizing it's functionality as a place to gather all generations and share resources and knowledge, include the environmental knowledge, linking community to its landscape.

One of the strategies of revitalizing the communities is to involve young generation and aspiring professionals (students) into work.

As a strategic policy, on the country level, the "Center of Community Project (COC+)" was launched in Japan by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, 2012) since the 2013 academic year. The aim of this project is to develop universities as centers of regional regeneration and revitalization by encouraging universities to collaborate with municipalities and providing support for university-wide education, research and public contributions geared towards local communities. Chiba University was selected as one of 52 universities in Japan for the program, and the current project was also supported by this grant. On the local level, for instance, Waterrass housing in Tokyo, and other co-housing projects, where students live together with the elderly residents and help them with house work and socialization in exchange on cheaper rent.

This type of cooperation is productive for the following reasons. Students in Japan is very financially vulnerable (have to pay high university tuition fee, rent, food, etc., there are few scholarship possibilities), therefore they could not spend time on volunteering for local community. At the same time, Japanese retired elderly (former *salarymen*) is an affluent class, having enough money to donate to community activities and have time to volunteer, but they lack the social communication, physical support and someone, to whom they can give their knowledge. So, by connecting these two groups, we are finding the "fish heads" (Hester, 2006) and close the cycle of energy and resources to a more stable state.

The local community can function as a place to connect generations, transmit the knowledge and share the resources. When generations disbalanced, separated in time and space, it does not happen. Elderly people, having a traditional top-down values, usually occupy the executive management positions in the Neighborhood Associations and often dominate their opinion upon others, and tend to use the young people only as a muscle power. However, Japanese expression "*Yosomono, Wakamono, Bakamono*" which means "Outsider, Youngster, Fool" - is describing the person who can change the situation in community in the context of local community development. From that we can learn that young people are located in a synonymous word line with "outsiders/foreigners" and "stupid". This saying indicates, that young people are considered as a power of change, in the context of regional revitalization (Klien, 2015) and that there is a understanding of need for a change.

We think, that students possess the "power", being in a "weak position" (since they do not have an official job, status, money, etc.), they are kindly accepted by local people as someone, with

whom you can share the problems, have a meaningful conversation and being heard. Therefore, bringing the students to community on condition of financial aid can contribute to community and fill in the gap between elderly executives, local citizens, non-association members, younger generations, including children, which are usually do not take part in community planning (Hart, 1992; Terada and Ermilova, 2018).

Involving children and youth in decision-making process brings the optimistic view on the world and creative, open thinking, which youth has (Chawla, 2006). It reveals the opportunities, which are usually unseen by the people prejudiced with previous experience. Therefore, we think that especially in the situation of aging and depression, it is necessary to facilitate young people participation in the local community planning and development, at the same time exposing them to the traditional knowledge, which older generations still have.

2. Purpose and Method

Participants: Students-managers Russian and Japanese (first and second authors), local mothers' group, local elderly group, executive managers of Iwase community, students of the Isami Kinoshita laboratory, other local community members.

Location

The research located in the Iwase Neighborhood in Matsudo city, Japan.

Matsudo city was developed rapidly as a bed town (commuter town) of Tokyo. Iwase community is a wealthy district, seven minutes' walk distance from the Matsudo station. The topography of the area is a valley, surrounded by the forested slopes. Iwase was established as high quality residential area 80 years ago. Most of the residents of Iwase are working or have worked at Tokyo area. Iwase is a convenient place to stay at night or at weekend for the working people. Approximately 1500 people lives in the area, 630 households are members of the Iwase Neighborhood Association (approximately 70% of homes). Young single people and young families from apartment houses are usually not joining in NA.



Figure 1. Wild racoon dogs (left) still inhabit the hills, covered by forest in Iwase and

sometimes seen at night. Based on that fact, Neighbourhood Association Executives asked local women illustrator to draw the character, which become a symbol of Iwase (right). From the archives of Iwase Neighborhood Association.

Methods

Community Based Participatory Action Research

The project started in March 2016, when the two students (first and second authors) moved to live in the Iwase Neighborhood Association building. The building was made on the money, collected from the Association members of the area and belongs to the Neighborhood Association. Mitsunari Terada (project leader) was known by the Iwase Neighborhood Association executives from the previous collaborative projects with Chiba University, especially for the ability to engage the children. He invited me to join him in being a Neighborhood Association manager. Iwase Neighborhood Association executives provide us a contract, where we would be a New Project Managers of the Iwase Neighborhood Association and as a support, live there for free.

Since we (main authors) were living in the Iwase Neighborhood Association building, we collected the data in a way of ethnographic observations, nearly every day communicating with the local people and observing their life, as well as organizing the collaborative events. The data collected through the participatory observation along the way was congested into a field notes, personal diary, sketches, photo, video, audio recording, then selectively made into text and interpreted. The reflection on the experience took the way of a narrative inquiry, where we are looking for the meaning of happenings. Narrative inquiry is defined as a way of understanding and inquiring into experience through “collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). So, we were analyzing experiences together with local people while meeting, talking, planning and doing. Finally, we reflect on it while writing this article. The qualitative data was also collected during the multiple hearings, workshops and focus groups. The historical overview of the area was done through the archives and literature.

We chose the Community – Based Participatory Action Research method to create an opportunity of social action by the local people themselves (Lewin, 1946). The planning field strongly support the iterative and collaborative methods, like participatory design and action research in the local community, where citizens co-produce the knowledge or co-create the design for their living environment (Sanoff, 2000; Hester, 2006; Hou and Kinoshita 2007; Winterbottom, 2011; De la Pena, 2017).

In recent years, government of Japan is shifting the initiative in providing the services for welfare to the citizens themselves, due to decrease of money from taxes along with shrinking working population. For example, programs at the local level in Matsudo offers elderly citizens

to improve their health through local activities in order to reduce the future possible expenses on hospitals.

So, in our case, the Community-Based Participatory Action Research is responding to the situation in the society, where the active involvement of citizens in planning of their environment and well-being is needed more than ever before.

This research is a direct response to the request of Iwase community to collaborate with Chiba University Graduate School of Horticulture Isami Kinoshita Lab and get help in community revitalization, especially in regards of possibilities to use the “horticulture” as our broad specialty.

Iwase community members participated in research in a same way as a researcher, since they were involved on each step of action-reflection loop (Plan, Do, Check, Act). The number of participants varied from the stage to stage, but an everyday communication with the many stakeholders ensured the sharing and reflecting process. Due to specificity of the Japanese character, in many situations it was necessary to rather talk with the citizens privately, because they would not share their thoughts openly within a big group.

By the second phase of research, we had a team of local collaborators (group of local young mothers, elderly group, etc.) with whom we met every week and make the record of process (McTaggart, 1989).

First group which we were closely working with, belongs to the Neighborhood Association structure. It is a group of retired *salarymen*, who work on the community needs as elected to Association’s executive directors board. Second group, which became a core for our project work is a group of women, which later split into two, elderly and younger women, which we will describe in the Phase 2 of research.



Figure 2. Making sketches while meetings helped me to learn the community members and also created an opportunity to communicate with people.

This type of research is developing naturally, without a rigid goal or frame to follow (Cahill,

2007), which gives a space for spontaneous creative process, suitable for bottom-up community revitalization. We didn't try to pursue the specific outcome from the project but encouraged community to involve into discussion about the local landscape and planning, with the emphasis on participation and involvement such as building relationships, mutual understanding along the way. So, it is a process-oriented study. This process of producing a plan becomes a community building process itself, which is itself a desirable outcome - strong community with a plan (Patton, 2015).

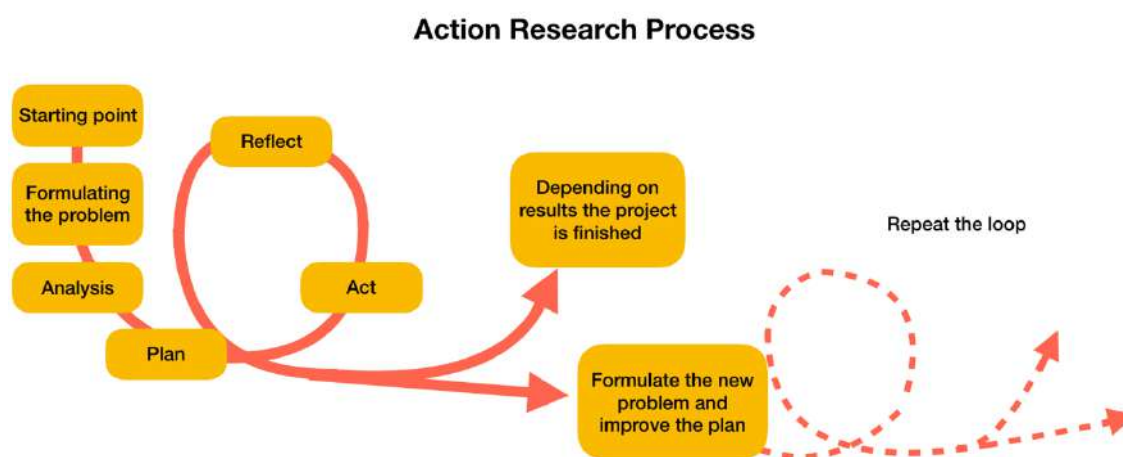


Figure 3. Drawn from the description of action research process in the book “Children’s participation” (Hart, 1992) by the authors.

3.Results

In results part we include the general conclusions based on the observations and researchers’ autobiographical reflection, which will give a light on the development of the competence, mutual learning, empowerment and discovery of meanings in the process of action research.

Action Research Process

Phase 1 Pre-research (about 1 year)

This phase of observatory participation in the community life continued for about one year (and continued later on the background). Since we were newcomers, we do little invasion and surveyed the situation but small talks with citizens while meeting them on official occasions and just on the street, while dumping the garbage, cleaning, etc. From observations and preliminary interviews, we got an image that Iwase Association is ruled by the people who tend to have a top-down attitude to younger generation and show inability to share participatory process with other members of community. However, they show the strong commitment to the

work. At the same time community members who criticize the NA leaders seems to lack in ability to have a strong commitment to community work or desire to be involved, so their critics seems to be inconsistent.

To understand the community history and the values, people attached to its landscapes, we made the Gulliver Map workshop (February 2017). For that we spread a giant map on the floor, where every participant (N=30) marked his house, the places he like the most, the places he has memory about, the dangerous/unpleasant spots, and local nature, which they recognize as valuable. The participants of the workshop were elderly members of community, who live here quite a long time. The participants marked many positive memories of places in Iwase in the past. However, the present moment layer was full of the dangerous and unpleasant spots. At the time, we realized, that way of seeing the reality of different age group can strongly influence the planning process, as they differ in ability to see environment in a positive way and notice its resources. After coming to this conclusion, we organized individual hearings, which also included children. As for youth, we made a pilot project of “sketch walk” (Alomar, 2016) to reveal the area’s potential through observation (for design). This pilot project of sketch walk was done with 23 students of the laboratory, and partly tested with the student’s participants of the summer design studio. Plus, pilot sketch walks with local people and urban sketchers (N=20) in February 2018. As we understood, the practice of observing and sketching with a purpose can evoke some a special way of thinking while appreciating the quality of observed objects, in our case – natural environment, landscape resources.

The Gulliver Map workshop was a starting point for discussion on local issues and ways to solve them together with the active community members. We get to know the women, who asked for collaboration in her initiative to create the community garden for elderly. From that point we planned to work on in in the future.

Gradually, we were able to establish the collaboration with the local mother’s group. As a result, started to work on a plan for community development with them, consulting and receiving support of Iwase Neighborhood Association managers. In Spring of 2017 we launched the Herb Project, to reach for larger audience in community, move to Phase 2.

Researcher self-reflection

During that phase my ability to speak and understand Japanese language was still very weak. Being foreigner means to have additional walls in communication regardless of language. It took about half a year to gain some basic trust, when I started to receive the messages and e-mails from local collaborators directly and felt very grateful for that. I took intensive language course. Small talks with elderly community members, who do not care about my level of understanding, but just reaching for communication helped me a lot. For that time, I felt unable to be helpful, as inability to fully participate in discussions and just being foreigner in eyes of people. I learned basic cultural and working society’s rituals. I felt a lot like growing myself in

terms of discipline and basic skills.

Drawing sketches always helped me to overcome the communication difficulties, so it became my way of connection to surrounding landscapes and people (Figure 1, 2). I started to actively search for using sketching as a research tool too. During the cultural festival in Iwase I exhibit my sketches. When I draw something which capture my attention, it is the topic I want to talk about, so it is a great opportunity to trigger the interview on that topic.

Figure 4). **DESCRIBE**

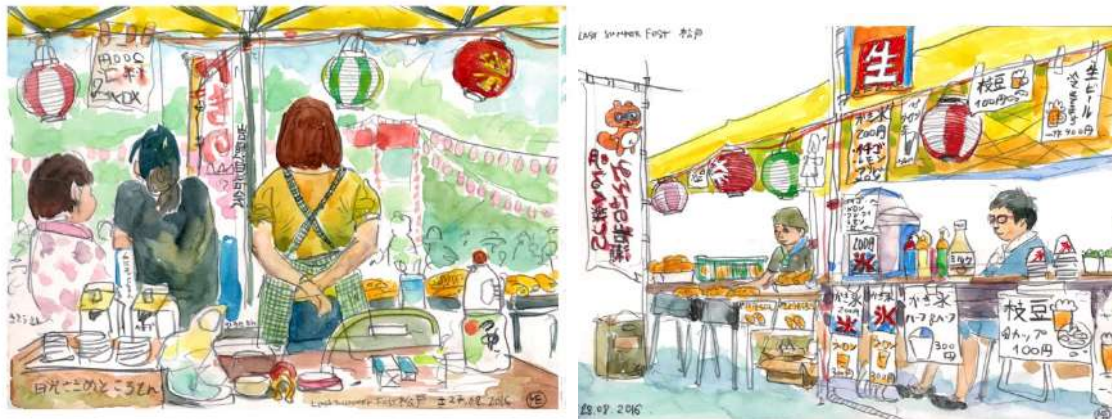


Figure 4. Sketches, documenting the Neighborhood Association participation in the whole-city level Summer Bon Festival, where 2 authors worked to earn the money for Iwase NA.

Result of Phase 1

During this phase we investigated the history of the area development, relations between Iwase Neighborhood Association and citizens, local issues and resources. We observed low participation level, especially among the people, who live closely to center (Neighborhood Association building is located in the geographical center of community). Also, quite low number of young people as a member of Iwase NA.

During the sketch walk we learned, that Iwase was a village already 300 years ago. In the second part of 20 century, the rice fields started to be built up by houses. Surrounding forest slopes remained untouched until in 2000-ties were developed by the private university. At the time it caused various problems for the local residents, for example as a result of disturbance in the natural water balance in the terrestrial ecosystem, the fundamentals of the houses were damaged.

From local people we get to know, that originally these mountain slopes provided the water springs to this area, and water was used on rice paddies, for washing, drinking and play. Covered by the forest and grass, slopes themselves provided plant, soil material and place for community annual events and daily play. However, right now the land on the slopes is mostly belong to the private university and not available. Local people, who grew up in this area (about 30% of total population of Iwase) feel the loss of their natural commons and talk about it with

nostalgia. We formulated it as a “community psychological trauma”, caused by the unwise territory development and inconsistent support of Neighborhood Association and community leaders, which lead to loss of trust and community connectedness. We came to a conclusion, that the low participation of citizens from the central area in Neighborhood Association could be explained by that fact.

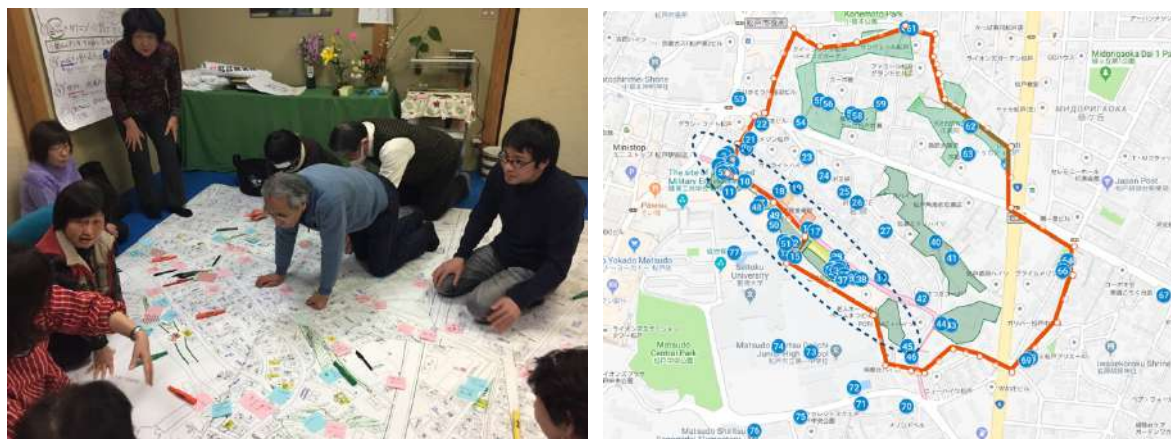


Figure 5. The process of the Gulliver Map workshop, where we listen to the citizens information about the place they live (left). Results of Gulliver Map workshop, pointing out to the special meaning of the green slopes in the memories of local people (right, the slope is marked with the line). Map is retrieved from Google Maps.

Phase 2 Spread into community through individual planters, looking for collaborators

At the time, together with local women, we discuss, what kind of plants should we grow to gain people's interest. We aimed to involve local women in community design, since this community after preliminary observation indicated lack of participation especially among women and younger generation. Herbs have a strong smell which provide meaningful interaction with a plant. The popularity of herbal therapy and tea make possible to use herb for creating image of peaceful, relaxed atmosphere (popular in Japan, where people want to relax after overwork). Moreover, various herbs used in handmade crafts and for handmade cosmetics, which allows to apply them as stimulators for local creative production. At the same time, herbs are easy to manage and fast to increase the plant material to share with others, so it is an ideal plant for neighborhood social network creation purposes.

We used the planters of EDIBLE WAY project, filling it with the herbs, aiming for more diverse use of the plants (than edible) and give it a name of Iwase Herb Project. We proceed with series of workshops where local citizens create their own planters by printing, listening to the lecture about growing and using herbs, drink herbal tea, etc.

In one year, the activity has grown from planters to the community gardens and reach various stakeholders in the community. Especially the project affected local women, who organized two independent groups for support of two generations of community: elderly and children. These groups developed their own curriculums using the greening activities, planters and community gardens.

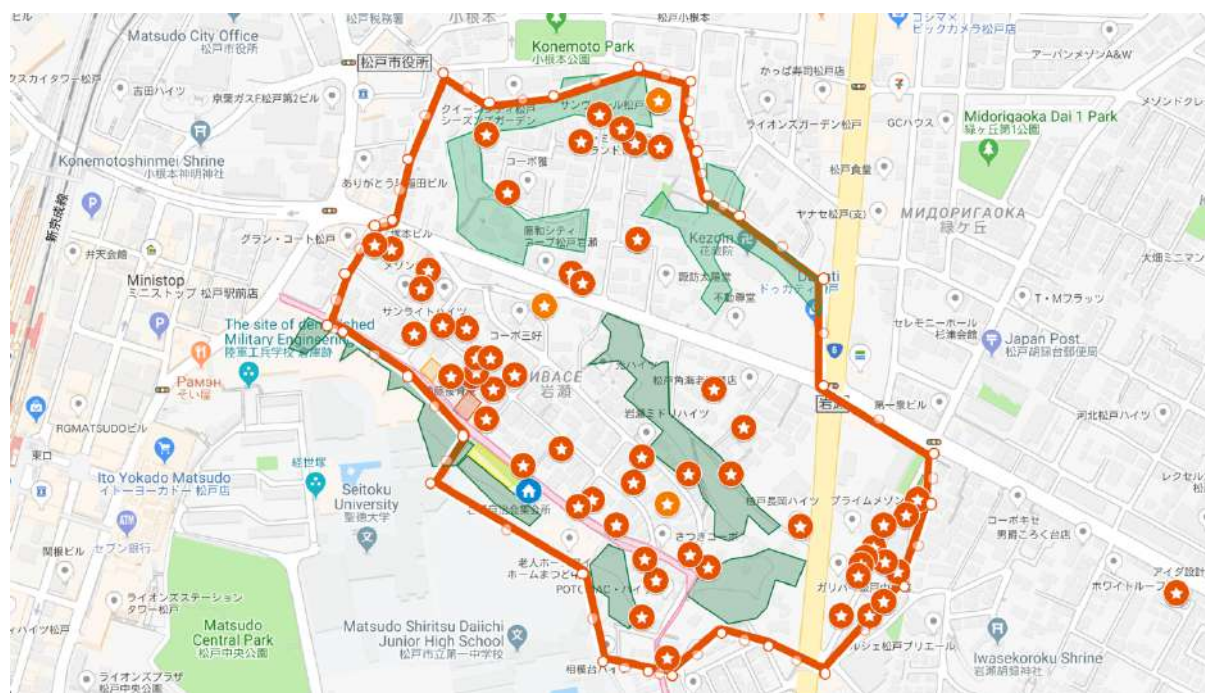


Figure 6. The planters, spread in Iwase area through EDIBLE WAY Herb project chapter, Image retrieved from Google Maps. Red color of star indicates planters spread in the period from March 2017 to July 2017, orange – after that, red line indicates the Iwase approximate border.

Curriculum of younger women's group, ASUKEN is consisted of activities, using locally grown plants. Their Community of Practice focused on the getting knowledge of use of western herbs, making cosmetic products, aromatherapy, supporting the children play, technology of gardening and generally community well-being. They introduced a new annual child play event – Ester Egg Hunting (Figure 7) which utilized the planters network and citizens gardens to hide the eggs for local children. They also created new products, like mix of Docudami and Lavender herbs essences for cosmetic use, etc.

Since March 2017 to June 2018 we had a meeting with the local women group almost every week. These meetings aimed to create a space for any community member to come and join, a kind of “third space”, especially for kids. During that time, we discussed the development of the Herb Project and other activities in Iwase.



Figure 7. Local women during the spring festival organize the Egg Hunting, based on the exploration of area with Iwase Herb Project planters and private gardens of local people.

Researcher self-reflection

Being Russian, I had a herbal tea cultural background, which I can share. Since childhood I used to collect wild herbs with my mother in the fields and also from the garden, where mother was growing them, receiving plants from her friends. This knowledge gave me the chance to interact meaningfully with the community members and share the heritage I have, and I felt the empowerment from that. So, in this situation I started to see my difference as a strong starting point, which can grow the interest to the project.

At the time, I was a member of EDIBLE WAY project team, where we started to grow vegetables in the community by planters. During the work in the project we learned that the planters help to facilitate the communication with local people. I asked the EDIBLE WAY project director to spread the planters in the Iwase, but as a neighborhood distinctive group. I assumed that being a Neighborhood Association manager I need to straighten the ties inside this area, so it is better to put the name of district - Iwase on the planter bag. After negotiation we came to agreement on spreading the planters with EDIBLE WAY logo, and Iwase district name with herbal filling as was decided with the Iwase women group.

This phase lacked self-reflection, since it was difficult to find time for it between the intensive activities at the university and community project, requiring high mental and physical power, to step back and look at things “from the outside”. At the same time, some difficulties in communication in research group and personal issues made it even harder. Being researchers, we try to overlook our human part, but it is impossible to be just a researcher, without being a human, who have its own weak and straight points. Working in the local community I realized, that generally how events will develop in the project directly depends on the people involved and that the decisions taken will be based on personal judgment (subjectively) and that I need to take it as an unavoidable given. We observed that differentiation - emerging of local groups, based on their age, sex, marital status, and personal relations of members.

Result of Phase 2

In the process of the action research we observe the following phenomena:

1. Observing the differences in environmental knowledge and cultural practices (between generations inside the local community and Western culture and Japanese culture practitioners) and possibilities to unite in exchange of knowledge
2. Women empowerment – organization of group of mothers, who wants to contribute to local community through the access to knowledge and collaboration with University students

Phase 3 Recreating the nostalgic landscapes and access to the nature abundance (making the community gardens with herbs and native planting)

In the third phase, as we see it, we were able to reach for the collaborators in community, who own the land and work on the bigger landscape scale. In this part we put accent on the practical design a weekly-long workshop, which we held two times in Iwase. This workshop name is Cross-Cultural Design Collaboration.

The CCDC studio is a summer program, hosted by Chiba University, collecting landscape architectural students from around the world to create practical design projects in an international environment. They design and build upon the community request in a week (Winterbottom, 2011). In two years, 2017-2018 we had 55 students from Japan, China, Switzerland, UK, Germany, Malaysia, Thailand, U.S.A., Russia, working in 3 teams at 3 locations each year (August of 2017 and 2018).

During these 2 years the students created the community garden with the native plants cover and herbs, which became a basis for activity of Genki Ouen (Support of Ederly) women group. They also created a native plants garden in front of Neighborhood Association center and in Minnanoniwa community garden. The most impressive work was done last year, where students were able to clean the forested slope of the valley, so anyone could enjoy the forest.

Genki Ouen (Support of Ederly) Suzuki Herb Garden group developed their curriculum, consisted of gardening activities every weekend, socializing, visiting outside facilities based on the interest to herbs, learning the native flowers. This group made accent on the process of deepening their knowledge of plants and gardening as a way to improve their mental and physical state.

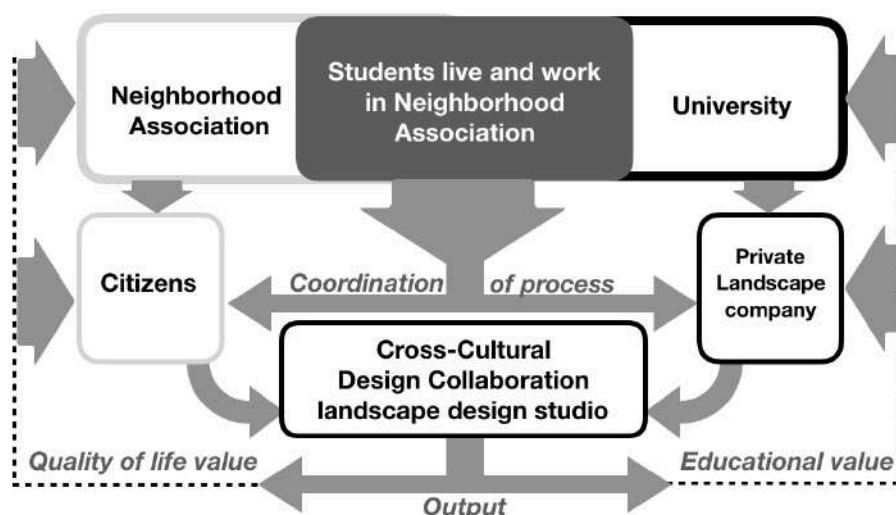


Figure.8 Cycle scheme of the CCDC landscape design studio collaboration in Iwase Neighborhood Association of Matsudo city, roles and value outputs for different stakeholders of the project.

At this stage students, who live in the Neighborhood Association played a role of mediators, who provide the meaningful intervention in community due to careful pre-research and negotiation (Ermilova et al., 2018), see Figure 8.

Researcher self-reflection

During that phase passed enough time to realize, how self-reflection is critically important, especially in the process of constant interaction with the community.

By that time, I could realize the cultural differences in the design and planning approach among western and eastern countries' students, while working on summer design studio in Iwase.

Result of phase 3

1. Organization of group of elderly women, who wants to contribute to the life of elderly people through collaboration with various groups including University students
2. Local community, its duties and pleasures, is a heritage, which we receive from our ancestors – meaning appeared from the qualitative analysis of interviews with the project participants. When working with the local people, whose ancestors lived in this community, connecting their lives back to the landscape, we are paving the way, on which every new member of community can step on with understanding, where is he going to and feel belonging to this place.
3. Implementation of design program in the local community should go with a help of an intermediate person, some who can stand between different positions and facilitate interaction. This role can be given to university students, who while doing the research,

provide the pre-research for the project and connects with a network of local collaborators.

4. Conclusion

This paper described the Community-Based Participatory Action Research of “Students live in Neighborhood Association” with the purpose of revitalization of local community using the landscape as a fundamental part of social-ecological systems and medium to address community problems.

In this university-community partnership with Iwase Neighborhood Association, local women take the opportunity to improve their well-being and organized ‘communities of practice’ for use of locally grown plants. They addressed the issues of children and elderly, and well-being of community members in general, and attempt to solve them using the landscape as a medium.

Students, participated in the project gained a profound practical experience of interaction with local community, planning and implementation of project activities, as well as deepened their cultural, ecological and social knowledge.

Growing Western herbs in the Japanese local community evoked the cultural heritage narrative and revealed the potential for the intergenerational exchange for the transmission of traditional knowledge from elderly to younger, the knowledge of western herbs from younger to elderly. Additionally, we confirmed the effectiveness of growing plants (ex. herbs) with a biocultural context to promote the intercultural communication, facilitating the mutual understanding of cultural differences.

Among others, the involvement with the local landscape had a meaning of connection with the ancestors for the participants and revealed the meaning of local community as “heritage”.

During the project several Communities of Practice, including diverse participants, appeared in local community, and contributed to its reconnection with the landscape and natural environment.

We would recommend the **“Students live in the Neighborhood Association” model** as a possible way to solve the Japanese society issues and contribute to resilience of local communities by implementation of interdisciplinary projects, using the landscape as a basis for work with the community.

The project is still developed and will be further evaluated with quantitative and qualitative methods from now on.

Funding

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Acknowledgements

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Contribution of authors

Mariia Ermilova is an ecologist and main author of this paper, she is an Iwase Herb Project coordinator and manager of Iwase Neighbourhood Association. Mitsunari Terada, with the background in sociology, is the initiator, ideologist and main actor of the “Students Live in the Neighbourhood Association” project. His research in Iwase is focused on the educational role of local community for children. Both of them are living in Iwase Neighbourhood Association building and do manager’s job since March 2016.

Aiko Eguchi is a director of EDIBLE WAY project, focusing on the development of Edible Landscape for straightening the community. She provided the valuable advices on organisation of research as well as material support for the EDIBLE WAY’s Iwase Herb chapter.

Kenichi Abe joined the activities in Iwase since May 2017. His interest is a theatre as a workshop, contributing to community design. He co-organized the workshops and hearings at Iwase and developed the theatre workshop there.

All are Ph.D. students belonging to the spatial planning lab supervised by professor Isami Kinoshita.

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**Community Archives Following the Great East Japan Earthquake:
Elasticity From the Connection Between Art and Memory in Disaster-stricken Areas**

Abstract ID # pCE31

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Abstract

In this study, we focused on the projects implemented by community archive organisations after the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011. In general, we encountered two types of structures for disaster archives, namely, archives oriented with a top-down structure and grassroots-developed archives. Immediately after the earthquake, the Japan Reconstruction Assistance Council created a government-led, top-down structured earthquake archive to widely collect data and draw lessons from the earthquake for later implementation. Many of these archives are run by companies headquartered in metropolitan areas, such as Tokyo, which are not located in disaster-stricken areas but are using government funds to create digital disaster archives. However, to maintain the archives, the municipality staff must be responsible for continuing to record and update their digital archives. Unfortunately, these are not frequently updated due to insufficient budgets and human resources. However, grassroots-structured community archives created by disaster-stricken survivors themselves are being recorded. This study focuses on the ongoing work of the Sendai Mediatheque community archive. Sendai Mediatheque is a public institution that provides a base for many cultural activities, mainly related to art and images. At the same time, it constitutes a space that, through diverse media, facilitates the exchange and utilisation of information. We believe that the work of such community archives will help restore the civic pride and resilience of citizens living in affected areas through obtaining, maintaining and presenting the pre-disaster records of affected areas and sharing the memories with many.

Keywords: community archives, Great East Japan Earthquake, earthquake archives

**Social Impact of Place-based Education:
Reach Kanazawa Project Conducted by Students and Local companies**

Abstract ID # pCE69

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Abstract

Currently, increasing number of Japanese universities encourage practical educational programs which collaborates with local industries. They expect that these programs help to develop human resources in universities because it enables students to experience a resolution of public issues in a community.

In May 2017, the project "Reach KANAZAWA" lunched supported by Kanazawa University and NIPPON AGENCY INC: an advertising agency in Japan. In this project, international and Japanese students design original tours independently and act as a tour guide and interpreter. It would be a good practice in terms both of a practical educational program and of a resolution of public issues, considering the situation of Kanazawa city where coping with an increase of inbound tourists is becoming the most serious issues.

Thus, we set the purpose of this paper as to research the Reach KANAZAWA; its mechanism, actors, and their minds, so as to discuss the potential of this kind of university-led project for the development of its related communities and for its educational effects.

To attain this purpose, firstly, the transition of tour programs was researched to comprehend the general framework and character. Then, the consciousness survey to the students who engage the project was conducted. This survey revealed their motivation and incentives to join it. Finally, the hearing survey was carried out to the private companies who help its implementation. In this survey, we asked them the contributions to the project and discussed whether the project is sustainable based on its economic and social aspects.

Expected results are the followings.

- 1) Reach KANAZAWA equips a mechanism to observe and respond to invisible needs of inbound tourists by changing the tour contents flexibly. This means that it will keep corresponding to a change of demand by inbound tourists.
- 2) Reach KANAZAWA creates the linkage among international and Japanese students. International students have the opportunity to learn the culture of Kanazawa, while Japanese students can study how to cooperate with the people who have a completely different background.
- 3) Activities of Reach KANAZAWA enable students learn not only the knowledge of a tour guide but the skill to cooperate with the private companies as a business partner. On the other hand, the local communities also enjoy the project because they can observe the students' exploratory activities and primitive ideas to convey their services. It may be the key factor to accelerate positive circulation for continuing the project.

Keywords: Practical Education, Local Students, Local companies, Inbound Tourism

Tables and Figures



Figure 1. Examples of tours designed by international and Japanese students

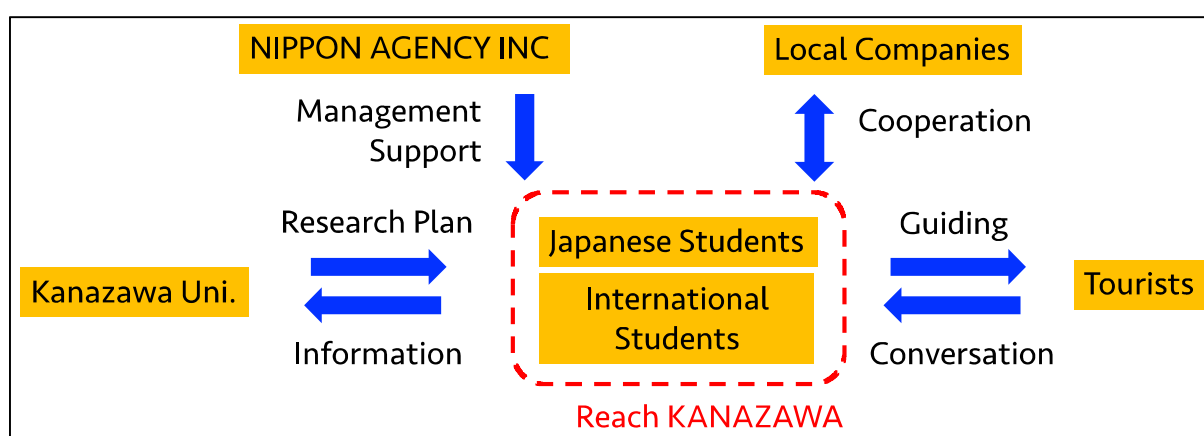


Figure 2. Relationship diagram of Reach KANAZAWA Project

The Positive Impact of Migrants from Cities in Sumita, Iwate: Focusing on Temporary Housing Volunteers

Abstract ID # pCE71

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Abstract

Sumita Town in Iwate Prefecture is a town that built temporary housing and provided service support immediately after the Great East Japan Earthquake. “Yu-support” is an organization that was established to provide support to this temporary housing community in Sumita. Sumita has accepted many volunteers, both as coastal supports and to help open accommodation facilities for the volunteers heading to the coast. In addition, 93 houses in three sites in Sumita were constructed by utilizing local wood; these houses accepted no more than 300 coastal residents. Since the construction of the temporary housing, many volunteers in different fields (such as companies, universities, and individuals) from both inside and outside the town have supported the residents. In this study, the focus will be on the earthquake volunteers involved in the temporary housing in Sumita, the migrants resulting from this “connection,” and the activities that occurred alongside it. Immediately after the earthquake, the population of Sumita was over 6000, but at present it has fallen to less than 5,600 due to the aging population and declining birth rate. Several people have migrated to the town since the earthquake, and this study focuses on four volunteers who relocated to the temporary housing and eventually migrated to the town. We introduce the migration of these four individuals and their activities, and illustrate how the “connection” that emerged from the earthquake affected the town. One of these individuals is a member of Yu-support who is involved in community support for temporary housing and community development in Sumita. Another was a volunteer chef in the temporary housing, but eventually moved from Tokyo and is now managing a restaurant in Sumita, helping provide new jobs in the town. The remaining two were student volunteers in the temporary housing; they now work as officials in the town’s Construction Division and Board of Education . Future studies will illustrate the significant impact of these four individuals that migrated to Sumita, by studying their activities and influences.

In conclusion, it is conceivable that many volunteers enter the town through the temporary housing, and eventually become migrants. As a result, aside from their various activities, the migrants' chain of connections also provides different by-products to the town of Sumita.

Keywords: Great East Japan Earthquake, temporary housing, migrants from cities, community support

**Cultivating Local community as ‘Communities of Practice’ for
Improving Children’s Learning Environments
-The project of Students Live in Community Center, Matsudo, Japan**

Abstract ID # pCE91

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Abstract

A Child education is grounded in family, school, and local community. However, Japanese local community is getting weaker by facing depopulation, aging society, nuclear family and other social issues. Following these changes, neighborhood relationships are replacing by commercial services. At the same time, detachment from the community decrease opportunities for children’s participation and learning.

This research aims to revitalize the local community as a place for children’s learning by participatory action research. From March 2016, Authors have been living as managers at Iwase Community Center, Matsudo, Japan. The Authors started involving community events, create events bringing new viewpoints like children participation, and facilitate communication between generations of community. This paper offers details of the process of this action research. The process can be described by 3 phases.

Phase1 Bringing new perspective (March 2016 - March 2017)

Being alert to community needs, authors started receiving voices from local people, asking to organize some events for children. Based on participation principles, events were made by children themselves with the help of adults.



Figure1: Junior high school students organized a pin-pon party in the community Center

Phase2 Organizing Mothers group (April 2017 - March 2018)

Mothers started After School Club to create a third place for children and organize various events in the community. Children are coming there, but they prefer to spend time outside on the wild mountain slope behind the community building, attracted by the adventurous play. Gradually, the number of children increases, and soon, the local school administration prohibits to play on the mountain.



Figure2:Playing on the mountain Slope behind the community Center

Phase3 Renewal of the Organization for Local Children (March 2018 -)

Following activities encourage mothers and children to change the organization for local children management towards the children's participation. More children become members of the organization, and the event management gradually is made by children.



Figure3. Elementary school students held a flea market at the community Center

Through the process of the action research, we observe the change of consciousness of local people towards children needs and participation in local community activities, which give the opportunity for development. However, the process is time-consuming, whereas the children grow up soon and the managers of Organization for Local Children are changed, which make it difficult to introduce these principles on a constant basis.

Keywords: Children, Learning, Community Center, Action Research

Thematic Working Group Session

Session on Taiwan:

Civil Society and Participatory Design Practices 1987-2018

Organizer: **Liu**, John K.C. (Ph.D) and **Mu**, Szu-Mien (Ph.D)

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Why a special session on Taiwan, rather than individual project or paper presentations? The reason is that the social setting, the political context, and the institutional framework of a historical period in a particular country are essentials to a deeper and more refined understanding of participatory design practice. By providing a general background of development in Taiwan during the past 30 years, and reviewing the projects through an extended period in one place, the meaning of significance of each case study and the interrelationships among them can be better appreciated.

Part One: The Taiwan Setting 1987-2018 (15-20min)

- 1 Before 1987: Multicultural processes, traditional communities, local wisdom
- 2 The lifting of Martial Law, Freedom of speech, Snail without Shells movement, the formation of civil society organizations: OURS, Tsui-ma-ma, BPRF
- 3 Localizing democracy: elections, resource allocation, positive and negative aspects.
- 4 Institutional responses to urban/rural transformations: National land planning, historical preservation, transfer development rights TDR, social housing, comprehensive community building initiative 1994
- 5 Impact of natural disasters, population density, growth limits on local communities
- 6 Impact of International isolation, declining in economic growth, local political identity, cross-strait tensions on local communities

Part Two: Case Presentations (20-30 min per case)

Each case will focus on answering the following 5 questions: 1] the origin of the project, the socio-political context then, conditions for involvement, who are the stakeholders and the community, 2) Why participate? 3) What were the critical issues to be addressed – physical, social, economic, political, cultural? 4) Process and method employed 5) Tangible and intangible results.

1 Coastal community development in Tainan and Chiayi Counties (1995 – present)

(Fuchang Tsai et al.)

In the 1990s, the highly polluted industry as local development policy was gradually challenged by the environmental-based local development strategies. People of the southwest coastal use the natural resource- lagoon-to develop aquaculture and salt industry from generation to generation. The lagoon also provides habitat for endangered species, black-faced spoonbill over winter. In 1993, a megacorporation announced an investment plan to use the coastal area developing the sixth naphtha cracker and petrochemical industrial complex. This plan initiated the social movement to protect the lagoon area. BPRF allied with politicians, social organizations, intellectuals, and international organizations advocate a community-based ecotourism plan as the alternative local development. Since then, from policy advocater, the planner of tourism development plan, to community designer for landscape infrastructures and community building plan, BPRF play many different roles to activate community participation. This case will review the different stage that planner and designer played and discuss the methods and results.

2 The Yilan experience (1994 – present)

(Yuchen Chen, Tinghua Wu, Tzuying Li)

One of the participatory methods is to set up the on-site working studio for close contact with the community which planning work have to know about its people, environment, and society. Under this perspective, in 1994, BPRF establish the Yilan office along with the progressive-oriented local governance of the Yilan county government. Henceforward, from regional tourism, old town renaissance, child toy park, heritage conservation, to community building, Yilan office has been participating in various scales and objectives of planning, and design projects focused on a specific region. This case will discuss the participatory methods and strategies based on long-term working experiences.

3 Kochapogane indigenous tribal settlement planning, Pintung (1995 – present)

(Fangcheng Lin, Szumien Mu, Yaling Su, Chingfen Yang, Shumei Huang, et al.)

The connection between BPRF and Kucapungane started in 1993, the project of tribal settlement preservation. Since then, BPRF continues working with the tribal people for the core mission of preservation of Kucapungane, both physical space and culture, through various projects. Kocapongane is the indigenous traditional realm of Rukai-Kocha tribe. It means “the homeland of clouded leopard”, which described the legend of how they found this homeland. Hence they called themselves “the people of clouded leopard”. Kocapongane is the only indigenous area being designated as the national historic site in Taiwan. It also listed as endangered cultural assets by WMF. There are slate houses, steles, and ruins reserved. People used to be self-contained and self-sufficient. Owing to governmental policy

and natural disasters, Rukai-Kocha tribe was interim displaced at Tulalekele, Ai-liao Military Base, and Rinari Plateau during the past 40 years. However, no matter where they live, back to Kucapungane is most tribal people's dream.

We, as professional planning team, in the past 25 years, under the different situation, via projects of different work scope, accompany Rukai-Kocha tribal people to figure out "wayS" home. Kochapongane should be reborn as, spiritual realm and living place.

Participants:

John, K.C. Liu

Szumien, Mu

Fuchang Tsai

Yuchen Chen

Tinghua Wu

Tzuying Li

Fangcheng Lin

Yaling Su

Chingfen, Yang

Shumei Huang

Thematic Working Group Session

Networking Networks

Organizers: **Palleroni**, Sergio; **Bell**, Bryan; **Anderson**, Jane and **Hartig**, Ursula

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This proposal is for a thematic group session focused on exploring the potentials and benefits of knowledge networks, such as PACRIM and SEED, to increase impact and stimulate mutual support and collaboration. Networks of collaboration have a long history, but in recent decades a new set of efforts has emerged within the design fields that are concerned with supporting academics and professionals attempting to address growing needs in communities worldwide and learn from these experiences. SEED, PACRIM, Live Project Network, and dbXchange in Europe and North America are all examples of this growing phenomena to create support through knowledge networks. These efforts include live projects, design-build education, public interest design, collaborative and inter-disciplinary learning, research-based education, practice-based learning, and participatory practices, all of whom share a common concern for the lack of current knowledge, means of exchanging knowledge gained, and metrics by which to guide this work towards greater and more ethical impacts.

In this thematic session, leaders of four of these leading networks will speak to the histories, achievements, and challenges of each network, and why these networks have taken the step to create a joint network (“a network of networks”) that they hope will both advance their own efforts and lead to projects and initiatives no single network could accomplish alone. This larger project for a network of network, designated the Design for the Common Good after the common goal to affect positive change in the world, offers new possibilities for supporting significant communities of designers, educators, and activists, but also presents new challenges for each group. The four networks will be represented in this discussion by founding Design for the Common Good network members Bryan Bell (SEED), Jane Anderson (Live Projects Network), Ursula Hartig (dbXchange Europe), and Sergio Palleroni who has supported the creation of these networks and exchanges.

Keywords: practice based learning; collaboration; knowledge networks

Participants:

Bryan Bell, SEED Network

Colin Priest, Live Network

Ursula Hartig, dbX change

Sergio Palleroni, moderator

Jeffrey Hou, Pacific Rim Network

City-Community Co-creation: Enquiring Partnership Model for Community-driven Open Spaces in Narayanganj City

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Abstract

Open spaces for play and recreational facilities are one core necessity of urban communities. Suburban settings by nature accommodated ample community open and recreational spaces (CORS) for diverse need of communities; on development process these kinds of spaces become much contested in denser urban contexts. Narayanganj city, a similar setting located at 17 kilometres south of Bangladesh's capital city Dhaka, is facing the same challenge over time. In last two decades rapid urbanization has caused sharp decline in both quantity and quality of CORS affecting living condition. Narayanganj City Corporation (NCC) as like other urban institutions in the region is struggling with typical top-down planning and delivery approach; which is constrained by both resources (i.e. supply of desired land and budget in typical requirement) and quality maintenance (i.e. place management and user participation in typical practice).

To overcome that gap, NCC intends to explore alternative approaches involving community's partnership for CORS, with the objectives of optimum use of resources, reducing cost and management burden and encouraging community ownership. A design-research group is working for the NCC to contribute CORS design and management model aiming at co-creation and community-led management to optimize resources and reduce maintenance burden, as well as enabling community-building through participation and placemaking.

The study as part of that process focuses on defining favourable condition/criteria for such model in that particular context. Grounded on Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) principles the study inquires community's challenges faced and resources (skill, material) needed for self-built and managed CORS. Empirical data is collected through participatory community design workshops, focus-group interview and the findings are

analysed in comparison to the performance of existing community parks built and managed in typical approach. The study is expected to identify key-gaps between current practice and community-led approach and shall suggest key-principles to develop a context-based design and management model for co-creation and community-institution partnership, enhance community's capacity and identity a well.

Keywords: Community Open Space, Asset Based Community Development, Participatory Design, Community-institution Co-creation, Playground and Recreational Space

The Brittle City: The Space Between Citizenship and the Promise of Smart Cities.

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Abstract

The recent enthusiasm for smart cities technologies and their applications often cite citizen participation and benefit as their *raison d'être*. The linking of citizen benefit to new digital products and platforms is a consistent smart cities refrain with the emerging urbanism smart cities predicts as both efficient and “engaged”. However, there is little evidence citizen behaviour is well understood in this cyber-physical urban paradigm, and in the systems logics upon which it is based.

This paper explores the proposition that smart cities systems in fact hide a *brittleness* in the systems logics created by the always assumed but little understood element of human behaviour within urban systems. The dependency on the human variable relies on assumptions of a predictable behaviour, which is not constant from place to place, culture to culture, creating a form of systemic brittleness, as systems requiring a logical coherency and predictability cannot be guaranteed.

The very human quality of acting in unanticipated ways in the urban context celebrated in much historic urban theory, is currently a blind spot and point of failure in smart cities, ultimately pointing to a critical and unexplored contradiction at the heart of smart cities discourse and the emerging urban future it describes.

By developing a taxonomy of *brittleness* this paper interrogates those points where human agency has the capacity to create unintended systemic outcomes in smart cities schema, a non-trivial issue as more and more integrated, complex and scaled essential smart urban systems begin to emerge as a new form of significant risk.

Keywords: Smart cities, citizenship, resilience, urban systems, brittleness

Introduction

At 4:30am on the 3rd of April, 2018, a 44-year-old man, understood to be suffering from mental health problems, climbed the southern pylon of the Sydney Harbor Bridge and brought the city to a standstill.

The harbor bridge carries more than 160,000 thousand cars in a normal day, but not on this day. When the man was spotted, sitting dangerously on the arches above the traffic, all lanes were immediately shut down while emergency workers, responded and began the 6-hour process of talking him down.

It was later calculated that this one person, who decided without much pre-planning to perch on the pylons, cost the city up to \$10million or 1% of its daily economic output, in lost economic productivity¹. This does not account for the thousands of people directly and indirectly effected by the traffic chaos caused by the shut-down of lanes on the harbor bridge itself and the resulting 20km back up of traffic, impacts to the rail line, bus scheduling and time delays that occurred throughout the entire metro system, effecting even those who walk over the harbor bridge every morning to work from the Kirribilli area.

What this simple example illustrates is the ease with which a non-terrorist event, caused by a single person, was able to shut down a significant area of a modern city, and create an impact of a proportionally enormous magnitude, creating great cost and disruption to a city system. The highly integrated transport, business and city services networks, all built on complex interrelationships was effectively stymied by a single actor in a city of 6 million.

Brittleness

Engineered technology focused solutions developed on assumptions of citizen needs and behaviours, the ‘solutions in need of problems’ paradigm, is typical of the rapidly evolving urban technology market. Citizen engagement in this sense operates more as a form of urban marketing than as a promised form of participatory citizenship in our emerging cyber-physical urban futures. However, there is a shift occurring in smart cities discourse and the systems upon which they are based, that involves moving the role of citizen from aspirational rhetoric to system dependent, which in turn is creating a new form of brittleness in current urban discourse as two visions of the city, which appear to be irreconcilable, collide.

Brittleness is a term that was introduced in 2006 into urban discourse by Richard Sennett as a component condition of his call for an “open city” (Sennett, 2006) An open city, is a city formed on the premise of continual evolution and adaption to new and extrinsic forces. Brittleness is it opposite, and the outcome of a “closed city”, one that is premised on a logic of closed and

¹ <https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/traffic-chaos-from-sydney-harbour-bridge-drama-cost-city-up-to-10-million-20180404-p4z7rb.html>

accountable systems of exchange. Sennett, an urban planner, sees this as a spatial/social matter, a question of design which he contrasts to Jane Jacobs who sees a diverse and open city as one strictly of culture.

In Sennett's words, "The over-specification of form and function makes the modern urban environment a brittle place." (Sennett, 2006) which for him includes the planning and zoning laws that favor an economic market led approach to the city. In contemporary parlance, this brittleness is the opposite of *resilience* which positively frames ideas of slow and organic urban development as the bedrock of a city's capacity to withstand or absorb shock and rapid change. Brittleness then in this form is the fragility of a city that has shallow roots, and which in development terms is consistently wiped clean and rebuilt in order to be remade. While this is consequential for the systems of urban development, it also applies to the social.

"Today's ways of building cities – segregating functions, homogenising population, preempting through zoning and regulation of the meaning of place – fail to provide communities the time and space needed for growth. The Brittle City is a symptom. It represents a view of society itself as a closed system." (Sennett, 2006)

In 2005, just prior to this, brittleness was being used to refer to the incapacity of cities to withstand major catastrophe and in particular terrorist attack². The implication of extreme events on a city such as these, reveals again a form of brittleness, which speaks to the incapacity of a city or its citizens to absorb change. In the form of terrorism, rapid and predominantly physical events also have a psychological dimension for citizens, who are *themselves* brittle, able to manage stress and change *to a point*, before the phenomenon of *cognitive overload* causes them to flee the city or break down. This form of brittleness is located not in the city systems per se, but the citizens themselves.

This paper proposes discussing brittleness of a different order, one that has like all brittleness a relationship to its positivist other, *resilience*, but one which exists at the intersection of newly emerging urban cyber-physical systems. While Sennett outlines the issues inherent in open and closed city logics through development, this paper argues that a new class of urban brittleness is forming at the intersection of technology and informatic urban systems, underneath (and largely unrecognized) by the rubric of smart cities.

The Smart City promise

The most recent version of the Garuda Smart City Framework, (GSCF) a model developed by the Smart Cities research group at Institute of Teknologi Bandung, define a smart city as, "a city that can utilize its resources effectively and efficiently to solve any city challenges using

² Homer-Dixon, 2005, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/brittle-cities-are-easily-broken/article737712/> last accessed 10/11/18

innovative, integrated and sustainable solutions by providing infrastructures and deliver city services to improve quality of life.”¹ The Singapore based Smart Cities Network has also adopted “High Quality of Life” as one of the three pillars of smart cities aims². Quality of Life is the stated goal, yet the model of these smart cities systems is with few exceptions yet to include citizens meaningfully in the technical means of participation. Real citizen agency requires that the criteria of Quality of Life from the perspective of citizens themselves are incorporated into the logic of smart city production. The question that remains is, is in the current cyber-physical paradigm of smart cities, is this even possible?

As a leader in Smart Cities discussions, Singapore has recently recognized the absence of the citizen in the ‘smart nation’ program which has focused on government and economic growth, and in 2018 seeking to address citizen participation, have begun exploring a tripartite model of “Digital Government, Digital Economy and Digital Society” (Kok-Chin (KC) Tay, 2018). Like the GSCF however, the “digital society” does not yet encompass a logic of people, experience and quality, but stays firmly in the engineering vocabulary of utility and economic uplift.

Like the examples above, the evolution of smart cities definitions over the last decade has seen a re-entry of the human or cultural dimensions of city making within technologically focused city making ambitions most typically understood within complex ICT systems logics. It is these schema’s that remain unable to incorporate human dimensions of behaviour and experience into their model, and hence it is unreasonable to assume these qualities will be attainable as an outcome. The GSCF model serves to illustrate this point, premised on a comprehensive cybernetic model for networking various parts of city making together. People in this context are still inputs and outputs, rather than qualitatively evolving the system as a whole.

The cybernetic model as applied to city making is itself not new, with early examples of city and information technology applications and approaches appearing in the work of Constantine Doxiades in the 1950’s and the Urban Dynamics movement led by Jay Forrester in the 1960’s as only two notable examples.

What makes this version of smart cities different from these early precedents are improvements in ICT that have made information much more granular. Indeed, our smart devices make all citizens high fidelity data producers, a resource which is too attractive a proposition for industry and government to resist. When combined with big data networks and the improvement of computing power capable of delivering a more comprehensive and real time data representation, the potential of Smart City technologies to create real change in the city is closer it seems than ever before. Yet, interestingly the claims to citizen benefit have *not* changed dramatically. There are no metrics showing improvement of citizen Quality of Life tied to Smart Cities interventions, and follow up work that might be expected from a scientific study of results remains out of scope and budget.

But what does the quality of life really mean within these models? This is a relatively uncontested and conspicuously ill-defined area within urban technologies frameworks. The default assumption is quality of life is generally equated to *efficiency*. That is to say, quality of life is (and has always been) understood within smart cities rhetoric as part of an engineering paradigm, something measurable in minutes saved in commute times, decreases in time for street maintenance issues to be reported and fixed, or savings per kilowatt for power to street lights. The Garuda Smart City Framework (GSCF) model illustrates the point, as people are considered an enabler or a resource, an exchangeable commodity within a closed cybernetic feedback system. “**Smart People** (sic) is a human resource that has a positive character and certain competencies that can be relied upon to support a process in order to run properly.” (Kok-Chin (KC) Tay, 2018). Yet the ambition for improving quality of life, is quiet separate to the operationalizing of humans as a resource.

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines Quality of Life (QoL) as “an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns.”³ Notably this definition builds QoL from the component pieces of “individual perception” and “context of culture and values” both factors which resist translation into data or generalizable systems logic, highlighting the incompatibility of current smart city models with quality of life and culture. This is an incompatibility of logic *and* type, and as is argued here, the source of the brittleness emerging in complex smart city systems models.

The nature of citizen behaviour (and misbehaviour) is in fact antithetical to systems or cybernetic theory of cities operation, which was first explored in the 1970's, but resonates back as far as le Corbusier's discredited urban visions created under the *mis*-understanding that “Human Happiness already exists expressed in terms of numbers, of mathematics, of properly calculated designs, plans in which the cities can already be seen!”³.

Happiness is most strongly related not to economic or organizational factors, but to the strength and number of social relations between people (Montgomery, 2013). It is where the “abstracted” user of the programmer's imagination, meet actual communities and users ‘in the street’ as it were, which highlight the irreconcilable intersection of two forms of knowledge, and the clash of two visions of the city. As urban cyber-physical systems are becoming increasingly dependent on the behaviour and timely response of human agents in the smart city

³ WHOQOL: Measuring Quality of Life,
<http://www.who.int/healthinfo/survey/whoqol-qualityoflife/en/>, accessed 8 Nov. 2018

paradigm, this intersection consequently creates an inherently unpredictable moment at the heart of urban technologies and their integration with the lived city.

Urban theory counterpoint

Understanding the city as a technical construct, puts smart cities definitively at odds with the broad cannon of urban theory, from urban planning to anthropology to architectural theory that deals with understanding the urban context as a cultural construct. Notably the most significant treatises on city making and form, are derived through a socio/cultural lens (Jacobs, Lefebvre, Rowe, Rossi, etc.) and serve to reinforce the age old and inherent schism at the heart of contemporary city making debates between technology and humanism, from John Ruskin to Michael Batty.

A growing body of literature based in urban theory, is taking critical aim at Smart Cities discourse and the growing space between the “technological determinism and urban entrepreneurialism” (Wolfram, 2012) that characterises smart cities strategies in the absence of the cultural and political dimensions of actual urban contexts. The increase in commentary claiming the inclusion of communities and citizens, belies the fact that it is in practice rarely the case, and not more than a new gloss on old (technical) methodologies (Kaika, 2017).

A new range of critical voices are also taking aim at the moralising of new Smart Cities models into good and bad cities, the “impressing of a new moral order” on the city through technological behavioural determinism to create “docile subjects and mechanisms of political legitimisation” (Vanolo, 2013). Interestingly we have been here before as this shift uncannily mirrors the history of the automobile’s influence on the city, turning the city street from a shared space, to a technology (car) centric space, and in turn shaping the form and concept of the city through the vigorous lobbying of the automotive industry and its subsidiaries in the first 30 years of the 20th Century. (Montgomery, 2013)

City as Cyber Human interface

As the engineering mindset has progressively dominated the city making space of the last 20 years, the role of users, citizens, consumers and voters variously have played a role within the systems logic at its core, as outputs or beneficiaries of a technical action, more so than constituent components of a truly integrated cyber physical system. This underscores the paradigm of the smart city as conceived of as existing objectively separately-to or distinct-from citizens and citizen participation. The calculus of this is understandable, the city is a large and complex assemblage and the overall safety and efficiency of its daily routine requires considerable effort to orchestrate. It is only more recently through the adoption of smart phones, sensor technology and big data capability, that human actors have been co-opted further into this schema, no longer as beneficiaries within a complex technical environment, but as

informational dependencies upon which the system is co-dependent. This cyber-physical rather than cybernetic systems logic represents a significant change in conceptual approach, yet the primacy of technical systems design remains. That is, technical systems logic have done much to integrate human behaviour as input to the system, but has not yet evolved a logic that equally recognizes citizens through their qualitative understanding of and behaviour within the city. In Sennett's terms, the city still operates as a closed system unable to adapt, even while citizen participation has become recognized as a necessary next step in smart cities development.

The absence of an effective understanding of cyber-physical systems integration in city making required to bridge smart city technology approaches effectively with their human protagonists is problematic. The gulf between human behaviour as cultural and the framing of human behaviour in the terms of cybernetic systems through the language employed by Smart Cities highlights this critical concern.

Programmers developing technical systems involving human dependencies refer to human behavioural outcomes in terms of *Human Reliability* i.e. the reliability that humans will perform the task or behaviour the system anticipates of them (Meister, 1964).

“The range of problems confronting human factors practitioners has continued to grow over the past 50 years. Practitioners must deal with human performance in tasks that are primarily physical or perceptual, as well as consider human behaviour involving highly complex cognitive tasks with increasing frequency. As technology has evolved, many complex, dynamic systems have been created that tax the abilities of humans to act as effective, timely decision makers when operating these systems.” (Endsley, 2017)

Behaviour serves the system in this logic, not the other way around.

Similarly, predictive contexts typically refer not to unusual human behaviour but to human error. In the case of the city, errant behaviour is not yet an error, only *abnormal* which it is argued here is qualitatively, even constitutionally important for city life and experience. Both these examples point to a categorical and conceptual problem, as any behaviour beyond the predicted (and big data analyzed) patterns of the group are considered not only *not* normal but an error. This is the link to a moral or ideological alignment with ‘the normal’ and therefore ‘the good’ that code identifies and reinforces (Vanolo, 2013). So we might ask what does this mean for the collective behaviours of the city that sit outside the productively understood operations of routine? When we consider the role of actions like protests, freedom of assembly, and any manner of risk taking behaviour either individually or collectively, it is clear this abnormal behaviour is in fact historically significant in shaping our understanding of the value of the city itself.

Algorithms use past behaviour to predict future behaviour, good and bad and there is much discussion of the role of algorithmic bias in embedding discrimination particularly in city planning and operating contexts (O’Neil, 2016). Considering only the systems aspect of cities however, there are a number of systemic issues that become further pronounced as human actions become more integrated into systemic performance. For example, those behaviours which are not captured by data, cannot be integrated by data systems, meaning those people that opt out create a population of contributing but unknowable behaviours in the life of the city. This is non-trivial in that large sections of the population remain “undigitized” such as the elderly, the very young, the poor etc.

Human actions within a technical system also represent a predictable variable on average, yet have a high capacity for anomalous and unpredictable behaviour at the individual level, making a systemic model inclusive of citizens almost infinitely variable and complex. What is interesting in the case of brittleness then is not the norm, but precisely these outliers, the false positives and the unrecognized or disintegrated human actions that exist outside of or beyond aggregative social trend behaviour data. It is the errors or anomalies that are most significant in understanding a new form of brittleness as these are the behaviours that are qualitatively Human. Most importantly, as is consistent with much urban theory, those behaviours constitute the virtue of the urban context itself, the very reason humans cherish urban experience and culture. Meeting strangers, encountering difference, strengthening weak social bonds, broadening cultural experience and influence and so on are as Jacobs argued, the reason the street is so critical to social and cultural life.

In addition, the street is the place precisely where non-standard citizen behaviours are tested against social and cultural acceptance. If sidewalk behaviour, encounters, exchanges, zoning, building approvals and so on are normalized by algorithms isolating groups of people into more and more “like” urban enclaves⁴ it is arguable that the quality that makes the city so smart in the first place is at risk.

A Taxonomy of brittleness

The significant implications of this imperfect nexus between human and technical behaviours are only growing as system dependency and integration are the driving force of current urban technical discourse and indeed are core to the promise of technical performance. Yet, cascading errors, or the effect of one small error having larger and larger impact as its effect ripples

⁴ See Charles Montgomery, “Happy City” for an in-depth view on how this is occurring through zoning and financing leading to dispersal as a pervasive urban form, then what is the role of the city beyond a hyper intense system of control?

through a system can be catastrophic. As a complex system, those cascading errors no longer operate in the city within a single system. That is to say, a power outage does not only effect power systems, but all manner of more and more dependent systems of different orders.

If we recognize the brittleness at the intersection of cyber-physical systems in city terms, then this structural brittleness and its implications, present various forms of brittleness for further consideration.

Brittleness of non-participation

This is the brittleness created by the behaviours of those that are not inside the digital behavioural model. These include those who choose to opt out of digital systems or digital consumer models as well as those unable to participate. Systemically, there is a blindness here to a sector of society that can't participate in the digital environment easily or do not wish to; the elderly, the infirm, the disabled, the poor etc., anyone marginalized from technology systems built on or assuming digital access.

In the case of Asian Cities, smart phone penetration is far from ubiquitous, so how are the non-represented accounted for in smart cities algorithms based on data gathered from these same sources?

“What follows is that the cities intelligent systems are defined through a digital consumer experience that has inherited biases and leave parts of the city and its population unaccounted for. This rendered the city less resilient in the face of future social and climatic risks.” (Viitanen, 2014)

Brittleness of the social contract

Assumptions of available user driven data require participation, or opt-in and opt-out consent. These contracts are themselves social in nature, and as the recent Facebook data privacy issues demonstrate, constitute another form of brittleness, based as they are on highly variable community sentiment and reaction. Consequently, smart cities are highly vulnerable to changes in community trust, political and ideological sentiment built up in communities in various ways and even user exhaustion causing them to change or drop apps from their devices. This aspect of trust has the capacity to span to government as well as corporate systems, and in the case of the Facebook / Cambridge Analytica scandal, resulted in a significant proportion of users leaving the platform and congressional hearings at the highest levels of government.

Brittleness of intentional mis-use

The potential to intentionally misuse a platform, overload a system, send false readings to a system and so on at a city scale are plausible when one considered the natural groupings of

citizens that the city creates, such as commuters, shift workers, shoppers and so on. While this intentional mis-use is familiar in terrorist scenarios, it is a new form of brittleness available as a form of protest within the city formed by the operational groupings of the cities logic itself.

Brittleness of “bad” behaviour

Brittleness caused by bad behaviour is not the same as that caused by intentional mis-use. While intentional mis-use is calculated action, bad behaviour in terms described above can simply be any behaviour not allowed for within a systemic model as normal. In this sense, brittleness comes from bad or human error, or simply the error space between probability (averages) and individual behaviour.

Brittleness of the overly-surveyed.

In a highly surveyed environment, the question of cognitive overload, typically applied to high stress environments has the potential to be applied to all environments where user behaviour on the one hand is constantly monitored and logged, and the cognitive overload produced by the abundance of information and systems an individual is required to manage and navigate. The breaking point produced by cognitive overload is more typically manifest in vulnerable communities with less exposure to digital systems, or those with cognitive impairment or mental health concerns.

Brittleness of systemic homogeneity (assumed sameness)

This is the same phenomena found in social media platforms known as the echo chamber effect or homophily⁵. Research suggests homophily is created by users signing up to groups that already express similar beliefs and preferences, which in turn creates an echo chamber of self-reinforcing opinion and little opportunity for dissenting opinion or genuine discourse to occur (Williams H, 2015). In urban terms, economics and planning practices it has been argued have created communities of “like” people, stifling diversity and encounters with other cultures or points of view (Montgomery, 2013). When considering this phenomenon and smart cities technologies, there is also the potential for assumed sameness that occurs from statistical analysis and embedded algorithmic bias favoring the success of one cultural, demographic or geographic group as “the norm”. As echo chambers form around normative behaviours more and more similar behaviours are reinforced while aberrant behaviours are disincentivized. This in itself sets up less variability in behavioural models and creates a brittleness as the boundaries of “typical” or normal behaviour become narrower and narrower.

Brittleness of imagination

While it is possible to imagine many variants of urban behaviour or inhabitation, as new urban

⁵ As an instructive example of this issue see Williams H, et.al., (2015)

technologies are introduced, these tend to narrow rather than diversify human behaviour. If urban technologies are built on models, these require those building the models to both predict the outcomes of the system, as well as imagine the potentials of the system at the moment of its design. In the definition or design of a system, a systemic state space or space of all possible occurrences is created. Once instantiated, a systems performance becomes normalized, and appropriate behaviours reinforced. Hence, the moment of creation limits the potentials of the system to absorb other possibilities into this predefined solution space even if it is mathematically very large. (Burke, 2010)

This form of brittleness is introduced by not being able to imagine all potentials for any future behaviour or context, yet limitations being created through definition of ranges of acceptable behaviour within the design phase of an urban technology. As such, either the system must be “open” in the terms of Sennett’s definition of an open city, or a system must be continuously re-designed to accommodate unforeseen behaviour or contextual changes. In the space between the system and its redesign, is a brittleness.

Brittleness of Cultural mis-appropriation

The issue of cultural bias in urban technologies has also little been explored. The brittleness here stems from cultural assumptions of either the place of the technology’s development, or the place of one instance of the technology being deployed, not being transferable to other instances and locations with different cultural norms and/or preferences. This is a problem with large platform type systems typically deployed in smart city control room scenarios. A generic software environment or systems architecture built on for example, North American norms and expectations, cannot be expected to work in a similar way in the context of say Indonesia. Acceptable behavioural rules between the two places are not only different, they constitute the culture of a place and are part of the fabric of a city. They cannot be replaced without removing that which makes a place unique. Hence if a system is not tuned sufficiently for cultural context in which it is installed, the gap between expected behaviour and actual behaviour creates a point of failure within the system. While this may be benign in many cases, a small error in one interdependent system as has been shown can have large scale impact.

Conclusion

This paper claims that as the nature of a cybernetic foundation of the smart cities movement has transitioned to a cyber-physical system logic, a little understood *systemic brittleness* has been introduced into city making discourse that has potentially significant implications for the lived experience and resilience of our urban centers into the future. This brittleness is one of logic and of type, meaning there is an incompatibility between machine and human operative logic as well as culture and data, that is not reconcilable. This schism in logic is not recognized in the predominant smart cities discourse which has assumed a human inclusive rhetoric but

which has not adopted user centric techniques or methods to meaningfully address or incorporate human behaviour within smart cities schema's which continue to operate on recognizable cybernetic systems approaches.

In exploring this issue, several types of brittleness emerge at the intersection of new urban technologies understood systemically, and human behaviour, raising the issue of the impossibility of smart cities in its current form to maintain those qualities of urban life that are most significant; difference, chance, abnormal behaviour etc., which make the city and the streets what they are.

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Heritage Trails as a New Realm of Placemaking and Social Design: A Collaborative Action Research Project in Rural Communities in Zuojhen District, Tainan, Taiwan

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Abstract

Heritage trails have been recognized as an important tool and initiative for placemaking. Heritage trails are pathways that connect the built and the natural environments. They celebrate historical, cultural, and ecological features of the communities, offering opportunities for experiencing and interpreting unique urban and rural landscapes. They also provide economic benefits by serving as routes for heritage tourism or rural tourism development that provide authentic experiences in areas with unexploited natural and cultural assets. By connecting point of interests, activities, and attractions, heritage trails have their social and political significance in fostering cooperation and partnerships among local communities. This action research used heritage trail planning as a social design strategy to foster meaningful multi-stakeholder participation and collaboration in the marginalized rural communities of Zuojhen District. The research was implemented through a one-year senior undergraduate studio course and a rural regeneration research project at the National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan. The study employed a series of mappings via the Historic Geographic Information System, interviews, field visits, courses, stakeholder workshops, public presentations, and trail restoration working holidays. As a result, a multi-scalar collaboration has emerged among community organizations, schools, local government, universities, national research institutions, and non-governmental organizations. The findings demonstrate the value of heritage trails in rural education, heritage preservation, community-based tourism development, and placemaking. This paper documents the formation of this initiative and reveals the potential of heritage trails as a significant communal space with shared identities and a platform that promotes collaboration and governance in rural communities.

Keywords: heritage trails, placemaking, stakeholder collaboration, rural communities, action research

Introduction

Heritage trails have been recognized as an important tool and initiative for placemaking. Heritage trails are pathways that connect the built and the natural environments. They celebrate historical, cultural, and ecological features of the communities, offering opportunities for experiencing and interpreting unique urban and rural landscapes. They also provide economic benefits by serving as routes for heritage tourism or rural tourism development that provide authentic experiences in areas with unexploited natural and cultural assets. By connecting point of interests, activities, and attractions, heritage trails have their social and political significance in fostering cooperation and partnerships among local communities.

Since 2013, Zuojhen District has been the site area for the Humanistic Innovation and Social Practices (HISP) Project of National Cheng Kung University. The HISP is built around service learning and social innovations as social responsibilities of universities. As one of the depopulated and underserved communities in the water conservation district, this community in rural Tainan presents various challenges in agricultural development, employment, service provision, and local identity. The complex rural issues are difficult to tackle using just university resources. In addition, stand-alone tourism-oriented projects from the government do generate the intended effects. Therefore, the key planning issues we wanted to address was how physical planning and design could serve the purposes of 1) strategically fostering different types of university engagement and stakeholder collaborations, and 2) adding values and meaningfulness to the existing tourism investments in rural areas.

In addition to the planning issues, two social issues that are unique to Zuojhen, a remote rural village, also play a critical role in this research. This action research project grew out of the researcher's own direct participation experience in 2016. The researcher taught a community planning course with the HISP researcher and confronted challenges in engaging students and members of communities in the course projects. We then realized that the nature of public participation in rural communities is very different from the urban one and should be a subject of study that is unique. Another unique task in Zuojhen (which was identified in a visioning workshop at the community) was creating a sense of cohesion among stakeholders in a built environment that is quite scattered. As the result, how to design public participation and create social cohesion in rural communities became the key social issues to solve for this action research project.

This action research grew out of the researcher's teaching experience and direct participation in the spring of 2016 and has continued to evolve collaboratively through a one-year

undergraduate planning studio course and a rural regeneration research project from the fall of 2017 until now. In the process, heritage trails arose to be the critical spatial and social instrument for public participation, stakeholder collaborations, and social innovations. This project has employed a series of mappings via the Historic Geographic Information System, interviews, field visits, co-teaching courses, stakeholder workshops, public presentations, lectures, and working holidays to experiment and advocate the potentials of heritage trails. As a result, a multi-scalar collaboration has emerged among community organizations, schools, local government, universities, national research institutions, and non-governmental organizations to enhance the local capability. Several action plans have been initiated by the local and national stakeholders for continuous research, planning, and implementation of heritage trails and others related projects. The project demonstrates the value of planning and design in rural education, heritage preservation, community-based tourism development, and placemaking in rural areas. It also reveals the potential of heritage trails as a significant communal space with shared identities and a platform that promotes collaboration and governance in rural communities.

Literature Review

Placemaking is a new direction for the urban design discipline that has a strong social and humanistic dimension, where “the desire for more meaningful places has resulted in a wide range of approaches to place reinforcement and place-making within the design community” (Larice and Macdonald, 2013, p. 151). It is an approach to design that is community-based, where the parameters of a project are not defined by the professional but rather based on the community’s vision. It is bottom-up where the community takes a new role as the expert or the people who know the place best, and the professionals are resources to facilitate, response and implement the vision. With a user-oriented approach, placemaking aims to create public places in everyday life that invite greater interaction among people, while fostering healthier and more economically diverse communities that are meaningful to the users of these spaces in a different time (Madden, 2014).

According to the Project for Public Space (PPS) (2018), the leading organization in placemaking, placemaking is a dynamic human function and a true human empowerment. The approach “allows communities to articulate their aspirations, needs, and priorities. Compelling shared vision attracts partners, money, and creative solutions. Professionals become resources to communities. Design is a tool to support the desired uses.” It allows a strong local or indigenous influence over the development decisions through public participation and community-led initiatives (Lew, 2017). More importantly, this design approach is based on a long-term vision but is supported by short-term actions to

incrementally build up the confidence for success and by on-going evaluations and improvement of the solutions.

Defining the stakeholders and the partners in the placemaking effort is more important than the design scheme, which is the flexible solutions in the placemaking approach for public space design or urban design. PPS (2013) refers to this as “place governance,” that is, an intentional effort to increase equity, participation, inclusiveness, and social capital through the placemaking process, including planning, design, implementation, and management of the space for its sustainability.

What is the connection between social design and placemaking? This movement of place-based design and place governance has resulted in new roles for the urban planner or urban designer, including those of “storyteller, midwife, public educator, local historian, urban repair specialist heretic (demanding change within the field itself)” (Larice and Macdonald, 2013). As professionals who respond to the social needs of placemaking, we no longer just create the plans and design with social responsive components, such as community architecture, affordable housing, or neighborhood design as a response to the social or sustainability issues. We are also to facilitate a collaborative space that supports learning and decision making (Chang and Fang, 2018).

The new role is aligned with the contemporary trend in the design profession in general, where the role of the designer has shifted from dominator to facilitator in the design process. Creating value and sustainability has become major concerns for designers working with communities, the users, as opposed to designing products, the objects. As a new design discipline or paradigm shift, this approach is often called many interchangeable terms, such as social innovation, design for social need, or social design in general. In order to promote changes, social designers do not expect to solve social issues by generating more design solutions but rather by paying attention to the interconnected natural political-economic systems that demand transformation as well. As a result, it is multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary in nature, and a participatory design is imperative in the design process. Social design involves users and stakeholders, as well as experts from other disciplines (Siu and Wong, 2018). How to design the process of participation and collaboration and where to promote that process are critical questions for planners and designers who are following the social design trend.

Description of the Research Area

Zuojhen is considered one of the most depopulated rural areas located at the southeastern

border of Tainan City. The total population in Zuojhen is less than 5000 within 76 square kilometers and has decreased by about 12% in the past ten years. The area is not only depopulated but also super-aged. In terms of the percentage of the elderly population, it is ranked as the highest in Tainan, and its aging index is about four times higher than the city's overall average. As it is located in the badland region and in Tainan's water-conservation district, the lack of employment opportunities in both agricultural and industrial sectors contributes to its depopulation. The out-migration to cities or more urbanized areas not only has resulted in further depopulation but also has contributed to a loss of local identity. It is perceived as a place of "nothing" by many Zuojhen natives. On the other hand, the feature of the badlands' underdevelopment has recently started to attract visitors, especially in Erliao due to its beautiful sunrises and the lowest-altitude sea of clouds. The annual visitor population is about three times more than the total population. Despite this tourism trend, the closing of major public facilities such as schools, health clinics, and police stations have furthered the out-migration, especially in southern Zuojhen (Figure 1).

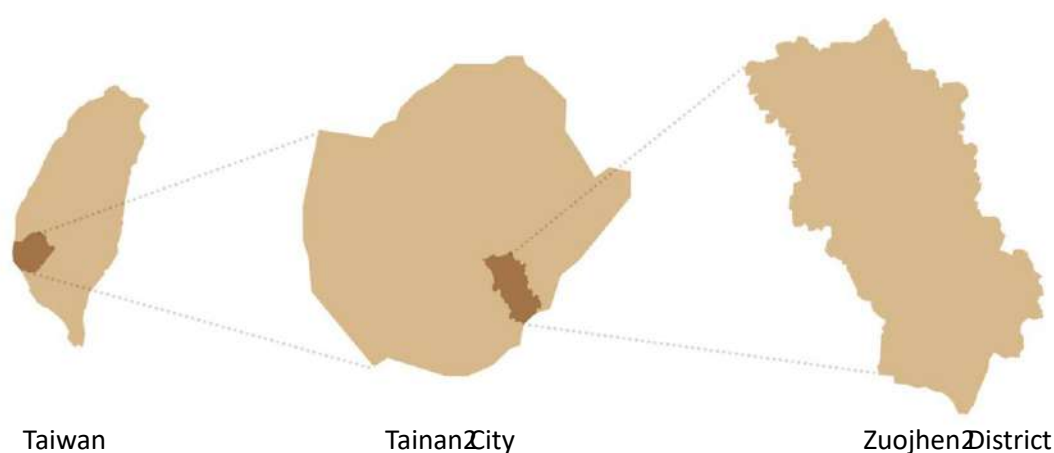


Figure1. Geographic Location of Zuojhen in relationship to Taiwan

Despite its current economic hardship, Zuojhen is a rural area with rich pre-history resources and was once considered the earliest human settlement in Taiwan with the discovery of "Zuojhen people"(左鎮人). The fossil and archeological sites near the Cailiao River were once a famous destination for fossil diggers. Zuojhen was also one of the early settlement areas for Siraya before the Han people arrived. Siraya cultural activities such as hunting, music, and local religion could still be found in the area. Settling in the badlands has left a unique local heritage in term of agricultural and construction practices featuring the collaborative spirit in the traditional society. The lack of large-scale arable land and sodium

compounds in the badland soil made agricultural production small in quantity but diverse and unique in texture and flavor. Pasture husbandry of sheep and chicken was once popular in the region but has now been banned due to water conservation efforts.

Since 2013, Zuojhen has been the site area for the Humanistic Innovation and Social Practices (HISP) Project of NCKU. As aforementioned, the area faces challenges in agricultural development, employment, service provision, and local identity. The key issue this project wants to address is how physical planning and design could serve the purposes of 1) strategically fostering different types of university engagement and stakeholder collaborations, and 2) adding values and meaningfulness to the existing tourism investments and agricultural products in rural areas. Heritage trails arose to be the critical spatial and social instrument for innovations and collaborations. How to design public participation and create social cohesion in the rural community then became the key social problems to be solved through this action research project.

Research Design and Methodology

This study takes the approach of action research, as our purpose is not solely to understand the social arrangements as in conventional social sciences, but also to effect desired change as a path to generating knowledge and empowering stakeholders through actions (Bradbury-Huang, 2010). As described by Reason and Bradbury (2001), action research seeks to “bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities” (p. 1). It is not only action-oriented but also participatory in nature and requires engaging stakeholders in the research process to effect changes. As a unique form of inquiry that draws power from the premises of pragmatism, action research emphasizes a different way of knowing through action and the belief that we can know through doing. The social world can only be understood by trying to change it. As Robin McTaggart reflects, “the crucial difference lies in the commitment of action researchers to bring about change as part of the research act. (Brydon-Miller *et al.*, 2003) Action and research are two intertwined and inter-supporting methods for knowledge construction and promote changing the social world. Through action research, we are in hope to shorten the gap between theory and practice, between action and research.

Following the framework of action research, the steps of this research include planning, design, and action. Planning is the first step to help us understand the local issues, define the cause of issues, and define the starting point of action. This research incorporates design in the second step, to think and design the potential social design strategies that would promote

change. Action is the last step implemented. Part of this step is evaluating the outcome and effectiveness for further actions. Unlike a linear research process with clear research questions in the beginning and research outcomes in the end, action research requires constant observations, reflection, and modifications in cyclical iterations (Figure 2).

The issues that initiated the actions were identified through direct observations and direct participation in the courses in the Spring of 2016 and community events prior to the studio course in 2017, as well as interviews with local stakeholders, including community leaders, school principals, and district officials. The personal reflections of the researcher from being the Rural Regeneration Regional Coordinator also helped identify the issue of searching for alternative forms of rural participation. As a result, an asset-based and collaborative approach was embedded as the theme for the planning studio project. Beyond the studio course, an action research project has been undertaken by the researcher to implement the heritage trails, while identifying herself as one of the stakeholders in the community.

To identify and develop the design of the trail systems, both secondary data and first-hand data collection and analyses were employed. Secondary data includes online historical GIS mapping resources from RCHSS in Academic Sinica and other GIS service clouds. Rural regeneration project reports, books, and other second-hand data were used to understand the local background and historical information. The first-hand data were collected through site visits, interviews, direct observations, direct participation in stakeholder workshops, and presentations. Elite interviews with NCKU faculty members, the community leaders, government officials, school principals, and businesses were conducted for issue identification in the early stage.

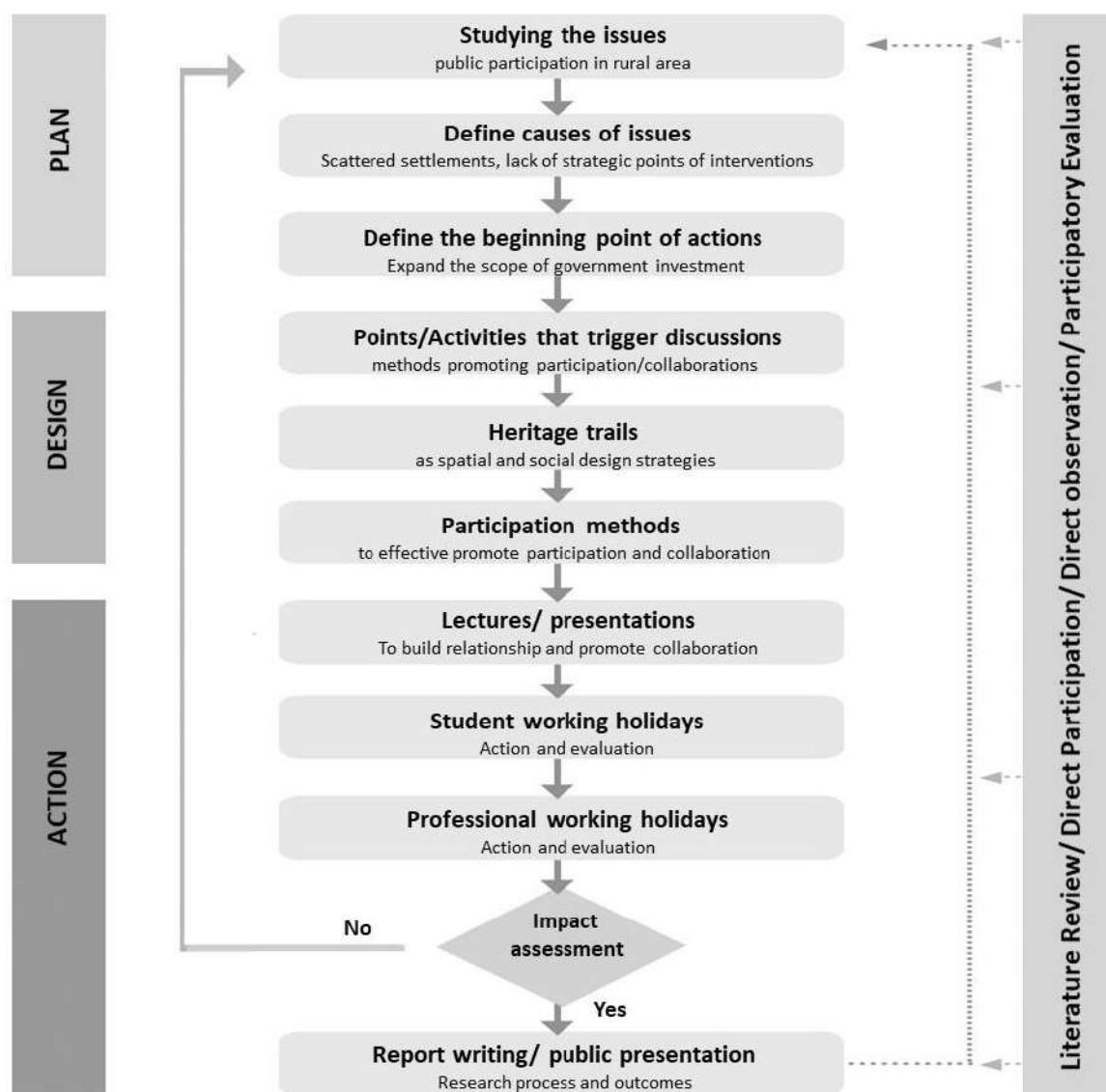


Figure 2. Research Framework of Action Research

Participation Methods

As a participatory action research, stakeholder inputs were incorporated at every step of this project (planning, design, implementation, and evaluation) and a variety of participation methods was adopted, including interviews, focus group, stakeholder workshops, project presentations, exhibitions, and working holidays. Interviews were conducted at the beginning with local stakeholders to understand local issues as well as in the end to evaluate the impact of the actions. Focus groups involving the elderly usually took place during routine

community activities (e.g., community lunch and exercise time) to collect oral histories or local knowledge. Stakeholder workshops took place at various stages of planning, including planning process and planning implementation, to allow local stakeholders, government officials, and businesses to collect data, initiate dialogues, and reach consensus on action plans. Project presentations were made to local stakeholders, public agencies, other research institutions, and NGO. They were used to attract stakeholders' interest in the research area and the planning proposals and to initiate dialogue about project feasibility and potential collaborations. Exhibitions were often held in combination with other activities, such as presentations or workshops, to provide extra interactions with local stakeholders. Stakeholder workshops, presentations, and poster exhibitions took place both at the university and in Zuojihe as public forums to collect data and feedback, while facilitating networking and collaborations at the same time. Stakeholder analyses were made and revised constantly for stakeholder collaboration and conflict assessment.

This research also took advantage of “working holidays” as a participation method that combines travel and work, in order to help stakeholders to develop a stronger relationship through an extensive participation of 2–3 days. This particular participation method is employed to prototype the project implementation and to facilitate collaborations among stakeholders at the university, local, and regional levels. Participatory evaluations also took place at the end of each action, using a combination of surveys, workshops, and in-depth interviews, to evaluate the effectiveness of the actions and propose future actions. Inviting the communities to evaluate the project also helped to achieve a sense of togetherness.

Table 1. List of actions and social design strategies

Date	Action	Social Design Strategies
2017.09-11	Interviews	In-depth interviews with stakeholders to build a relationship for workshop participation
2017.12	Stakeholder workshops	Taking advantage of community routine activities to design stakeholder workshops
2018.01	Studio presentation	Combining studio final presentation and poster exhibition and invite stakeholders to participate to develop action plans
2018.05	Student working holiday	Implementation of the action plan in collaboration with university courses via heritage trail restoration working holiday. The format of participation within the working holiday includes interviews, focus group and direct participation.

2018.05	Stakeholder workshop	Modify the action plans with community leaders and participants.
2018.04-06	Speech presentation	Using presentation to advocate the plan to regional and national government agencies.
2018.06	Lectures on heritage trail restoration	Invite professional organizations with expertise on heritage trail restoration to the community and have field visits and discussions afterward.
2018.06	Studio final presentation	Combining poster exhibition, oral presentation, and action plan workshop to invite stakeholders to develop initiatives from the studio schemes.
2018.08	Heritage trail investigation	Field visit with national tourism agency took the initiative to develop a hand-made heritage trail restoration project and discussed its feasibility.
2018.10	Heritage trail investigation	A local historian takes the initiate and combines the resources from the City Government to investigate the potential heritage trails that were not mapped by students.
2018.10	Professional working holiday	A working holiday that combines a one-day tour and one-day workshop and invites professionals to develop action plans.

Heritage Trails as a Social Design Strategy

This project uses heritage trail systems as a way to expand the potential economic impact of two major tourism facilities constructed in the area. By proposing trail systems that enable visitors to stay longer and consume local products, we hope the economic benefits would expand and provide local employment opportunities for the younger generations to stay. With GIS mapping and the input from local stakeholders via workshops, the Cailiao Fossil Museum project in northern Zuojhen has developed into the “Cailiao Fossil Eco-Museum,” connecting the museum to its outdoor archeological sites, village center, and other cultural attractions. The eco-museum concept also uses the museum as a strategic site to promote local agricultural products and connects itself to other prehistory museums in Tainan to promote prehistory and early history tourism. A similar concept of heritage trails is applied to the Erliao Sunrise Pavilion. Moreover, the rich geological assets in southern Zuojhen are incorporated and developed into a “Badlands Geopark” with a three-trail system that features different themes, where landscape conservation, environmental education, leisure recreation, and community participation are the core values (Figure 3 and Figure 4).



Figure 3. Participation and plan development process of the fossil eco-museum studio project



Figure 4. Stakeholder workshops and the GeoPark master plan of the student studio project

1. Studio final presentation as a space for social design

The final presentation of the “New Urban-Rural Relationship” studio was designed to combine a poster exhibition, a PowerPoint oral presentation, and a collaborative action workshop led by the instructors. The three projects—two of which involved heritage trails—aimed to expand the existing anchoring area of activities into a strategic site of regional collaboration in tourism and agricultural development to showcase the local identity of

badlands. The leader of a local community organization ended the presentation by giving a service award to the students for their time and effort in rural planning. The presentation took place in the District Office with more than 30 representatives from the national government, local municipal government, community organizations, schools, geology specialists, and business communities.

The historical photos of Zuojihe were used to showcase the collaborative spirit that prevailed in the old times when public facilities were being constructed. Using them as a metaphor, we transformed the Q/A session of a traditional final presentation into a collaborative action workshop and invited the stakeholders to share their resources and the responsibility of plan implementation. Local stakeholders were invited to present the workshop results as a form of empowerment. Networking and matching of partners and resources were successful during the process to enhance the future social and institutional capacity for co-action and co-creation (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Studio final presentation was transformed into as a social design strategy that incorporate exhibition, oral presentation and stakeholder workshops to initiate action plans and promote collaborations.

2. Social Design at the University Level: Student Working Holidays

The students from multi-disciplinary backgrounds in the three courses used the trail restoration working holiday for data collection and relationship building with the communities. Using heritage trails as a shared space, the students collected information from different perspectives, including landscape and vegetation, architecture, and local economic and medical history. By walking into the local elderlies' homes, having in-depth conversations with them, and working together on finding trails based on their memories, faculty members and students were able to develop a closer relationship with these elderlies.

A ribbon for way-finding was designed to represent the restoration of this trail as well as the sunrise landscape during this working holiday. The colorful ribbon became the symbol of this trail-based social design that records the process of rural heritage preservation in the badland area (Figure 6).



Figure 6. A student working holiday on heritage trail restoration was designed to promote the collaboration among university courses. The way-finding ribbons represents the length and conditions of the trails at the same time become the symbol of collective memories among the community and the university.

3. *Reaching Out to Multi-scalar Stakeholders*

To reach more potential stakeholders and expand the scope of the collaboration, we invited guest speakers to bring knowledge and expertise for project implementation. Professional organizations such as the Thousand Mile Trail Club and ELIV International Service were invited to share their experiences and to discuss possible collaborations. A field trip to Zuojhen and trail investigation took place to explore the technicality and potential of cross-organizational collaborations in trail restoration and agricultural development. The students' creative use of Historical GIS to identify historical trails for community-based tourism has drawn the attention of the leading GIS research entity in Taiwan—the Center for GIS in the Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences at Academia Sinica, and further initiate a Community GIS project in Zuojhen (Figure 7).



Figure 7. Historical mapping of heritage trails engaged the multi-scalar stakeholders and expanded the scope of the projects from Zuojihe into the badlands region.

Results: The Impact Evaluation of the Action Research

Action research is a work in progress (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, & Maguire, 2003). The project is on-going and keeps evolving through continuous participation and reflections. So far, we have identified several potential impacts of using the heritage trails as a medium for placemaking and social design. The impact of the 18-month-long action research can be categorized into two dimensions: cultural heritage preservation and community building:

1. Collaboration and Community Building

The physical strategy—heritage trails—serves as a critical spatial planning and design tool for strengthening the rural communities by connecting the built and the natural environments and by combining the historical, cultural, and ecological features of the communities. It has the potential to foster cooperation and partnerships and strengthen the sense of community. In defining the project's success, the degree to which the community is strengthened could be measured both horizontally and vertically, in terms of 1) the types of the stakeholders involved in the dialogue within the community, and 2) the extent a certain subject (project) is discussed and carried out by incorporating stakeholders and resources outside the community.

Networking and collaborating within Zuojihe and with other badland communities in the region allow the rural communities to learn from each other the status, progress, and experience in rural regeneration. The deputy secretary of the District Office shared his perspective on the role of student projects and the involvement of the university:

“Government officials from the district office, city government, and Scenic Area Administration were invited to attend [the final presentation of] student projects and to attend the workshop, allowing us to focus our resources, build consensus among different stakeholders...In the past, resources from different government agencies were pulled in different directions.” (District Office Official, personal communication, November 13, 2018)

The concept of community building exists not only within the community but also within the university and the local community. The heritage trails help to strengthen the sense of community and partnership between the locals and the university. Especially, through the heritage restoration working holiday, both the community leader and university instructor feel their engagement is enhanced during this process. Chen, a community leader, described during the interview the sense of “companionship” and team building in the restoration process:

“When you said ‘let’s try to restore it’, we [the community], in fact, were full of excitement because I had heard the elders mention these disappeared trails many times. I never imagined that one day someone will come and help me take the first step and make this trail alive again. You [NCKU] give me the courage to try and take this step; this ‘companionship(做伴)’ is very important.” (Community leader, personal communication, November 8, 2018).

The faculty member who has worked with the HISP project for five years reflected on the effectiveness of using heritage trails as a means for the university’s social engagement, the level of collaboration within the university and with the community, student learning and its potential benefits to the health of senior residents in the local community:

“Heritage trails meet the mutual needs [of the university and the communities]. If what follows is heritage travel, it would be valuable and meaningful for the social relations and spiritual health of the local elders.” (NCKU faculty 1, personal communication, November 8, 2018).

Our continuous efforts to advocate the potential of heritage trails through lectures and research also brought the attention of the stakeholders at the local, national, and regional levels. Networking among other badlands communities allows communities that are in the same position to share experiences of failure and success. Thus, our key strategies for social design include strengthening and expanding the scope of the community into a regional perspective, integrating the resources from the national level stakeholders such as Academia

Sinica and National Scenic Area Administration, and taking advantage of the role of the university as the innovation leader in the region.

2. *Cultural Heritage Preservation*

The continuous depopulation and aging conditions in the community make cultural heritage preservation a key issue to address, but also a great subject for intervention. Heritage trails have a great potential for heritage preservation. It is broad enough physically to cover different parts of a region, yet specific enough to reveal the local stories and experiences. It can be connected to environmental, social, economic, and cultural dimensions, and can preserve both collective and personal memories. Through the two trail systems we proposed in the studio projects, we have found that heritage trails facilitate lively dialogues among participants, especially among the elderly. They also generate re-imagination and have the potential to engage visitors in in-depth experiences and develop relationships through handmade trail projects (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Elderly residents discussed the memories related to the heritage trails

This issue of cultural heritage preservation was identified through direct observations and direct participation in the courses and community events prior to the studio course. The community organizations, the stakeholders, and the NCKU faculty and students have been involved in the process through the workshops initiated by the studio course. Moreover, through individual interviews, focus groups, and workshops, the elderly residents have been particularly active and were critical participants in verifying the heritage trails, the route, nodes, events, and stories around them. During our trail restoration working holiday, we found that the heritage trail triggered rich dialogues among the elderly residents of both genders. Vivid pictures of life in the badlands were reconstructed via local memories, and the dimension of cultural heritage was expanded as a result. In addition, the community

organization has found the heritage trail project as a medium to reach out to the elderly at home and serve as a different means for caring and relationship-building.

“This working holiday event also gave me another insight, that our elders [in the remote rural area] haven’t had many opportunities to contact the outside world. But we can see that they do want to interact with others [from the experience of heritage trail working holiday]. Through heritage travel, it is possible that the elders could become alive again by becoming local historical tour guides or something like that.” (Community leader, personal communication, November 8, 2018).

The lecture by Taiwan Thousand Mile Trail Club also triggered more dialogues among the stakeholders about the different routes in the Zuoijhen region, as well as various heritage dimensions around the trails, including traditional construction methods and the equipment needed for hiking the trails. The professional expertise on heritage trails from the Taiwan Thousand Mile Trail Club helped to expand the dimension of the oral history and the imagination on trail-related heritage preservation. In addition, local cultural heritage preservation efforts in this remote rural area can connect to a global movement of heritage trail restoration through inviting outside expert to give a talk in the community center and going to the field directly to investigate potential future actions. A few months later, a local historian initiated two other trail restoration efforts with the National Tainan Living Art Center in the northern part of Zuoijhen to reconnect with their aboriginal past. This represents the possibility of using the heritage trail and invited lectures as ways to design and bridge social capital from the outside. This also echoes what urban historian Dolores Hayden has described: “Preserved historic place may trigger potent memories, networks of such places begin to reconnect social memory on an urban scale” (1995, p. 200).

The effectiveness of heritage trails in cultural heritage preservation is measured by its role in generating discussions, its potential to bridge outside resources, and its ability to reveal the richness of local cultures and rebuild local identity and confidence. We were able to initiate dialogues among the stakeholders who were pessimistic about the region’s future but had become active participants in the planning process. Despite its challenges in implementation, this approach to cultural heritage preservation aligns with the asset-based approach to planning and has the potential for promoting collaboration among the stakeholders in different parts of Zhouchen.

Conclusions

This paper documents the action research that meant to address the issue of public

participation and community building in a remote rural area. From the perspective of placemaking and social design, we use heritage trails as a social design strategy for intervention, taking advantage of its characteristic connection of physical, social and economic environments in rural areas. We also took advantage of the trails' connection to the rural public history, which enhances participation and promoted collaboration in the planning process. This research demonstrates an innovative design approach that combines different forms of participation methods, to engage the community and promote multi-scalar stakeholder participation. The complete implementation of the heritage trails that we proposed in the plan may not be only indicators of success. Rather, success can also be seen in the process of discussion, aspirations, visions, and actions and experiments that different stakeholders were engaged in and were empowered to actively share regarding this particular public realm—the heritage trails. Through this action research, we began to initiate short-term experiments, such as working holidays, to invite stakeholders from the university, local communities and beyond to participate, evaluate, and improve the solutions. The connections to the elders' spiritual health and the unique public history and cultural heritage of the badland regions are particularly valuable to give the locals the power to define their own collective past. Like Hayden's (1995) perspective on the place memory and urban preservation, heritage trails help trigger potent memories, networks of such places begin to reconnect social memory on a regional scale. This paper documents the formation of this initiative and reveals the potential of heritage trails as a significant communal space with shared identities and a platform that promotes participation, collaboration, and place governance in rural communities.

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A Bottom-up Approach of Filmic Tourism Affecting Placemaking in Taipei, Kaohsiung and Hong Kong

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Abstract

Film-induced tourism has become a new strategy of place marketing when some American people began to be attracted by the Hollywood movies shot in Australia and commenced to travel the film shooting locales in the 1990s. Afterward, the world famous movie *Notting Hill* (1999) and the TV series *Sex and the City* (1998-2004) for example brought numerous tourists around the world to visit London and New York. Today, the urban imaginaries created by the films are still representatives of the two cities and allure considerable domestic and international visitors. In the pan-Chinese area, specifically Taiwan and Hong Kong, the contemporary trend of film-induced tourism began from the influence of the movie *Cape No. 7* (2008). Even though this movie was accidentally creating the tourism boom to its shooting location, a southern Taiwanese small town, this independent phenomenon has ultimately caused the popularity of filmic tourism in Taiwan and Hong Kong, the places sharing one pan-Chinese film market. As a result, the local governments in the two places have established similar policies of filmic sponsorship, intending to develop the film industries, to create an attractive urban imaginary, and to foster filmic tourism.

In the past 10 years, this top-down approach of place marketing has dominated the major cities in the two places, specifically Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Hong Kong. The urban imaginary created by the partnership between the government and the filmmaker were highly affected the urban process. However, since 2015, an opposite approach has participated in the process through local people-guided filmic tours that have been simultaneously lanced in Taipei's Dadaocheng, Kaohsiung' Yencheng, and Hong Kong' Sheung Wan. These old districts were popular film shooting locales and their revitalizations have been highly influenced by the filmic tourism in the past years. This paper examines the filmic tours designed and guided by the local profit and non-profit organizations to dig into the following inquiries. How did local people-guided filmic tours influence the process of revitalization and placemaking? How did this bottom-up approach of place marketing change the government-oriented and single movie-represented development of urban imaginary? How did local people reselect and rearrange the

multiple filmic representations as archival materials to create alternative historical narrative from their perspectives? Through answering these questions, a potential model of emerging civic urbanism in relation to filmic intervention will be elucidated specifically in the context of pan-Chinese cities beyond Mainland China.

Keywords: filmic tourism, civic-driven placemaking, cinematic urban imaginary, urban revitalization, alternative historical narrative

Exploring the Role of Community Alley Gardens in Urban

Regeneration: Case Studies from Seoul and Daegu

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Abstract

This paper is based on an ongoing research to develop a design and operations guideline for community gardens in Korea. As community-based urban regeneration projects become popular in Korea, interest in community building has been on the rise as well. However, more recently, one finds an increased interest in community gardens that can help build the community as well as improve the local landscape. This paper looks at two exemplary cases in Seoul and Daegu, the major metropolitan cities in Korea, to explore the spatial characteristics, the social relationships and the factors that result in the sustainability of these spaces.

This paper is divided into two sections: literature review to determine the meaning and the historical context for community alley gardens, followed by case studies of the two sites in Korea. First, contextual foundation for community garden and green alley programs are provided through literature reviews. Then, site visits and in-depth interviews with the local committee members in maeul(village) were conducted in order to understand the complex network that ultimately culminates in the physical form of the community alley gardens. In the integrative analysis, four-category framework is used to illustrate this network. Finally, this paper will explore the role of community gardens in urban regeneration discourse in Korea by confirming that such space can function as agencies in founding and fortifying the communities towards urban regeneration and by drawing meaningful implications for the development of community garden guidelines for Korea

Keywords: Community Garden, Alleys, Seoul, Daegu, Urban Regeneration

Introduction

As urban regeneration and revitalization projects in Korea become popular, interests in

residential environment, landscape improvement and community activities have been increasing steadily. This shift has also resulted in the increased interest in community gardening, a type of urban agricultural practice. While the concept of community gardening originates from North America, several countries around the globe have adapted the tradition in their own contexts, altered appropriately for the regional and local needs.

In Korea, for example, urban agriculture has been heavily promoted by the Seoul Metropolitan Government since 2012 when ‘Act on Development and Support of Urban Agriculture (No. 12844)’ passed. Due to society-wide interest in local communities, as in *Maeul-Mandeulgi*, which translates directly to ‘community creation,’ several writers have noted the need to construct community gardens as it will provide opportunities for the residents to contribute to the residential environment and the local landscape (Lee and Park, 2018).

While community gardening research in Korea remains nascent and guidelines for the practice unfinished, there are several cases in urban regions that are exemplary for this discussion. For this paper, two green alley sites produced from community gardening are examined as case studies: *Sansae-maeul Community Garden* in Seoul and *Dalsung-Tosung-maeul Community Garden Alleys* in Daegu.

Both cases share similar history not only in their hilly topography and low-income household economy, but also in terms of their community gardening as agent for alley-based urban regeneration. Based on the site survey and in-depth interviews with key players in each *maeul*(village)¹, this study not only observed the spatial design aspects of the gardens but also attempted to visualize the governance structure and the current organization of the community gardens. Although limited in scope, such analysis will help understand how the community gardens are created, designed, organized, and managed under the current system. The case studies consist of direct observations of the spatial elements, particularly those that effect the urban landscape, and how they are created or managed by the players involved in the gardens. The research was conducted through site visits and in-depth interviews with the interested parties. The result of the observation is presented in a four-category framework analysis to indicate how the various players are involved with the garden as well as with each other to create and to manage the community gardens.

Based on the results of the analysis, this paper will draw implications for the future community gardens in Korea. Specific implications in terms of management and governance

1 Maeul(마을) is a Korean term referring to a village or a town. However, this term has been adapted widely by the community advocates who practice ‘maeul-mandeulgi,’ which is equivalent to ‘village building.’ Similar to the Japanese practice of machizukuri, the maeul in this context refers to a geographical village with strong community.

will be drawn in order to contribute to the community garden guidelines, which are in development as of current.

While this paper deals with small number of cases, it is important to recognize that these two sites have also begun to take steps toward systematic sustainability. Several administrative and managerial efforts to continue the dynamics on the site demonstrate the potential embedded in the community gardening projects as part of urban regeneration efforts, despite the relatively aging population and low-income households. Hence, this paper will not only serve as an observation of the existing practices but also as an introduction to the possible future of community gardens and small-scale urban neighborhoods in the era of austerity that awaits a society of aging population such as Korea.

Defining Community Gardens and Green Alleys

First, one must define and distinguish what exactly is referred to by the use of the terms *community garden* and *green alley*. Choi *et al.* (2018) has analyzed 12 community garden studies in Korea using text-mining analysis to draw conceptual characteristics of the concept of community garden (Figure 1). According to the analysis, community garden in Korea referred to “field of residential communication for the residents,” moving away from the idea behind urban agriculture which focuses on the production of crops by the participants. This testifies to the fact that despite the interchangeability of the words in practice, there is a distinct difference in the terminology.



Figure 1. Conceptual Difference Between Urban Agriculture and Community Garden by Text-Mining Analysis (Choi *et al.*, 2018)

Furthermore, the study showed difference between the ideas of community garden in North America, where the idea first originates from, and those in Korea and in Japan. In North America, ‘community garden’ as a terminology had an expanded meaning; as a hybrid word of two separate terms, *community* and *garden*, it referred to ‘a land where several people cultivate garden together.’ In her discussion of the history of community gardening in

America, Lawson (2005) emphasized the importance of community gardening as participatory process. Hence, the concept of community garden as originating from North America is distinguished from urban agriculture in that it involves proactive effort by its participants while contributing to the social network through community activities. On the other hand, the concept of community garden in Korea and Japan are less extensive and more concentrated in non-crop gardening activities. According to Choi *et al.* (2018), the concentrated meaning of community garden as visible in Japan, in particular, refers to flowerbeds and other garden elements that allow the public to see the space as tended gardens for urban beautification. Furthermore, these types of community gardens are location-specific in that the local residents take care of the space. Finally, unlike the North American versions, the community gardens in Japan and Korea are free of charge, as crop production is limited. In the meantime, *green alleys* are defined in North America, Europe and other regions as an “expansion upon single-purpose infrastructure of alleys and conversion of underutilized alleyways into community assets and resources for environmental, economic and social benefits” (Lindt, 2015). It is used as green infrastructure that encourage multi-purpose use, encompassing environmental, economic, and social benefits (Newell *et al.*, 2013). Lindt, in her analysis of the green alleys, used tri-circular framework to position each green alley case in their respective focus (Figure 2). Several cases in the U.S., for example, incorporated storm-water management techniques in the construction of the green alleys.

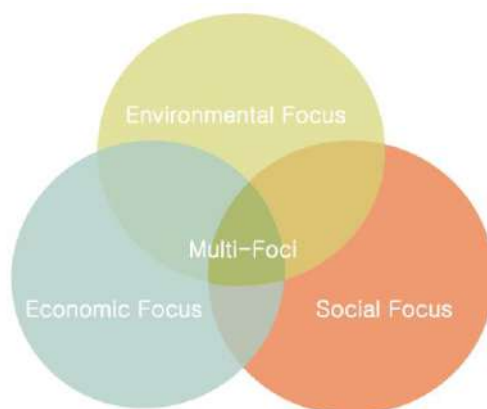


Figure 2. Green Alley Framework (Lindt, 2015, p.16)

What is more important for this paper, however, is that the green alleys create green public spaces using the pre-existing urban infrastructure and blocks without bulldozing the existing structures. It paves way for the existing communities to come together and transform underutilized and sometimes dangerous street infrastructure into a safe, urban open space that can garner community building and networking among the neighbors. Furthermore, as the green alleys discussed in this paper are created through community gardening efforts, they are in fact both the catalyst and the agency for sustainable community efforts.

In summary, community garden and green alleys concentrate on different aspects: the former

being the social, while the other is concerned with the infrastructural. Hence, as will be discussed in the following section, one often finds in green alleys sections showcasing community gardening efforts or see that community gardening practice sometimes turn an alley into a green alley. This, precisely, is the focus of this study (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Scope of the Research.

Examples of Community Alley Gardening

In general, the Green Alley Program in the U.S. focuses itself on the environmental benefits to the neighbourhood by utilizing recycled materials and high-albedo pavements in its construction (Figure 4). Here, the Green Alleys are part of the city's Sustainable Urban Infrastructure Policy (Newell *et al.*, 2013). However, the focus on stormwater treatment leaves something to be desired in terms of urban nature, neighbourhood landscape and socially engaged open space. A noteworthy example of community gardening in green alley that seem to suffice this criterion can be found at the Bodine Street community Garden in Philadelphia, U.S.

Bodine Street Community Garden is a community garden founded in 1980 when the local residents came together to turn a barren, empty lot filled with waste into a community space. It was a total of 3 city lots that had limited exposure to the roads, hence its deserted state during the 1970s. Philadelphia Green, a program run by the Pennsylvania Horticultural



Figure 4. Bird-Eye View of the Bodine Street Community Garden. Source: Google Earth.

Society (PHS), helped the residents turn the lots into a sequenced garden that eventually became an alley piercing through the pre-existing residential blocks (Figure 4).

Although rarely considered part of the Green Alley program, the Bodine Street Community Garden nonetheless provides an illustrative example of a *community alley garden* as defined in this paper. It combines vegetable garden plots, mural artwork by the Philadelphian mosaic artist Isaiah Zagar, and tended garden sections with flower beds and picnic area along a linear form of the alley garden. While it houses 14 plots for individual crop production, the Bodine Street Community Garden serves foremost as a public garden for the residents' everyday enjoyment. The garden, therefore, serves as a social community gathering space, a facilitator in community building, and a bottom-up contribution to the local urban landscape.

Case Study: Sansae-maeul and Dalsung-Tosung-maeul

In most exemplary cases of community alley gardens such as the Bodine Street Community Garden, one finds series of collaborative efforts around the community garden by a number

Table 1. Framework for Case Study Analysis

Category	Questions to Consider
People	Who (What Groups) are involved in the Community Alley Garden?
	What roles do each interested party assume in each case?
Place/Site	Is the site on a publicly owned property?
	Is there a divide between privately tended area and publicly tended area?
Funding	How is the community alley garden managed financially?
	Where and how are the funds provisioned for?
	Is there a publicly pursued program or a project through which the funds are secured?
System	What are the main government/public institutions involved in the project?
	What are the key (non-profit) groups involved in the initiation and the conclusion of the project? How are they involved in the sustainability of the site?

of key players, who are then connected to major institutions and government programs. It is important, therefore, to understand the layers of networks and connections that contribute to the current form of community alley gardens in each case.

In this paper, four broad categories were considered in order to form an analytical framework through which the community gardens may be understood: *People, Place or Site, Funding,*

and *System* (Table 1). Because the physical installation of the community alley garden and its continued management by the volunteers are key factors in terms of the gardens' sustainability, *people* and *place* have the most direct impact on the community alley gardens. *Funding* and *system*, on the other hand, influence the gardens indirectly by assisting or providing securities to either the interested parties or installing or tending the site as part of their normal work.

While urban agriculture in Korea has enjoyed a constant increase in number of sites and the participants across the nation, community gardening practice has been receiving interest only recently, as it is heavily dependent on the collaborative efforts by the residents who are willing to spend their time and energy for the public benefit over private gain.

Several cases in Korea were considered as part of the ongoing research, but two exemplary cases, Sansae-maeul Community Garden (hereinafter SMCG) and Dalsung-Tosung-maeul Communiy Garden Alleys (hereinafter DTMCG), were selected for the current paper as they share similarities in terms of history, topography, demographics while retaining difference in the management and the types of gardens.² The following sections will describe each case in detail, followed by an integrative analysis where the relationships among the four categories of framework are portrayed and the role of community garden in the Korean urban regeneration discourse is discussed.

Case Study 1: Sansae-Maeul Community Garden (SMCG)



Figure 5. SMCG Location Map

Sansae-maeul is a small village (48,480 m²) in Eunpyeong-gu, Seoul, consisting of hilly

² See Table 2 for a direct comparison of the two sites.



Figure 6. SMCG Vegetable gardens

topography and abundant sunlight. It is located on the foot of the Bongsan Mountain at the edge of Seoul Metropolitan City (Figure 5). Although the maeul (village) is not far from a major subway station, the area has suffered from the general under-development, accumulation of low-income households and aging population in the area.

In 2012, the area was selected for ‘Seoul’s Residential Environment Management Project’ and subsequently as the recipient of the ‘Seoul Community Landscaping Fund’. The Eunpyeong-gu office, as the agency responsible for former project, set up the ‘Dukeobi Housing Corporation’ through which the low-income, under-developed residential housing received renovations and the local landscape rejuvenated (Nam, 2011). In collaboration with the Sansae-maeul Residential Committee, the corporation produced a ‘Maeul Development Plan,’ a comprehensive yet flexible plan that included plans for the community garden. The community garden, before it became a vegetable garden with mural artworks and planter

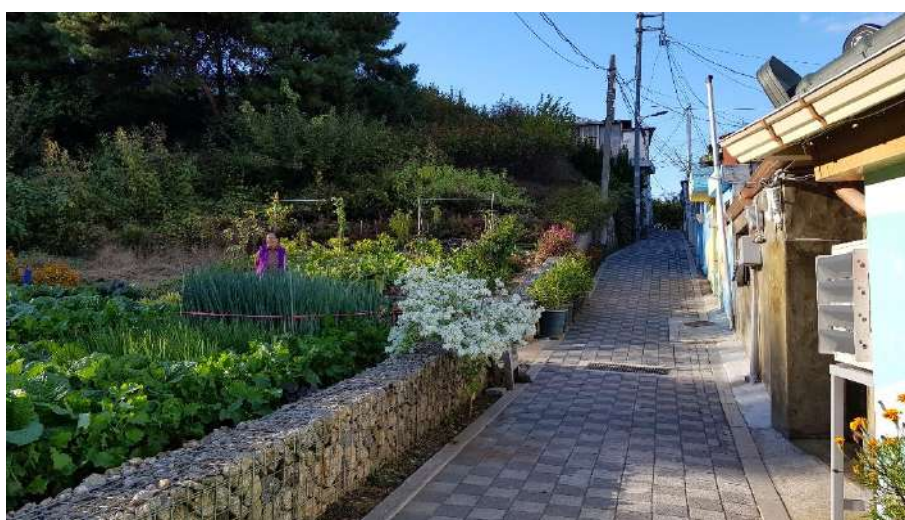


Figure 7. SMCG Alley

walls, was a deserted dump site (Kim, 2013). After the site was cleared, announcement boards, tool shed, water supplies, seating areas and revetments were added to the community vegetable gardens (Figure 6). As the first plots were seeded, the residents, even those who were not participating in the vegetable plots, began to take care of the edge areas around the garden by planting flowers and trees, while local students came by to paint the aging walls with mural artworks (Figure 7). The gardening efforts around the edges of the vegetable plots eventually expanded to the overall maeul(village) by means of planters and improved the overall urban landscape. This organic process of gardening the areas around the community garden soon formed alley gardens tended by the residents publicly.

In summer of 2018, the committee began to reorganize themselves in preparation for their evolution into a Co-Op.³ This group has since formulated the rules of conduct for the vegetable garden plots, the regulations for the participants' required donations for the community at large, and the contact points for the government offices. Due to the proximity of the village to the mountains, the local landscape cannot be tended by the residents alone; although the planters along the alleys are cared for by the residents, the government is in charge of tending the mountain's edges. According to Ms. Heo, one of the key committee members, it is crucial to maintain the conspicuous relationship between the vegetable garden plots with the rest of the community as only a limited number of people can use the public site for private purposes. Hence, through donations and individual assistance, their efforts become visible features in the alley's local landscape (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Mix of mural artworks with planters along the alley at SMCG

³ 'Framework Act on Cooperatives (No. 14845)' was passed on 2012 to "facilitate independent, self-supportive, and autonomous activities of cooperatives, thereby contributing to social integration and balanced development of the national economy." Since the passing of this act, several residential committees that have gained momentum from the government support is turning themselves into Co-Ops in order to continue their work as a

Case Study 2: Dalsung-Tosung-Maeul Community Garden Alleys (DTMCG)



Figure 9. DTMCG Location Map

Dalsung-Tosung-maeul is like the Sansae-maeul in that the area suffers from neglect due to its difficult terrain and proximity to a historic site. High number of low-income households and large percentage of aging population is comparable as well. The area considered to be Dalsung-Tosung-maeul is approximately 544,600 m², although the community alley gardens are concentrated near the Dalsung-Tosung, or the Dalsung Earthen Fortress that was first built during the 2nd Century BC (Figure 9).

Although its location at the very heart of Daegu seems advantageous, its steep hill and the proximity to historical site has hindered any development on the site. Furthermore, the historical fortress, which has been adapted as neighborhood park for decades, is difficult to access from the Dalsung-Tosung-maeul as a steep cliff-like hillside divides the park from the residential blocks. Hence, it can be easily imagined that the area was largely excluded from any city services for quite some time.

During the mid-2000's, several people began to place planters outside their doors, led by the head of the village council. The result was a linear community alley gardens that stretched into several directions (Figure 10). When the community alley gardens, mostly created from various types of planters, began to take notice of the outsiders as well as national media, the Dalsung-Tosung-maeul in 2013 applied for the "Maeul-Mandeulgi-Project," a major urban revitalization project spearheaded by the Department of Land, Infrastructure and Transport. Although majority of the fund was used for housing renovations, some were put into receiving gardening education by a professional, installing mural artworks, laying pedestrian boardwalk, and building a community center which a gardening education facility. Today, the

community-based organization.



Figure 10. DTMCG, “Pottery Garden”

residential committee has re-established itself as a Dalsung-Tosung-Maeul Co-Op that profits from the parking lot, the education programs and the two traditional crafts studios. It is responsible for maintaining a tour guide program that introduces the maeul(village)’s 18 gardens (Figure 11).



Figure 11. DTMCG, “The First Dalsung-Tosung Garden Alley”

According to the community garden regulations, planters provided by the Co-Op may not be used for private purposes, such as placing them in a location that cannot be accessed by the public. In a similar note, all artworks are created by the local residents under the guidance of Ki-joo Kwon, a found object artist who has relocated himself into the village few years ago (Figure 12). Every physical and visual component added to the community alley gardens must be approved by the residents, even if the construction and the installation is pursued by an outside institution. Hence, the community alley gardens function to turn the entire maeul into



Figure 12. On-going Artwork by Ki-joo Kwon, DTMCG.

an inter-connected urban landscape.

Since its inception and subsequent fame in Korean media, local government has offered several improvements to the area. While the expansion of the alley gardens cannot be determined by the municipality, as it is left to the decision by the residents, the government has installed a greenhouse, provide free water supply and offer interpretation assistance when a foreigner visit. As for the additional flowers and soils required every spring, the Co-Op works in collaboration with the Daegu Arboretum and receives donations annually. Hence, one can summarize from the case of DTMCG that the network of collaborators surrounding the community alley garden are already configured, which is likely to contribute to the sustainability of the site.



Figure 13. Greenhouse at DTMCG.

Analysis

While the two cases discussed above differ in scale, their relationship to the urban regeneration movement is visible, as the initial funding for the projects bore out of the national impetus towards urban regeneration based on community building, or *maeulmandeulgi*. Although the

Table 2. Comparison of SMCG and DTMCG

Category		SMCG	DTMCG
Vegetable Garden and Facilities		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14 teams currently participating in the vegetable garden plots - Major focus of the community activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Although not restricted, rarely done
Alley Garden	Flower bed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Newly created from the fund - Planters along the alleys, tended by the household owners and other residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pre-existing gardens - Planters and small flower beds when available - Government-sponsored corner gardens
	Fencing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Planter-revetments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not applicable
	Decorations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some design elements considered by the individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Co-Op decides on every design element that is physically installed
	Mural Art	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Volunteers from local schools painted the walls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Artists Invitations - Local Mural Art Club
	Artwork (Separate)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Up-cycled sculpture used as a photo-spot for visitors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Installation artworks commissioned by the residents
Information and Bulletin Boards		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Noticeboards for residents as well as information boards for the visitors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Garden-related boards are created and installed by the residents - History-related boards by the local government
Gardeners		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Members of the community garden subcommittee under the resident committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Residents
Other Amenities		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resting area, parking lot, mountain walk access 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parking lot, stairway access to the Dalsung Tosung Park, community center

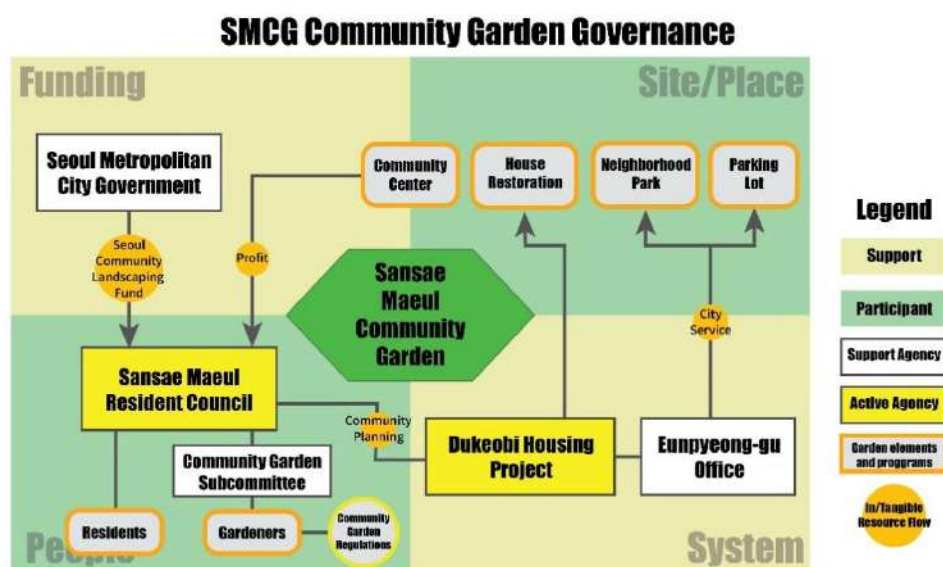


Figure 14. Relations Diagram of Sansae-maeul Community Garden Governance

core reason behind such project was the diversification of residential housing and environment through community governance, it is important to recognize how such community governance efforts are manifesting themselves in terms of the physical environment, particularly in the urban landscape. Therefore, in this analysis, this paper will first look at the relationship of the key players around the community alley gardens and explore how their efforts, when manifested in community alley garden form, contribute to the community and ultimately to the urban regeneration.

In both the SMCG and the DTMCG, there are two major groups who are responsible for most programs that take place at the community alley gardens. Using the Four-Category Framework as mentioned above, a set of interested parties can be deciphered in terms of their participation, significance to the sustaining of the site, and the decision-making process for each case. It allows one to visualize and to distinguish *the active agencies*, or the agencies that are connected to 3 or more other agencies or programs are from *the support agencies*, or the agencies that indirectly influences the community gardens, to determine how the community alley gardens are managed. In summary, it is not the input of select key players, but the network created by them that sustains the community alley garden.

In the Relationship Diagram of the SMCG Community Garden Governance, active agencies are ‘Sansae-maeul Resident Council,’ and the ‘Dukeobi Housing Project,’ a brainchild company of the Eunpyeong-gu office whose job was to make sure the community building fund from the Seoul Metropolitan Government is spent where it is more urgent (Figure 14). Although the gardens are most actively run by the community garden subcommittee members, it was determined from in-depth interviews that the residents who live around the area, instead of the committee members, were most active in terms of maintaining the alley

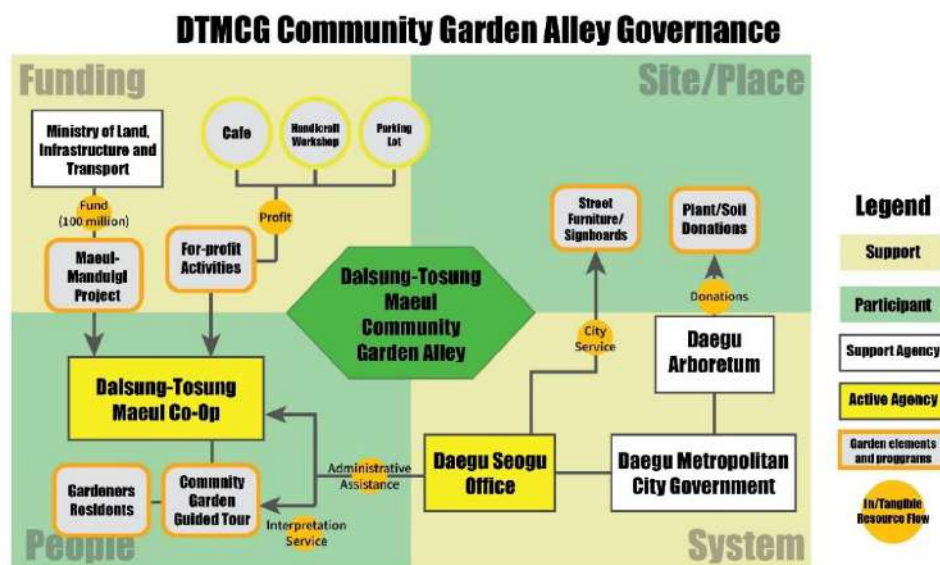


Figure 15. Relations Diagram of the DTMCG Community Garden Alley Governance

garden landscape.

According to the Relationship Diagram of the DTMCG Community Garden Alley Governance, the active agencies at the DTMCG were determined to be the 'Dalsung-Tosung-maeul Co-Op' and 'Daegu Seogu Office.' Like the SMCG, therefore, it was the close collaboration between the residents and the local government that are responsible for the governance surrounding the community alley gardens. It is plausible that the success of both cases can be traced back to the concentration of administrative, financial and human resources to specific active agencies who were able to impact both the people(residents) and the place(site) immediately. This immediacy of these active agencies, therefore, may be the key to managing sustainable community alley gardens.

Community Alley Gardens and Urban Regeneration

However, although the governance has a significant role in terms of the upkeeping of the gardens, it is by no means enough to keep the community sustainable, as it is ultimately the residents who are the decision-makers in sustaining the gardens. Local satisfaction is crucial in the cultural sustainability of the site (Nassauer, 1997). Jang *et al.* (2017) has discovered through a multiple regression analysis of the resident survey at Dalsung-Tosung-maeul that the aesthetic renewal, safety and cleanliness, convenient facility, and landscape value determined their satisfaction of the community alley gardens. In particular, when it came to the environment and the landscape of the sites, the most important factor was emphasizing the sense of place or the *placeness* of the community gardens through participations and reinforcement of the community identity.

Because the community alley gardens are the most conspicuous aspect of the community life

in both cases, they became the visual and physical manifestations of the community bond, a symbol that represents the community's identity. Having witnessed the drastic transformation from a dump site into gardens, the original members in each case were eager to continue the legacy in both the physical (as in the gardens) and the systematic (as in the community governance) formats.

In such decision-making process, however, it is important that the active agency representing the residents, the resident committee in the case of the SMCG and the Co-Op in the case of the DTMCG, understand the sense of place through a shared idea of the community's identity. Though in-depth interviews, it was clear that the residents found the physical social space as the icon and the source of identity; one may even claim that construction of community gardens in alleys is equivalent to transforming the previously unengaging space into a multi-purpose social space through community effort, which in turn becomes the agent in fortifying the community identity. This positive cycle of community building and strengthening through the physical space of community alley gardens may potentially be the defining factor in the successful urban regeneration, since without the core value or a shared identity, an urban community is remains fragile.

Hence, it is through the community identity created around the community alley gardens that allow such sustaining efforts to take place. In other words, the community gains social resilience through the fortified social identities (Rotarangi and Stephenson, 2014). The organization of the agencies surrounding the community garden reaches beyond the garden boundaries and perform various tasks related to the urban regeneration in the area, such as building community centers and maintaining pedestrian walkways.

Conclusion

In this paper, two cases of community alley gardens from Korea were examined to discover implications for the community garden guideline in Korea and determine the possible role of community alley gardens in urban regeneration.

Although only a limited number of residents, particularly those who were active members of the community committee were interviewed for this paper, it is obvious that the communities are undergoing constant dynamic shift as new members join the committee, the surrounding neighborhoods transform or follow the footsteps of the communities discussed above, or the resident committee shifts gears to become a Co-Op. Nonetheless, the community alley gardens function as the core value as well as the mobilizing factor in the community resilience.

Based on the analysis of the gardens using the Four-Category Framework, it was concluded that the physical immediacy of the active agencies was crucial in determining the success of the sites. Furthermore, the existence of the gardens as the physical representation of the community effort and the identity seemed to be the most significant function that the

community alley gardens were serving in terms of the larger urban regeneration discourse. Although the community alley gardens were the products of the community efforts, they in turn were acting as agents in mobilizing the community's social resiliency towards sustained urban regeneration.

When this research first took off, the relationship between the community and the community garden in Korea seemed elusive, as the cases discussed here are often heralded as exemplary urban regeneration cases that testify to the importance of urban regeneration efforts – to diversify the urban residential blocks and allow different social layers to live side by side in hybrid mixture within a city, whereas the community alley gardens are often excluded from the discourse. However, it is obvious from the case studies that the community gardens were significant factors in the formulation of community identities and community resilience. Although Sansae-maeul and Dalsung-Tosung-maeul are far from the only cases available, one should note that several community alley garden experiments in Seoul and Busan initiated around the same time proved to be unsuccessful in terms of long-term program, as oftentimes they ceased to continue when government funding were terminated. This evince the fact that in order or community alley gardens to function, one should form a systematic monitoring system that can connect the four categories as discussed above. In particular, as demonstrated at the SMCG and the DTMCG, strong support from the funds for people or the residents who transform the fund into physical labor and garden elements is significant for the sustained existence of the site; furthermore, as such sustainability is related to successful urban regeneration, social awareness and support system for this governance network around the community alley gardens should be well structured and expanded.

Community gardens in the alleys, in summary, function as the adhesive that brought together the community by means of socially charged open space, a new purpose given to the existing infrastructural fabric that was the alley. Hence, similarly to Lawson's identification of the community gardens as practice as well as process (Lawson, 2005), this paper confirms that the Korean community garden alleys can function as catalysts as well as agencies in founding and strengthening the communities in low-income, sometimes underdeveloped urban areas with little, if at all, existing communities.

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(Re)placemaking: Rejection & Rediscovery of Urban

Placemaking in Developing Countries

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Abstract

For each illustration of effective placemaking, there are several instances of opportunities spurned. Through a comparative study of instances of gainful placemaking in the United States and dismissed opportunities in India and Thailand, we build a model to explain why, counterintuitively, effectual urban placemaking in collectivistic cultures can lag behind.

We explain how *organic* placemaking comes to be and how this framework can inform stimulation of placemaking when it stalls. We imply placemaking as organic where the emphasis lies on making, not the place; as opposed to hegemonic placemaking, where the emphasis tends to be on the place). Data were gathered through ethnography of neighborhoods and interviews among longtime residents across the three countries and across instances of effective placemaking and missed opportunities.

We conclude that placemaking, in developing countries such as India and Thailand, appears to evolve in four stages.

Stage 1: Organi(c)zation: In this first stage, unused spaces tend to be plenty and unorganized. As citizens begin usage, the spaces tend to be open for multiuse. The capacity and scope fluctuate over time. Gradually, ‘making’ becomes more structured and ‘place’ more fluid, as the spaces become creatively organized to accommodate orchestrated multiuse.

Stage 2: Impairment: As urbanization accelerates, users are induced by the consumption culture to pay attention to novel stimuli and places. Inherently, there is nothing novel about one’s own backyard and placemaking all but stalls because ‘making’ is stamped out of placemaking.

Stage 3: Domination: In the third stage, agency is transferred away from residents. Architects

and builders emerge as influential instruments of decoding the ignored places. Consumer culture continues to direct the gaze on novelty. Nostalgia for places made by the community is undervalued.

Stage 4: Cooption: Finally, citizens are saturated by the pursuit of novelty directed by the marketplace and, for the first time, notice the dissolution of places. However, unlike in stage one, the places at this stage are neither plenty nor unorganized. Cooperation and community engagement are now needed at escalated levels to rekindle placemaking.

Ironically, placemaking in the developing world appears to rely on first shunning the places made. Cities envisioning community empowerment toward placemaking must attend with care to the liminal phase between rejection and rediscovery. Novelty and imagery dictated as free choice by the consumer culture in developing markets can be coopted by both citizens as well as cities to rekindle community placemaking sooner.

Keywords: Consumer culture, developing countries, placemaking, theory

Potential for Place Attachment Through Art Project: Case of Art Park Project, Matsudo, Japan

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Abstract

Engaging the community is one way public art has developed as new forms and purposes. The phrase “art project” is frequently used in Japan and often tied with the redevelopment and revitalization area. In general, the purpose of the art project is to activate and empowering the community to engage the audience actively and create spaces. Most of the successful art projects in Japan have done on a regional scale, and have a bigger audience collaborated local government and corporation. Even though, there is a lot of art project done in a smaller audience such as in neighborhood scale. This paper focused on the selected case study on art park project in Matsudo, Japan in neighborhood scale. The main objective of the project is to give an opportunity for children to play outside. The study aim is to investigate the roles of art through art project potential for place attachment. The investigate done with a mixed method. Participation observation was done at three different times during the events (2015, 2016 and 2017) simultaneously with interviews. The questionnaires were distributed to respondents (n=118) with the category as participants (n = 83), landscape architecture students (n = 23) and organizers (n= 12). The collected data analyzed on descriptive and statistical analysis. The results investigated that art project contributed to give opportunities for a broad community. The process of participation in public space is a key point to build a sense of belonging to create a new identity.

Keywords: Art project, public art, place attachment, participation

Introduction

Public art practice is often related to the engagement of the community. Generally, it involves various people outside of art and usually entailing a large scale of development with a large budget provided by local governments and corporations. In Japan, it commonly referred as the term of art project. Art project emphasizes as a new form of art initiate that engages with various people in society outside the context of the museum (Kajiya, 2017). Japan's art projects often tied to revitalization and redevelopment. However, it criticized by the people because there was lacking to produce a clear objective of the project.

Issues and objectives

The study focused on investigating roles of art on Art Park Project in Matsudo, Japan. The art project was initiated and led by Seitoku University (woman university) professor and students in collaborations with various local activists such as parents and teachers' association, a group of artists, neighborhood association, and landscape architecture student. Although the project was part of the education program, the primary objective of the project is to give an opportunity for children to play outside and as a new learning method. Therefore, the study intended to see the relationship the temporary activity as potential for place attachment.

Theoretical framework

An overview of public art practice

Traditionally public art defined as work of art installed in public open space. Jasmi & Mohamad, 2016 mentioned that public art in public areas usually accessible for public appreciation and viewing purposes. It often identified as a physical expression of ideas, feelings, and message to a broader viewer (S. S. Omar, Sakip, & Akhir, 2016). However, conflicts often occur because of lack community involvement through the process of art-making. Participation of the community contributes to giving a better understanding and improve the quality of urban open spaces and successful placemaking (Australian Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2010).

Engaging the community is one-way public art has developed as new forms and purposes. Mainly it called as art project, which includes performances, workshops and social practices that used alternative space such as city open space or countryside (Kajiya, 2017).

Art project is emphasizing the process of engaging with a wide range of people and non-artist. Participatory in art projects, can contribute to social cohesion and it allow people to get together to encouraging teamwork and cooperation (Lopes, Farinha, & Amado, 2017). In general, the purpose of art project is to activate and empowering the community to engage the audience actively and create spaces. The various term referred to this genre of art commonly identifies as:

1. Community art

2. Social sculpture
3. Local art
4. Art project
5. Socially engage creativity
6. Community-based art project
7. Participation art
8. Regional art

The phrase “art project” is frequently used in Japan. Art projects in Japan are connected with the redevelopment project and rarely present such a clear picture. In contrast, it focuses on the process of involving as the finished object itself (“[Http://Www.Communityarts.Net/Readingroom/Archivefiles/2002/02/an_Introduction.Php,](http://www.communityarts.net/readingroom/archivefiles/2002/02/an_introduction.php)” 2002). In this context, the aesthetic dimension of art built through the process of participation. Followed the characteristics of the art project by Kumakura on her book “An overview of Japan Art Project” (Favell, 2017):

1. There is an emphasis on the process of art-making and active disclosure of that process.
2. Site specificity, concerning the social context of the site.
3. Sustained, long-term and developing operations with the expectation of various ripple effects.
4. Collaboration among people of diverse social backgrounds and emphasis on communication to foster such cooperation.
5. Interest and engagement with social fields outside art.

The art project has been popular in recent ten years in Japan. Most of the target area hold in bigger scale audience such as Biennale and Triennale project (e.g., Echigo Tsumari, Yokohama art Triennale). In addition, Hull, n.d. mentioned key issues with art for social practice:

1. collaboration/consultation
2. public funding
3. Accessibility / demystification
4. Intention / Affect

Methodology

The research study was undertaken by the case study method. The case study method is used to examine and identify variables and potential element during the art event.

Study area

The area of this study located in Matsudo central park in Matsudo city, Japan. Matsudo central park was designated as neighborhood park by local city government (www.matsudocity.chiba.jp) with total area 2.13 ha. The park is located in the hilly region and

about 200m from the station (Figures 1). Because the location of this park is hidden, causing this park less desirable by the citizens. Also, this park provides a negative image for the local community. Therefore, this event uses the park as an alternative location and revitalizes it through art activities.

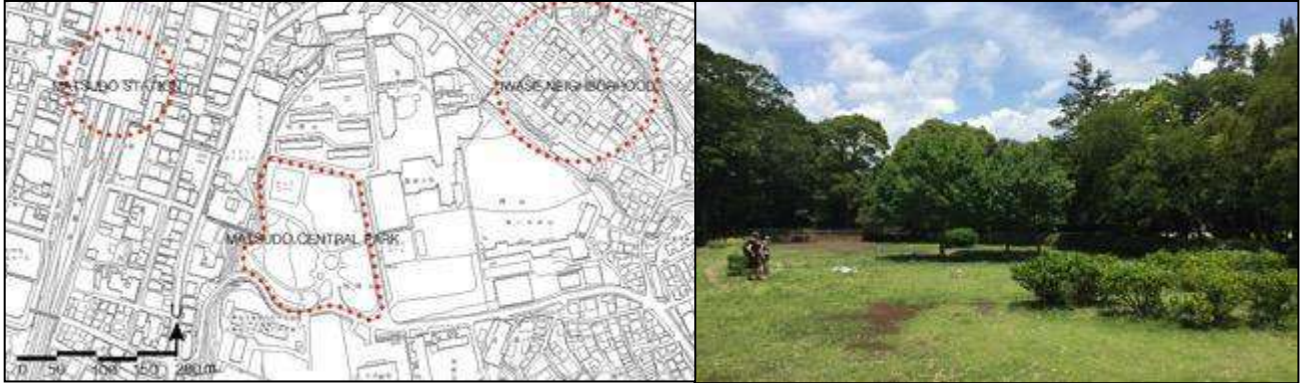


Figure 1. Study area location

Case study introduction: Art Park Project (APP)

This study conducted in Art Park Project (APP) as part of urban open space class. The APP was held annually during summer and initiated and led by students and professors from Seitoku University as part of the education program. As for the character of the art project, this event collaborated with a group of artists, NPO from children activist, local community, landscape architecture student, elementary school teacher, etc. Mainly APP was bringing the issue to focus on creating an opportunity for children to play outside by using the park as an alternative space through art activities.

As objectives of the APP are:

1. To revitalize the image of place (Matsudo central park)
2. To bring an opportunity for children to play outside
3. To build a chance for communication for the community
4. To create a new culture “Art cities for living.”
5. To contribute to urban planning through art activities

The APP has been held ten times since 2007 and gradually becomes an annual event which held in every summer.

Collecting data method

The primary data collected by interviews, participation observation and questionnaires research. Secondary data collected by literature review related books and journals by selected similar keywords.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted by semi-structured with the leader of the event. While the interviews were also done with sharing methods during the urban open space class with the

landscape architecture students and also during the symposium with groups that contributed during the event.



Table 1. Detail list of interviewees

No	List of interviewees	Information	Main Question	Year
1.	Prof. Oonari	Teacher, Artist and Leader of APP	History and Background of APP	2016
2.	23 Students from Landscape Architecture field	Students who taking urban open space class	Reflection of APP & roles of art public open space	2017
3.	- Educational (Group of teachers from elementary school) - PAIR (Paradise AIR/Group of artists) - Landscape Architecture - Machizukuri (Community development) -Parent Teacher Association (PTA)	Participants in 10 th of Symposium of APP	Discussing about the reflections of APP from the different point of view.	2017

Participation observation

To deeply understand the motivation of the APP, participatory observation research has opted for this study. Participatory research aimed at investigating the impact of the organized activities. Participation observation process as a method to connect between the participant and the community. This approach done at three different times during the events (2015, 2016 and 2017).

Table 2. Process of participation

Year	Roles	Activity	Descriptions
2015	As a full student in urban open space class		Meeting and explaining concept
2016	As an observant in urban open space class		Preparation

2017 Lecture assistant in urban open
space class



Sharing ideas

Questionnaire research

The questionnaires were used to collect the data regarding the perception of respondents towards APP. The questionnaires were distributed by using purposive sampling technique to respondents (n=118) with the category as participants (n = 83), landscape architecture students (n = 23) and organizers (n = 12). The questionnaire divided into two part first is about park usage, and the second is about participation in the art project.

Analysis method

The analysis process divided into two categorize analysis; qualitative method analysis and quantitative analysis. Qualitative method analysis was done by SWOT analysis from the interviews, student's reflections, and all descriptive data. The aimed is investigating value and understanding background of the event. The quantitative method analysis has done by seeing the frequency from the questionnaire method.

Firstly, interview data analyze by using SWOT analysis to investigate strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat of APP. Secondly, the process of participation was investigate following by the method of "Flint Public Art Project" which consist of research, plan, prepare, promote, make and reflect. The questionnaires data inputted and analysis in excel and JMP analysis software.

Results

Impacts of the organized activities

The impacts were described below SWOT table analysis (Table 3.). The descriptive evaluation obtained from the reflection by the landscape architecture students.

Table 3. SWOT analysis

No	Strength	Weakness	Opportunity	Threat
1			Giving experiences	
2	Offering other activities			
3		The game spread over in the park		
4				What children

			think is differently
5		Giving children an opportunity to manage their self	
6	Children learn to take their responsibility		
7		A chance to collaborate with university student	
8			Children facing the difficulty
9		People need to think about the environment	
10			How people can manage and get the trust
11		A chance to play together with children and parents	
12		One significant concept and idea make children easy to understand	
13	Continuity is needed		
14		Children taking part in some programs	
15		Art park as a trigger for the family come to the park	
16		Involving parents	

		on the game	
17		Better to play in the shaded area	
18		Depending on the age	
19		A more interactive game is needed	
20			Set drinks and tent
21			Give more attention to how people can use the park
22	How children and parents can communicate and enjoy the game		
23			How Matsudo central park used in normal day
24	About 1000 people are coming		
25	Most of the participants are coming from outside of Matsudo city		
26	Sharing information from friends		
27		Chance to communicate with other people	
28	People can		

	come freely in the event	
29		Various program in the event think about the difficulty for children
30	Sharing information through the digital advertisement	

Generally, the results identified that APP has more strengths and opportunity points other than weakness and threats. Additionally, APP has potentially giving positive impacts and opportunities in a broad sense. Socio activity in public open space was considered as a tool to improve the quality of space. The community's involvement becomes an important for attractive and high use parks (Mutiarra & Isami, 2012).

To see the significant impact of the APP, the symposium held on October 2nd, 2017. The aims are to discuss the implications of APP from the education and parenting after 10th times the APP held. APP can bring many improvements such as;

Support for children 'want to do':

1. Let children play and developing their own ability to play outside
2. Appreciating the process for children to play outside

Activities that make use of places:

1. Original activity to use Matsudo central park as a space for play
2. A chance to play in nature
3. Park has used as alternative space

Collaboration between University and regional planning:

1. Connecting with various people and work together
2. Sharing and planning to work together

Think about new learning methods:

1. A workshop, projects, active learning, documents and other methods of learning to education and research
2. Creates a place for planners, students, participants (parents and children) to learn together

Create a culture in the area:

1. Continuity is important to create a new culture and change image of the place

2. Exchange knowledge through activities





Build regional know-how



1. Collecting information through community activities and city planning and lead to human resource development

Evaluation of participation observation process

The APP was evaluated by following process of “Flint Art Project” (Table 4.)

Table 4. Project evaluation



No	Picture	Process	Description
1		Research	The Research process identified as the beginning stage of the project. The main objectives during this stage are explaining and sharing the ideas of the event. Research stage is where the organizer participants gather for the first time. This process is essential to synchronize the vision of the event.
2		Planning	The planning process identified to each group of organizers. The author put as a landscape student group. On the planning process, students are starting to brainstorm regarding the theme of the event.
3		Preparing	Preparation process was identified as the trial and collecting the material. This process as beginning before the practicing process. Preparation is needed to understand how to execute the ideas.
4		Practicing	During the practice, students expected to understand the surrounding landscape by visiting the location of the event. On the other hand, students are trying to install the artworks on the site.

5		Executing	Executing process was identified as a core in the overall process. This process is seen as an indicator of a successful event.
6		Evaluation	The evaluation indicated as part of a sustainable tool for the event. The process of evaluation was done by asking the students opinions what they feel during the event.

Through the process of evaluation, the results indicate that APP has similar character process with other art project. Although, the process was not evaluated the detail management of the event such as project budget etc.

Potential of art event

The evaluation process was explored potential of art project.

No	Photo	Description
1.		Park condition during usual day lack of use. The photos were taken in two different season summer and autumn. Generally, the park condition is lack of interest, inaccessible and lack of people activity inside of the park during the daytime except for tennis court.
2.		Park condition during the event. There is found a lot of impromptu activity during the event. The participant occupied most of the park by putting a picnic mat, tent, etc. Most of the kids are feel free and save to play around the park.

On the previous study, D. binti Omar, Ibrahim, & Mohamad, 2015 state that human interaction in open space concerning participation is low. The statement relates with the objective result that most of the respondents are not using the park for daily use. The main reason because the location of the park delicate to access (68% for participants). Moreover, the results indicated that most of the respondents are lack of motivation to come to the park, feeling unsafe and lack of interest towards the park. Statistically result in shows in figure 2.

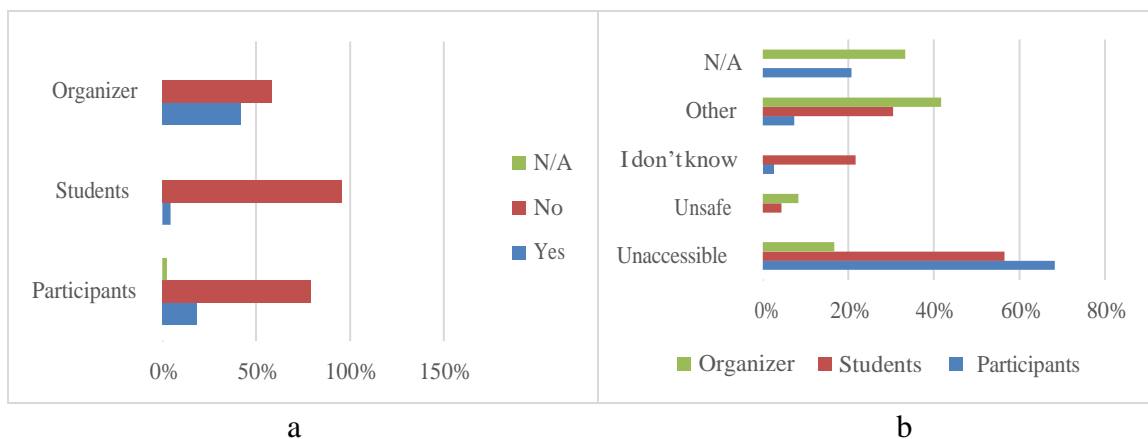


Figure 2. a. Park usage in normal day, b. Park use constrains

Potential of art park changing image of the place

Correlation analysis is tested to see relationship two different variable on the respondent's perception (n=118) which is the frequency of participation and understanding towards APP as public art. Total error data is 7.6% from total sample. The results show there is a correlation between the rate of the participation and perception towards APP as public art. In other words, the participatory process towards public engagement helps people to understand and accept the art (Setiawan, 2010).

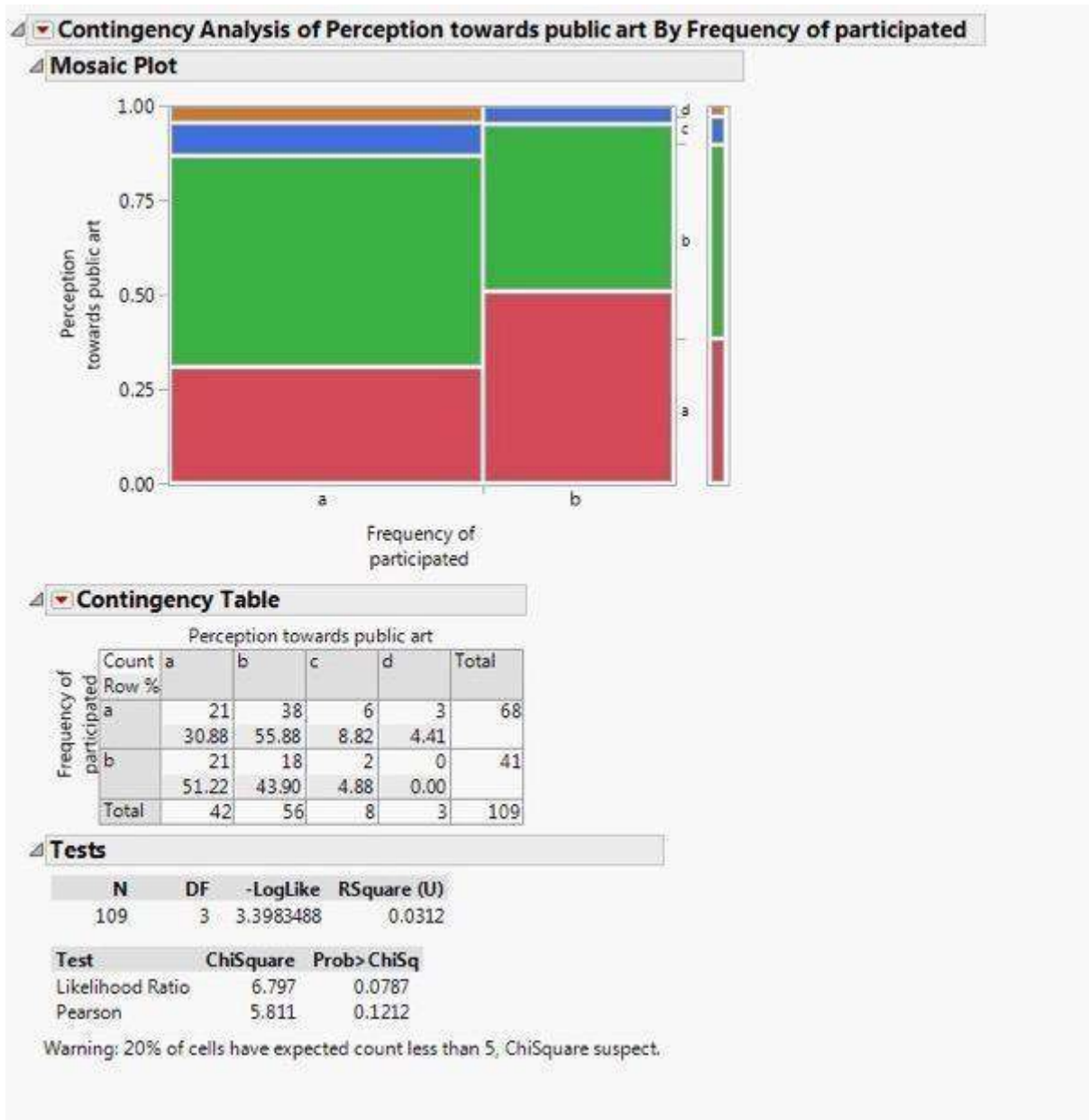


Figure 3. Correlation of participation and perception of public art

Conclusions

As a conclusion, the art project potentially brings place attachment in Matsudo central park. Physically, the art project helped transformed the dull decaying park to become more attractive and livelier park. Besides, APP helped to bring people's motivation to adopt the park. Concerning social aspects, APP creating more opportunity for the participants to socialize and communicate. Thus, shown art done through participation give more impression although art was done by the professional artist still on desire. This process critically that the process of involvement in the making of art can bring a sense of belonging and create a new identity. According to the place, usage needs to consider for the effectivity of art project in neighborhood scale potentially bring opportunities to provide a more significant impact on a local range.

Sustainability through art can carry supporting domestic tourism, promoting cultural activities, stimulating creativity and creating a regional identity (Lopes et al., 2017). Moreover, the case showed that the APP can bring an opportunity for students to learn leadership. Successful public art can contribute as an education system and potential to bring place attachment through participation process

Limitation

This study has the small number of the sample. The event held annually, therefore the evaluation process was difficult to measure the sustainability of the event.

Acknowledgements

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FreeCult Movement: How Skateboarders Change the Urban Space Plan and Keep the Skateboarding Space

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Abstract

Skateparks in Korea experienced many failures in an early period. The skate park offered a new experience to skateboarders as a 'constructed space,' but at the same time, they could not catch all skateboarders who wanted a 'found space.' The skate park, where had the user problems, was quickly hit by the closure issue. In a space crisis, skateboarders began a movement to keep their place and solve conflicts. The "FreeCult Movement" became the first movement in which skateboarders actively opposed plan to eliminate their place.

Skateboarding was getting popular in Korea in the 1990s, led to the skateboard park boom in Korea in the 2000s. This boom did not last long, and skateboarders lost their space. The 'Cult' in the Training Park was an extreme sports game space made with the money that skateboarders collected in the late 1990s. In 2011, City officials planned to change the space because they needed a bus parking lot for tourists. Against this backdrop, skateboarders plan a FreeCult movement for saving space. Space was reborn as a Cult Park designed by skateboarders in 2012. Since then, the attention of skateboarders has shifted to a neglected skate parks.

The Korean Skate Park Group (launched in 2013), and The Korean Skateboard Association (launched in 2015) have set a precedent for creating space with activists in the urban planning process. They communicated with officials, and even suggested the design for the skate park with urban planners. Every parks are monitored by them continuously to stop from breaking down, and shared information on skateboarders' SNS channel. Their activities were not merely a group affair but also become a link between the skateboarders and officials for gathering the opinions of skateboarders. The channels they use promote skateboarding, while at the same time encouraging and exposing a skateboard space issue to the public.

This study shows the vital role of the activists in planning the skate park. The success or the failure of a particular activity space is determined by how space can provide what users' require. In the planning process, it will become even more critical that the ideas of space

should come from users. The skateparks in Korea had a significant turning point due to the FreeCult movement, and the activists have found out what their role should be in a civic space. This process is a great asset when planning an activity space in the city.

Keywords: Skate park, Skateboarding, Urban space activist

From Enclosure to Recommoning? The Case of the Blue House Cluster in Hong Kong

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Abstract

The Blue House Cluster was given the 2017 UNESCO highest Award of Excellence in Cultural Heritage Conservation, an honour hard won by a vocal local community exerting its right to nourish local tangible and intangible heritage. Through mobilising their bonding, bridging and linking social capital, the community not only succeeded in persuading the Urban Renewal Authority and the Housing Society to abandon its original plan to commercialise the graded building cluster, but it has also become a partner with the Government in transforming the site into an award-winning community commons.

Keywords: Enclosure, recommoning, social capital

Utilizing Residential Streets as Living Spaces -A Case Study of Three Home Zones in the UK-

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Abstract

This study examined the effects of Home Zones on local communities according to an investigation of community spaces and activities. Community spaces built through Home Zone projects have been utilized as “living places” for over 15 years. It is thus necessary to provide programs designed to promote resident activities for the management and utilization of these spaces. Residents require support to improve the living standards in their communities, especially for regeneration. Local associations should therefore take the initiative in establishing relevant community activities. If many diverse participants are expected to participate in these activities, it is important to provide casual places and opportunities for residents to continually use in daily life. Resident involvement is also necessary for sustaining these community associations. Results indicated that Home Zones which are heavily oriented toward consensus building changed resident attitudes about street usage and the ability to provide “places” for residents who desire community improvement to actively become involved in local community matters.

Keywords: living place, Home Zones, community association, resident involvement

Introduction

Residential streets are important spaces of communication for residents. These communication areas extend healthy life expectancy rates, provide benefits for local children, and enable residents to support one another during disasters. Here, Europe has been a long-time leader in the automobile culture. For instance, the Dutch *woonerf* (living street) system enables streets to be used not only for vehicles, but also resident and pedestrian activities. This system was formally introduced by law, with several other European countries following the example. Japan also quickly learned from the European model; the nation planned and implemented its district street countermeasure in the 1980s. However, the Japanese system is limited to local projects and is not protected by law.

Many studies have evaluated the effectiveness of these street improvements. Most have demonstrated that such measures decrease traffic volume, overall traffic speed, and the number of parked vehicles while also resulting in a more attractive environment (Odani,

1983; Sugie, Fujiwara & Tanabe, 2001; Yamaoka & Isobe, 2005). However, some studies have also pointed out issues with these living spaces, including those dealing with street furniture and plant maintenance (Matsuoka, 1986; Tamura, Kurokawa, Ishida & Nakazawa, 1991; Tsukahara & Fujita, 2007). Fukumoto and Matsuoka (1985) suggested that resident-led activities were necessary to maintain improved street spaces. Shibata and Kikuchi (2002, 2008) also studied the sustainable management of common spaces through resident involvement in a newly-developed townscape-oriented housing area. However, little information has been reported on community activities in existing urban spaces. This study was designed to gain insight into the long-term maintenance needed to sustain improved community spaces while encouraging residents to utilize these areas as “living places” similar to those in the Dutch *woonerf* system. To do this, we investigated Home Zones in the UK, which have emphasized community involvement since being built over 10 years ago. Biddulph (2008, 2010) reported on the effectiveness of Home Zone projects and demonstrated that they resulted in improvements to traffic safety, appearance, public security, and livability. However, little research has been conducted on the current situation in relation to community activities. This study therefore examined the effects of Home Zones according to an investigation of community spaces and activities.

About Home Zones

Home Zones are UK road countermeasures designed to improve the quality of life around residential streets by creating spaces that are used for more than vehicular traffic. This concept is very similar to the Dutch *woonerf* system, which was implemented during the mid-to-late 1970s in the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Zones designed with 30 kmph speed limits were introduced afterwards. In contrast, the UK Home Zone system was introduced legally in 2000 after introduction of 20 mph speed zone (Figure 1).

The first nine Home Zone pilot schemes were launched from 1999 in England and Wales; another four schemes shortly followed in Scotland. In 2002 the British government provided £30 million to fund the Home Zone Challenge, which selected 61 schemes for completion by 2005. The schemes varied in both size and complexity, however, all schemes were designed to improve the residential quality of life and were committed to close community involvement during the design process (Department for Transport, 2005).²

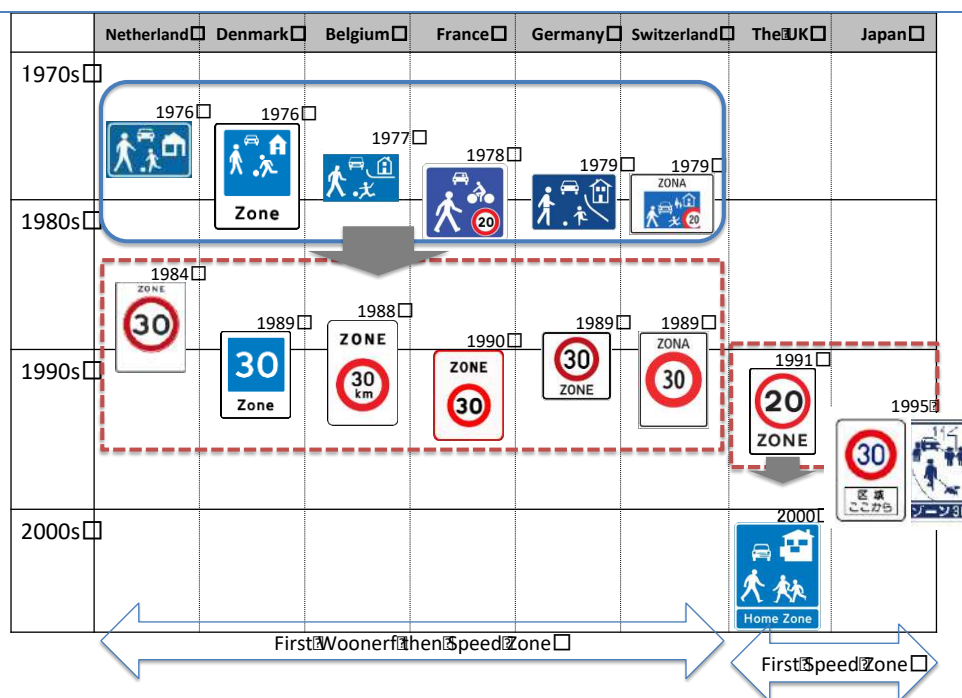


Figure 1. The chronological history of laws regarding regional transportation management in Europe and Japan

Research Methods

This research was conducted on three Home Zone schemes that were selected from 58 areas listed as part of the Home Zone Challenge (UK Parliament, 2017). Figure 2 shows the criteria used to select the research areas. We first determined the specific location of each scheme using Google Street View. We then selected 27 schemes within 1 km of elementary schools (thus expecting areas in which children played) and nine schemes within 1 km of community-related organizations. We then selected seven schemes containing plants or community spaces and three schemes (i.e., Northmoor, Morice Town and Southville) featuring scheme evaluation reports (Table 1) that had been published within three years after Home Zone implementation.

Selection criteria	Number of selected areas
Listed Home Zone Challenge	58
↓	
Specified detailed location by Google Street View	55
↓	
Schemes where have elementary schools within 1 km	27
↓	
Schemes where have community-related organizations within 1 km	9
↓	
Schemes where have plants or community spaces	7
↓	
Schemes where have “scheme evaluation reports”	3

Figure 2. Research area selection criteria

We conducted a literature review to understand the backgrounds, planning processes, and evaluation results for the three selected schemes. We then conducted site visits to observe scheme conditions and interview local community-related organizations about their profiles and activities, usages, maintenance of community spaces, and level of community involvement during the planning processes (Table 1).

Table 1. Interview details

Scheme location	Date	Community-related organization	Interviewee	Scheme evaluation report
Northmoor, Manchester City	July 9-10 th , 2017	Northmoor Community Association	1. CEO, male, resident 2. Officer, female	Pilot home zone schemes: Evaluation of Northmoor, Manchester (2005)
Morice Town, Plymouth city	July 16-17 th , 2017	Morice Town Salvation Army	1. Major, male, resident	Pilot home zone schemes: Evaluation of Morice Town, Plymouth (2005)
Southville, Bristol city	July 11 th , 2017	Southville Community Development Association ¹	1. CEO, male 2. Manager, female 3. Head, male 4. Chairperson of Board of trustees, male, resident 5. Volunteer, male resident	Southville home zone: An independent evaluation (2006)

Overview of the Areas

Northmoor

Northmoor is located 3 km southeast of Manchester city center. It is a residential area containing 1,400 dwellings. The dwellings are mainly comprised of high-density terraced structures that were built in early 1900 as social housing units (Tilly, Webster & Buttres, 2005). Approximately half of all residents are of Pakistani origin and work in blue-collar industries (Table 3). Many dwellers are immigrants or short-term residents. Before Home Zone implementation, Northmoor had declined in many environmental, social, and economic factors. The area was also unsafe area due to a large volume of high-speed through-traffic (Tilly et al., 2005).

Morice Town

Morice Town is in Devonport, which is 2.5 km northwest of Plymouth City Center. Morice Town was developed as a living area for British Naval Dockyard employees in the 19th Century. It contains 900 dwellings mainly consisting of terraced houses and flats that were rebuilt after World War II (Wheeler, Tilly, Webster, Rajesparan & Buttres, 2005). White residents account for 96% of the total. There are many blue-collar workers and low-income residents in the dockyard (Table 3). Before Home Zone implementation, Morice Town was a deprived area with a significant amount of crime and domestic violence. The social housing

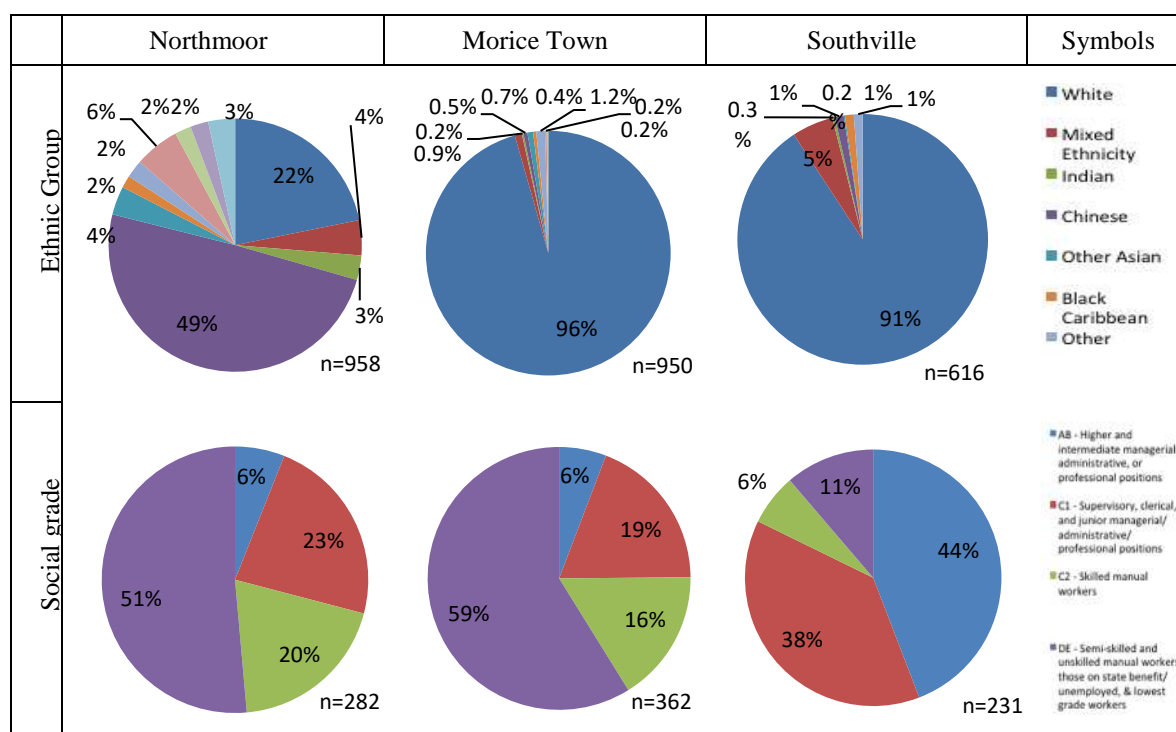
¹ The Southville Community Development Association changed its name to BS3 Community Development in December 2017.

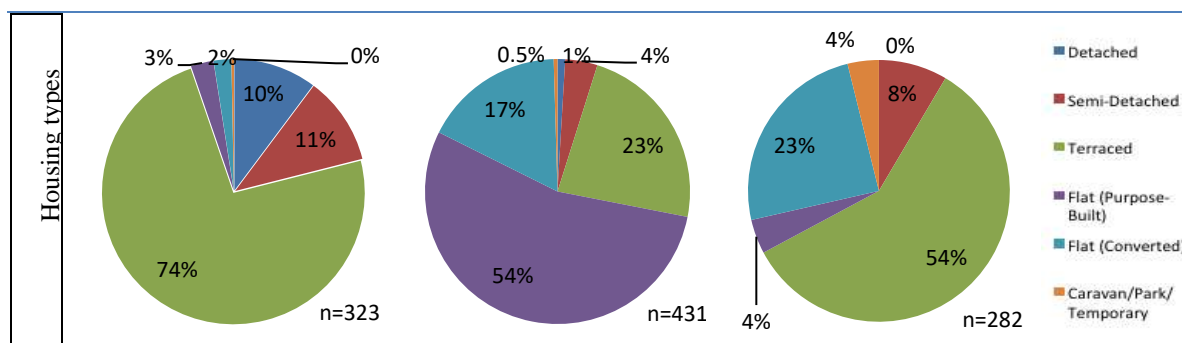
units contained a play area. However, the units themselves were small with poor sanitation. The area was at high risk for traffic accidents due to a large volume of high-speed through-traffic and wide roads (Wheeler et al., 2005).

Southville

Southville is located 2 km southwest across the river of Bristol City Center. It is a tidy residential area containing 5,000 dwellings mainly consisting of terraced housing that was built during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most dwellings have small front gardens. They were primarily built for workers in the coal mining and tobacco farming industries. However, these industries declined. Southville experienced gentrification during the 1980s, when many artists and young people moved into the area. There are now fashionable cafes and art studios in the warehouse district. White resident account for 91% of the total and mainly work in managerial or other professional positions (Table 3). Southville has become a wealthy area through the increased presence of highly educated residents with large incomes.

Table 3. Statistical data concerning residents and local housing





Data source: StreetCheck (2017). Area Information, Retrieved December 7, 2017 from <https://www.streetcheck.co.uk/postcode/>

Results

Home Zone implementation status

Northmoor

Home Zones were implemented for six streets on both sides of Northmoor Road, which runs through the center of the area. About 300 homes are contained here. All gateways have colored pavement, interlocking block pavement and signs indicating they are entrances to Home Zones. Many people walk in the middle of the streets, though there are narrow footpaths at the edges. Vehicular traffic is forced to decrease in speed due to the presence of chicanes, which are created through echelon parking on alternate sides of the streets and trees. Young children may play in the open spaces, which contain play equipment and plants between terraced housing blocks. We observed several removed benches and scattered garbage in the alleyways (Figures 3 and 6).



Figure 3. Current Home Zones in Northmoor

Morice Town

The Home Zone covers an area measuring approximately 250 m east-west by 500 m north-south and contains approximately 400 homes. There is signage indicating that it is a Home Zone in addition to roughly rectangular stone wall features that narrow the streets and create a visual impact at all gateways. Most roads have shared surfaces with wide footways divided by stone bollards or plant boxes. People can be seen walking on the carriageways

instead of the footways. Traffic calming measures have been established at each crossing. Yellow block paving materials are used to demarcate open spaces, park entrances, and school surroundings, while red block paving materials establish parking bays. There are two parks containing play equipment, a ball-play area, and a large open space; children play in these areas. We observed that most of the stone wall features at the entrance were broken, there was litter in the streets, and many of the plants had been neglected (Figures 4 and 6).



Figure 4. Current Home Zones in Morice Town

Southville

Home Zones were implemented on four streets (i.e., partially on three streets and fully on Milford Street, covering approximately 400 homes). A 20 mph zone covers the whole area, although the four streets are not connected. Milford Street, Stackpool Road Cul-de-sac, and Howard Road are paved with colored blocks across the entire surface. However, there are different paving designs in each area. Milford Street contains no demarcated parking bays, but there is a subtle change in paving markings and bollards to define the front limits of parking spaces on Stackpool Road Cul-de-sac. Footways and carriageways on Howard Road are not at the same surface-level, with bollards placed in between. Home Zone signage is placed at all gateways and large planters with benches are used to create bottlenecks, boundaries, and green spaces. We observed some benches and a bookshelf that residents had placed on Stackpool Road Cul-de-sac (Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 5. Current Home Zones in Southville

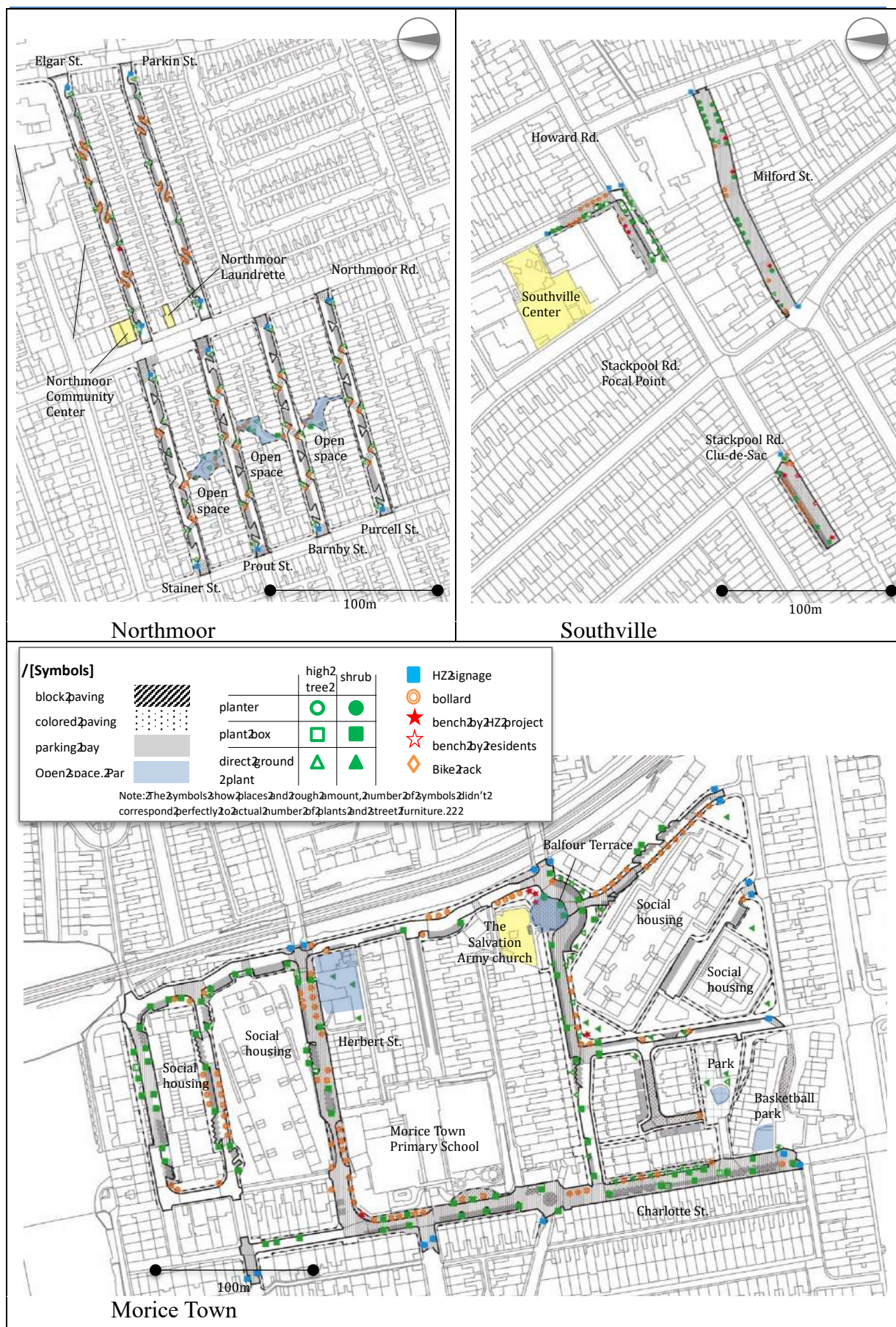


Figure 6. Current layouts, paving materials, plants, and street furniture

Community association involvement during the Home Zone creation process

Northmoor

The Home Zone was implemented as part of a regeneration program. The Home Zone management structure mainly consisted of the Manchester City Council, Housing Association and a resident group. Monthly consultative meetings were held between the management structure and design team (Tilly et al., 2005). The resident group was founded to solve various issues in the resident area and played a significant role in representing resident interests during the consultative process. It carefully confirmed whether residents understood the plans and explained issues when necessary (Figure 7).

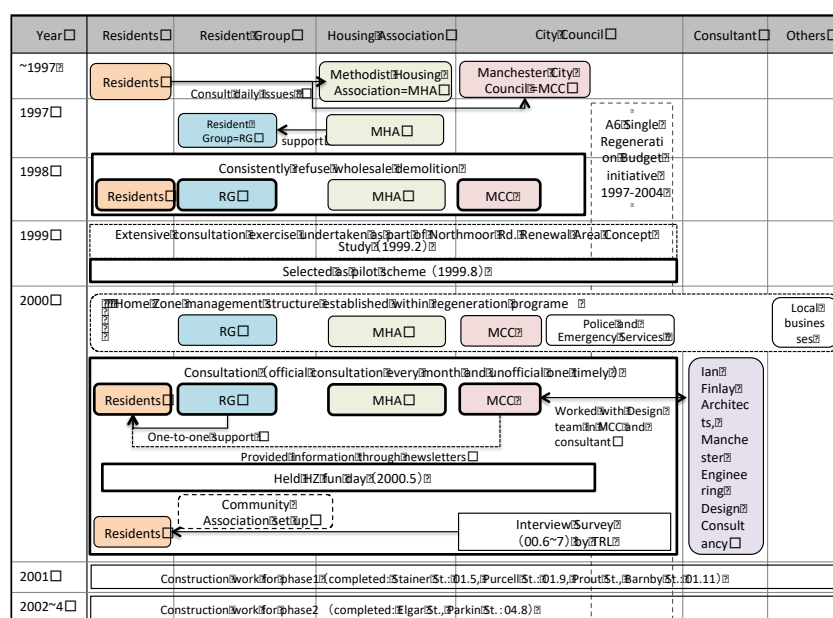


Figure 7. Community involvement during the planning process in Northmoor

Morice Town

The Home Zone was implemented as part of a wider set of regeneration programs designed to improve health, education, and employment. The Morice Town Community Advisory Group (MTCAG) reflected the demography and economy of the area. It was established because there was no resident group. A partnership between the Plymouth City Council (PCC), MTCAG, and a local business group was established. Monthly consultations were held between the PCC and MTCAG. The PCC made efforts to ascertain resident understanding and worked on various problems in the area rather than focusing on simple road improvements. The PCC thus earned the confidence of MTCAG, resulting in a strong partnership (Wheeler et al., 2005) (Figure 8).

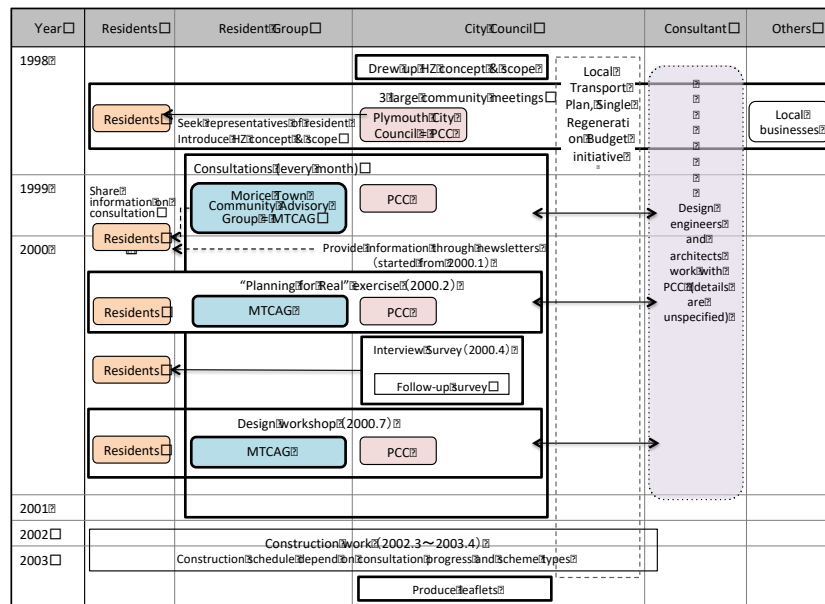


Figure 8. Community involvement during the planning process in Morice Town

Southville

As opposed to efforts in other areas, the Home Zone was implemented to reduce traffic and improve the living environment. The Street Representatives (the history of which not being clarified in this research) and Bristol City Council primarily worked together during the consultation process. Workshop meetings were held for different streets. These not only involved Street Representatives, but also residents, who were asked to work out the detailed design characteristics for their respective zones. Difficulties in gaining consensus varied according to street (Sherwin, Parkhurst & Chatterjee, 2006) (Figure 9).

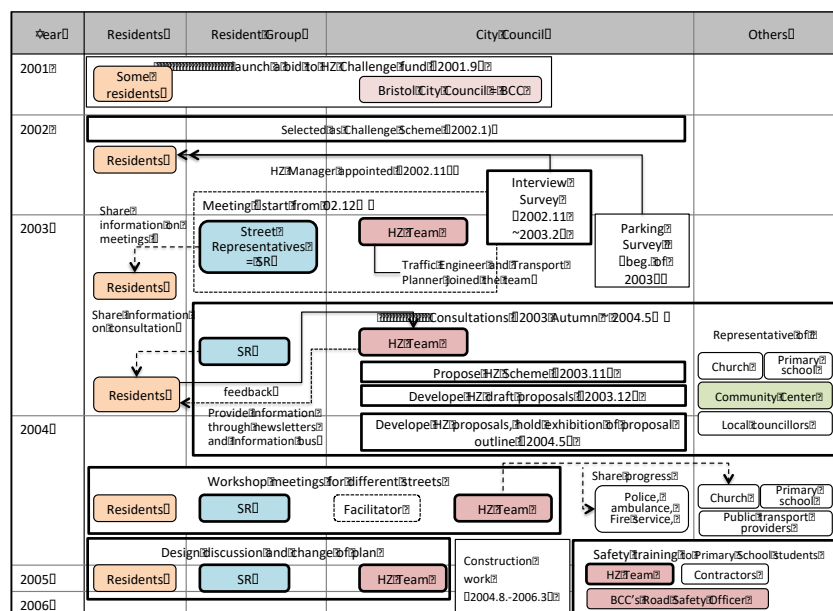


Figure 9. Community involvement during the planning process in Southville

Community changes after Home Zone implementation

We compared and contrasted two times in which changes occurred to Home Zone projects. One was a few years after Home Zone implementation, while the other involves the present time. The examined factors were “Appearance,” “Traffic safety/Traffic speed,” and “Children play outside,” all of which are directly impacted by street configurations, “Public security,” “Community interaction,” and “Opportunity for walking the neighborhood.” These secondary factors are impacted by community involvement (Table 4).

Northmoor

The area’s appearance was improved by Home Zone implementation. Residents were thus able to enjoy walking in clean areas containing plants (Tilly et al., 2005). However, these improvements were not properly maintained. We observed litter in some of the alleyways and found that many benches had been removed. An interview also revealed that the city council had decreased the number of plants. Contrastingly, there was still safety in walking the area (including the middle of the streets) and children were able to play in a variety of locations. Open spaces are variously utilized as play areas for small children and adult social interaction. However, the level of social interaction has decreased in Northmoor due to a growing immigrant and transient population. The community center has thus been encouraging residents to socialize through community activities.

Morice Town

The area’s appearance was improved by the addition of plants and colored paving materials (Wheeler et al., 2005). However, these improvements have not been properly maintained. We observed a significant volume of broken street furniture. We also observed litter in some streets and many neglected plant boxes. Traffic safety improved dramatically through installations of block paving, colored paving, speed tables, narrowed roads, and gateway signage (Wheeler et al., 2005). These improvements continue to be effective. Children in Morice Town played freely before Home Zone implementation, but several play areas were also introduced, including those for sports and small children. These environments have resulted in improved playing conditions (Wheeler et al., 2005) and many children still play in these play areas. Community interaction was not promoted well (Wheeler et al., 2005). With the exception of those living in social housing, residents do not seem to interact frequently. There are no community organizations. However, The Salvation Army (a Protestant Christian organization) is active in the area. The organization conducts activities not only for its members and participants, but also for local residents. Its objective is to support the indigent.

Table 4. The impact of Home Zones on local communities

Home Zone (HZ) Benefits		Northmoor		Morice Town		Southville	
		A few years after HZ implementation	Current	A few years after HZ implementation	Current	A few years after HZ implementation	Current
Direct impact through street configuration development	Appearance	-Improved by plants, cleanliness, and street lights (a) -improved by repointing and adding railings at housing fronts (b)	-Many benches destroyed (b) -Few trees removed to secure parking spaces (b) -Litter in the alleyways (c) -Outsiders come to dispose of rubbish (b)	-Improved by increased number of plants and flowers (a) -Stone-patterned bricks and colored paving materials improved appearance (a)	-Many plants and flowers, though maintenance varies by planter box (c) -New residents do not take care of plants (b) -Many stone-bound bottlenecks remain broken (c) -Litter in some areas (c)	-Improved by planters and colored Paving materials (a) -Patchwork Community Gardening (a volunteer group) supported for planting plan and maintenance (j)	-Many plants and flowers in maintained front gardens (c)
	Traffic safety/ Traffic speed	-Perceived safety from improved traffic conditions, but worsened for children (a) -Amount of traffic reduced dramatically (a) -Actual vehicle speed reduced, while perceived vehicle speed remains a problem (b)	-People walking in the middle of the streets (c) -Many children playing in the streets (b) -Children sometimes run into streets -Some drivers quickly navigate chicanes intentionally (b)	-Perceived safety from traffic improved, especially for children (a) -Vehicle speed reduced to between 2-13 mph (from 30 mph) -Perceived vehicle speed reduced (a)	-People walking in the middle of the streets and children riding bicycles (c) -Traffic reduced through brick paving materials, speed tables, and others. These remain effective for traffic safety (c)	-Perceived traffic safety for pedestrians and cyclists improved (a) -Most respondents believed drivers were more careful when using the street (a) -Residents began to seek ways to reduce vehicle speed due to high cost of HZ (b)	-People walk in the middle of the streets; Milford St. and Cul-de-sac (c) -Only parking-permit holders drive on Milford St., the Cul-de-sac (c) -A 20 mph zone was introduced across entire Southville area (b)
	Children play outside	-Since they had been playing outside before HZ implementation, the time spent by children outdoors did not increase (a) -Played in open spaces, streets in front of houses (a) -Ball-playing approved officially (b)	-Many children playing in the streets (b) Keep HZ sign, which promotes children playing in streets (c)	-Since they had been playing outside before HZ implementation, residents did not recognize children spending time outdoors more than before (a) -The new basketball park is popular among children (a) -Adults who agreed on children playing in the streets slightly outnumbered those who disagreed (a)	-Many children playing in each park (c) -Children playing without adult supervision (c) -Children often playing in Balfour terrace (b)	-Children playing in streets increased due to safer conditions after HZ implementation (a)	-Children playing only in Cul-de-sac (b)
Secondary impact generated by the community involvement in HZ planning, use and maintenance	Public security	-Crimes slightly reduced, but perceived danger from crime not definitely improved (a) -Drug and gun crimes reduced after HZ implementation (b) -Built gates at alleyways, which are connected to backyards as a face-lift (b)	-Crimes within HZ area less than in near-HZ area (d) -Litter in several alleyways generates crime-filled atmosphere (c)	-Crimes reduced by 90%, but the perceived danger from crime not definitely improved (a)	-Safe in the daytime, but not at night due to crime-filled area nearby (b) -Frequent crime within HZ compared to near-HZ area (d)	-Concern about crime and vandalism reduced after HZ implementation (a)	-Residents feel safer, people walk in streets since Window Wonderland began during winter night (b) -Less crime, not only within HZ area but also throughout Southville (d)
	Community interaction	-No changes (b) -Reached mutual understanding between elders and youths through HZ consultations (b) -Open space used as place for social interaction (b)	-Less social interaction due to increased number of immigrants and transients (b) -NCA encourages residents to socialize by participating in NCA activities (b) -NCA struggling to encourage apathetic residents to participate in activities (b) -Open spaces used for social interaction (b) -The laundrette functions as a place for socializing (b)	No changes (a) -Over half of all respondents said there was something they could do as a result of HZ (a)	-Residents seem socialize within public housing areas (b) -Salvation Army holds events and parties for everyone (b)	-Nearly all HZ residents experienced more social interaction in the streets than before (a) -HZ residents began to talk with neighbors more since HZ process when compared to near-HZ residents (a) -Street activities encouraged in Cul-de-sac after HZ implementation (b)	-Residents in Cul-de-sac participate in street community activities (b) -Residents have something to talk about when participating in various activities (b) -Residents stay and talk at community center and cafes (b)
	Opportunity for walking the neighborhood	-Frequency of walking not increased, but walking along streets more pleasant due to plants and cleanliness (a) -Most residents (including children) walked along streets (b)	-Aged people in HZ not encouraged to go out compared to aged people in near-HZ (b) -Walking activities worsened (c)	-The frequency of walking and amount of time outdoors same as before HZ implementation (a)	-Unconfirmed whether adults and elderly walk daily	-Residents spend more time outside their houses (a) -Residents engage in more activities and events in streets (a)	-Residents walk around neighborhood for activities: Good Front Garden Award, Window Wonderland and green walkway (b) -Community association supports aged people and disabled using wheelchairs to spend time traveling the neighborhood (b) -HZ streets too short to take walks (b)
Source: (a) Evaluation report on Home Zone schemes for Northmoor (Tilly et al., 2005), Morice Town (Wheller et al., 2005), and Southville (Sherwin, Parkhurst & Chatterjee, 2006) (b) Interview, (c) Observation, (d) Neighborhood crime map (https://www.police.uk ; last access date: December 13 th , 2017)							

Southville

The factors of appearance, traffic safety, public security, community interaction, and opportunity for walking the neighborhood were improved after Home Zone implementation (Sherwin et al., 2006). Moreover, these areas have continued to improve. The community association began working on projects to add lush greenery and encourage residents to walk the neighborhood. A project of particular interest involves the “Good Front Garden Award,” which awards the owners of beautiful front gardens through voting. This motivates residents to work on their gardens and encourages neighborhood walking. Although the Home Zone was implemented on relatively few streets, a 20 mph zone was introduced across the entire Southville area. Nearly all Home Zone residents were encouraged to engage in more social interaction (Sherwin et al., 2006). Many currently visit the community center or local cafes to socialize. Street activities include caroling and decorating, and children have been encouraged to play in the Cul-de-sac since Home Zone implementation and these activities remain popular. The Cul-de-sac thus contains benches and bookshelves that were installed by residents.

Community Association Activities

Northmoor

The Northmoor Community Association (NCA) was established at the end of the Home Zone planning process. It is based at the Northmoor Community Centre. The Resident Group then transferred its operations and human resources to the NCA, which now operates almost all community activities. Figure 10 shows a list of NCA-conducted services and events. The NCA conducts services designed to improve the living standards of immigrants through its “Next Step Project,” which provides tax credit support, welfare advice, and employment support. The NCA also offers academic support for young people and several socializing services. Most are provided free of charge or at a very low cost (Northmoor Community Association, 2017) ..

The Northmoor Laundrette is also operated by the NCA. It is located close to the community center and contains a variety of utilities, including washers, dryers, computer access, a library, information board, and café. Many residents visit the laundrette more often than the community center. It has thus become a place for cultural activity and information exchange (Figure 11).

	Immigrants	Adults	Children & Young People
Life	Tax Credit Support		NEXT STEP project (Ages 16+)
	Welfare Advice		
	Parenting Support		
	Launderette		
Work	My Work Search		
	Employment Skills		
	Computer Room		
Education	ESL (English as a second language) Course		Youth Homework Club (ages 8-16)
			Advanced Math Tutor (ages 8-16)
Health		Healthcare Support	
Socializing	Friendship Group for Seniors		Children Stay and Play (0-5yr + parent)
	Community Lunch		Youth Club (ages 13+)
	Big Thank You to All Volunteer		
	Big BBQ		

Figure 10. NCA services and events



Exterior



Notice board



Computers

Figure 11. Northmoor Launderette

Southville

The Southville Community Development Association (SCDA) is based at Southville Centre. It was established over 10 years prior to the Home Zone project, and was designed to improve resident life. The SCDA operates a nursery as a pillar of business and enriches services for dual-income families. It also provides services designed to promote social interaction for the elderly, adult exercise, and afterschool activities for children (The Southville Centre, 2017). Roughly 2,000 residents visit the community center to receive these services.

In addition to the routine services mentioned above, the SCDA supports various projects to improve resident life. Most are developed by the SCDA, but some are operated by unaffiliated individuals or groups. The SCDA also takes on the role of incubator. Table 5 shows ongoing projects designed to encourage residents to walk around the community and engage in social interaction.

Table 5. Community projects designed to encourage neighborhood walking and social interaction

<i>Project name</i>	<i>Inaugural year</i>
Patchwork Garden Project	2003
Good Front Garden Award	2004
Art Trail	2004
Winter Lantern	2011
Southville Green Walkway	2014
Window Wonderland	2016

Discussion

Impacts of Each Area's Home Zone Project

Northmoor

The community association established through the Home Zone project has continued to support resident life. The Housing Association, including major landlords and capable residents, lead the community. There have been tangible improvements to roads and activity spaces as well as intangible improvements resulting in improved living standards. These factors work together closely. The Northmoor Home Zone project is a successful case in which a disintegrating area is improved. The key points for success are the establishment of the community association and resident representatives becoming association pillars, while the housing association provided the necessary funds, human resources, and knowledge to grow the association.

Morice Town

The community spaces built through the Home Zone project have been properly utilized, but no further innovations have occurred. There appear to be three causes for the continued ability of children to play freely in Morice Town. First, local children already played outside more frequently than those in other areas. Second, several play areas were provided according to age-group and purpose. Third, families continue to move in and out of the area. Morice Town seems to lack a proactively constructed community organization. In addition, the Morice Town Community Advisory Group has not maintained continuous control since Home Zone establishment. This is because there are few capable residents and the housing association does not actively involve itself in community improvements. The city council is also problematized by an insufficient labor force and a lack of funding.

Southville

The community association was established prior to the Home Zone planning process. It initially worked on projects designed to maximize the utilization of community spaces by

gaining inspiration from the Home Zone project. The community association also remains active in improving the local quality of life and continues to gain importance. Many capable and ingenious residents operate community projects outside those sponsored by the community association. This helps sustain community activities in Southville.

The impacts of Home Zone projects on space, organization, and local residents

Building community places

Community places built under Home Zone projects have been utilized as “living places” for over 15 years. For instance, play areas encourage children to play outside, large open spaces are effectively utilized to hold events and parties, and public social interaction is improved. In terms of playing in the streets, rules have been developed not only for drivers, but also for children. It is essential to keep residents apprised of these regulations.

Plants improve the appearance of street spaces and influence a “sense of place.” Residents are also motivated to go out for walks around the neighborhood. However, there have been maintenance issue. It is therefore important to select plants that residents are easily able to care for.

We found that “casual places” (e.g., the laundrette) are used by residents for daily social interaction. It is thus important to ensure that operating staff are on duty at all times.

Programs provided by community associations

It is necessary to provide programs designed to promote resident activities. This facilitates the management and utilization of community spaces to maximum capacity. Residents require support to improve local living standards, especially for regeneration. This includes improvements to economic independence, health management, and social skill development. To encourage passive residents to participate in the community, activities should be provided to facilitate resident participation at their own discretion.

Community associations are central actors in supporting the intangible elements leading to community improvement. These associations appear to have been established as a result of the many issues associated with the Home Zone Challenge scheme (Department for Transport, 2005). Community associations are sustained through the involvement of capable residents and organizational support. Such cooperation benefits necessary regeneration.

Increasing resident contributions to the community

Home Zones value a process heavily oriented to building consensus among residents. Here, street representatives play a large role. Home Zone projects encourage capable residents who desire community improvements to involve themselves in the process. These residents maintain involvement in conduct with the community association and pay attention to

community conditions. Home Zone projects provide a “place” for these residents to actively participate in their communities.

Changes in resident attitudes

There are various opportunities for residents to participate in the Home Zone planning process. For instance, they can interact with the community, gain knowledge of the project concept, generate ideas, and gain experience through project completion. Residents may consider options for utilizing community streets by participating in these activities. This alters resident attitudes about street usage. They are thus likely to support community activities.

Conclusion

Community activities are essential for maintaining and utilizing community spaces to maximum capacity over the long term. For regeneration, residents should not only increase their level of social interaction, but should also gain support for improving local living standards. Here, community associations may take the initiative in promoting community activities. If many diverse participants are expected to participate in these activities, “easy participation” is key. As such, “casual places” should be provided to enable resident interaction. “Casual opportunities” should also be developed so that residents can become involved at their own discretion. Resident involvement is also necessary to maintain community associations. We found that the Home Zone establishment process is heavily oriented toward consensus building. This alters resident attitudes toward street usage and provides a “place” for residents who desire community improvement to become actively involved.

We conclude that community spaces can be utilized as “living places.” The key to accomplishing this ideal is the continued implementation of projects designed to improve the streets and surrounding areas. This will result in growth for residents and community associations.

Acknowledgements

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“10 Years Recovery Calendar of the Town With Us” for Participation by Children of vVarious Circumstances - Study of Naraha-machi, Fukushima prefecture by Junior High School Students, Devastated by the Great East Japan Earthquake

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Abstract

Urban districts and fishing villages in Naraha-machi in Fukushima Prefecture, were severely damaged by the accidents of nuclear power plants after the Great East Japan Earthquake, residents had to evacuate outside Naraha-machi for several years.

In Japanese provincial towns and fishing villages where populations are declining before earthquake. In particular, in Fukushima prefecture, concerned about the influence of radiation on the human body, young families including children tend to hesitate to go home before the earthquake. It is important to acknowledge the opinions and contributions of the younger generation regarding town development and rehabilitation.

In this research, we compiled the contents of the workshop held for students of junior high school operated by Naraha-machi. First of all, students from 12 to 15 years old think about what they want to do in the next ten years and create a calendar. Next, from the reconstruction plan of Naraha-machi, we extracted the events of the next ten years and the situation of the town which was restored, and also created a calendar. We compiled two calendars for every group of 5-6 people. After that, we talked about how we, including ourselves and classmates, could relate to the rebuilding of the town and the creation of a connection between people and filling in the calendar.

This research examines the town rehabilitation planning process, which was written by adults and junior high school students during integrated study periods at schools, and states the importance of the younger generation's participation in the town's development and rehabilitation.

As a result of this research, the following points surfaced: (1) Students who are planning to leave the town due to going to high school or university and students who have already

decided to continue living outside the town have the opportunity to develop classmates of classmates, many students thought about how to build a connection between people and people, in order to regain the bustle of the town and increase the exchange population among the relationship with parents' parents. (2) Meanwhile, students whose future expectations for job hunting, entrepreneurship, marriage, etc. in the town were preparing calendars in various worries about future restoration of the town. (3) Thinking about their ten years of teenage age, such as college admissions, dating and marriage, complicated Fukushima in the present situation, thinking about the reconstruction of the town and connection with people, it gave them a chance to think naturally.

Keywords: plan for recovery, education, children participation

The looseness of significant ties:

On reclaiming our “common” places

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Abstract

The present study aims to open our discussions regarding the nature of “common” places and the ways in which we can promote communication among local community members therein. In an attempt to observe and explore how individuals react to spontaneous “cook-out” situations, we launched the “Curry Caravan” project in March 2012. Since then, we visited more than 75 cities/towns in Japan and cooked curry in various public spaces. “Curry Caravan” consists of a series of small-scale, do-able experiments that can be immediately tested in public spaces. We selected curry as a “token” to connect people together, since curry (curry and rice) has been one of the most popular and favored dishes among Japanese food.

Resonating with the thrust of an old folk tale “Stone Soup,” our approach is to invite community residents into the process of cooking, each adding various ingredients. The process is quite simple, in that we place large cooking pots in public spaces, such as parking lots, parks, or backyards, and start cooking. Community residents in the vicinity, including passers-by, may come out, stop-by, observe and ask questions. This setting itself creates a place for talking, cooking and eating with others. We suggest that “Curry Caravan” is an attempt to reclaim the “common” places, by promoting a sense of belonging to the community and the nature of human relationships therein.

Keywords: Placemaking, communication process, community planning, communal meal

Theoretical Motivation

Local “assets” as potential possibilities

Over the past few years, various practices of Asset-Based Community Development approach (hereinafter referred to as ABCD approach) seem to be gaining acceptance. The approach aims to understand the nature of local “assets” and to discover their possibilities, rather than to seek for a “problem-solving.” In other words, ABCD approach is an attempt to shift our research emphasis from the “needs-driven” approach to “capacity-focused” approach (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993, Kato, 2011).

A seemingly familiar approach for us would be to identify various problems in the local community, and to explore solutions for them. As shown in the Figure 1, for example, we typically begin with the mapping of the problem situations within the area, then go on to examine the priorities among those problems and possible solutions for them. Further, we estimate necessary costs and make allocation plans. The Figure 1 below, simplified for the purpose of illustration, shows that various problem situations may be classified and mapped in accordance with their scale, urgency, and level of abstraction.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) suggest that “needs-driven” approach may serve to create client neighborhoods. That is to say, many urban neighborhoods are becoming “environments of service where behaviors are affected because residents come to believe that their well-being depends upon being a client (p. 2).” Once the “problem” in the local community is identified and shared among community members, actors involved and their expected roles tend to become fixed. As a result, community members become consumers of service, rather than producers. In addition, when the problems are described and delivered in a fashion aimed to the general public, regardless of them being local issues, community members may begin to understand the problems as somebody else’s business.

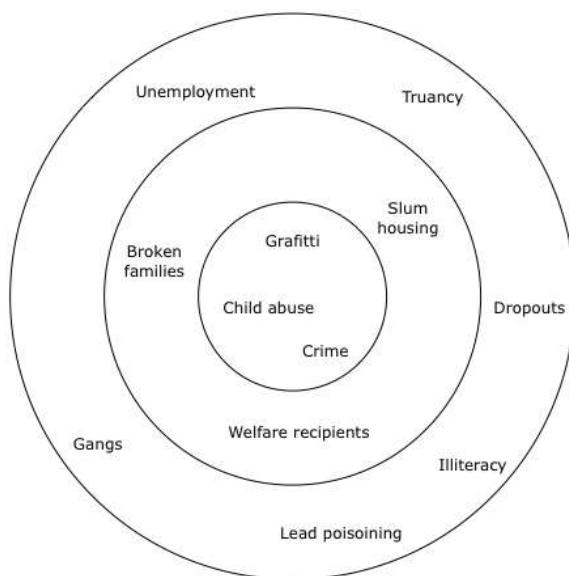


Figure 1. Neighborhood needs map (based on Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993).

In contrast, ABCD approach provides a mapping based on a different assumption. As shown in the Figure 2, community “assets” are mapped with regard to gifts of individuals, citizens’ associations, and local institutions. For each of the categories, various local “assets” are identified as strengths of the local community. By doing so, a series of “assets” becomes visible and at hand for our further explorations.

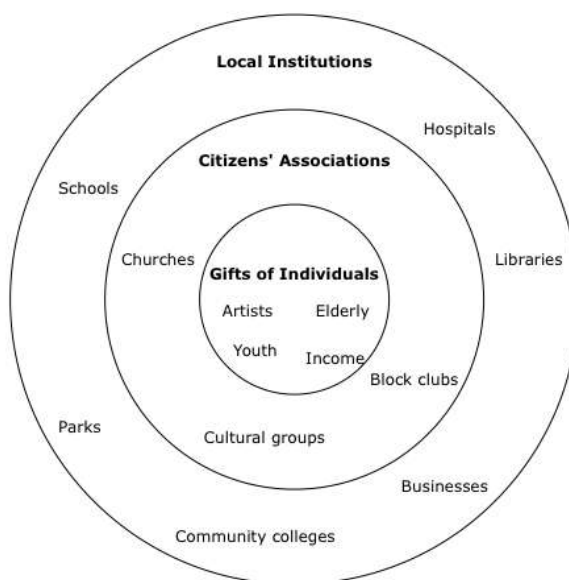


Figure 2. Community assets map (based on Kretzmann and McKnight, 1993).

ABCD approach begins with the mapping of these local “assets” from different layers of understandings, then goes on to consider about identifying potential partners in the local

community, and the possible ways to strengthen ties with the partners. Finally, concrete action plans will be developed.

Reclaiming “common” places

Onda (2006) suggests that, traditionally, there were “common” places between “public” and “private” places (Figure 3). A “common” place belongs to no one, and at the same time, it can be used and shared by everyone. He implies that through the modernization/urbanization processes, most of the places were divided into either “private” or “public” places. Whereas most of the “public” places are controlled and managed under the jurisdiction of public sectors (local governmental agencies), many of the “private” places are, by default, closed for public, owned and managed privately. As we will suggest in the present paper, a joint process of cooking may play an important role in creatively and loosely blur the distinction between “public” and “private,” and thereby promote one’s ideas about ‘togetherness.’

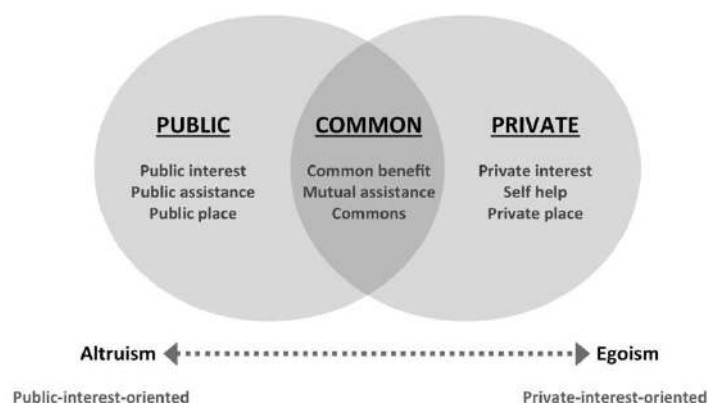


Figure 3. Demise of “common” spaces in modern society (based on Onda, 2006)

Given the discussion above, it becomes of our interest to explore the ways in which we can somehow convert either “public” or “private” places into “common” places. By doing so, we can begin to understand the nature of common benefit and mutual assistance. Though spontaneous, ad hoc and temporal, we suggest that “Curry Caravan” plays an important role in reclaiming our “common” places. A co-cooking practice enables us to (re)discover local “assets” and (re)define the relationships among them.

Communicative place-making through “Curry Caravan”

We launched “Curry Caravan” project in March 2012, as a part of an art project, “Bokuto University” (Kato, et. al., 2011). Recently, there has been a growing interest in the learning programs to be planned and operated with the designation and metaphor of a “university.” For example, as a pioneering attempt in Japan, “Shibuya University” was launched in 2006 to offer a series of courses in various settings and facilities within the city of Shibuya, Tokyo. Though it is not a ‘real’ university for it is not founded under “The Fundamental Law of Education,” it was designed and operated like a ‘real’ university by a NPO. This idea and approach struck a chord, and led to produce sister schools in Hokkaido, Kyoto, Aichi, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka. “Bokuto University” was a similar attempt in order to explore the possibilities to utilize shopping streets and other facilities within the local communities as ‘classrooms’ for local residents. We began to develop a basic guideline for designing a series of learning programs to produce influence upon community members’ life-long learning opportunities. The idea of “cook-out” was one of the programs that we offered in the project. The basic idea behind our “Curry Caravan” may resonate well with the ideas behind tactical urbanism (Lyndon et. al., 2015; McFralane, 2011), guerrilla urbanism (Hou, 2010), and DIY urbanism (Iverson, 2013), in that projects are initiated by local individuals or grassroots groups, not being sanctioned by higher authorities.

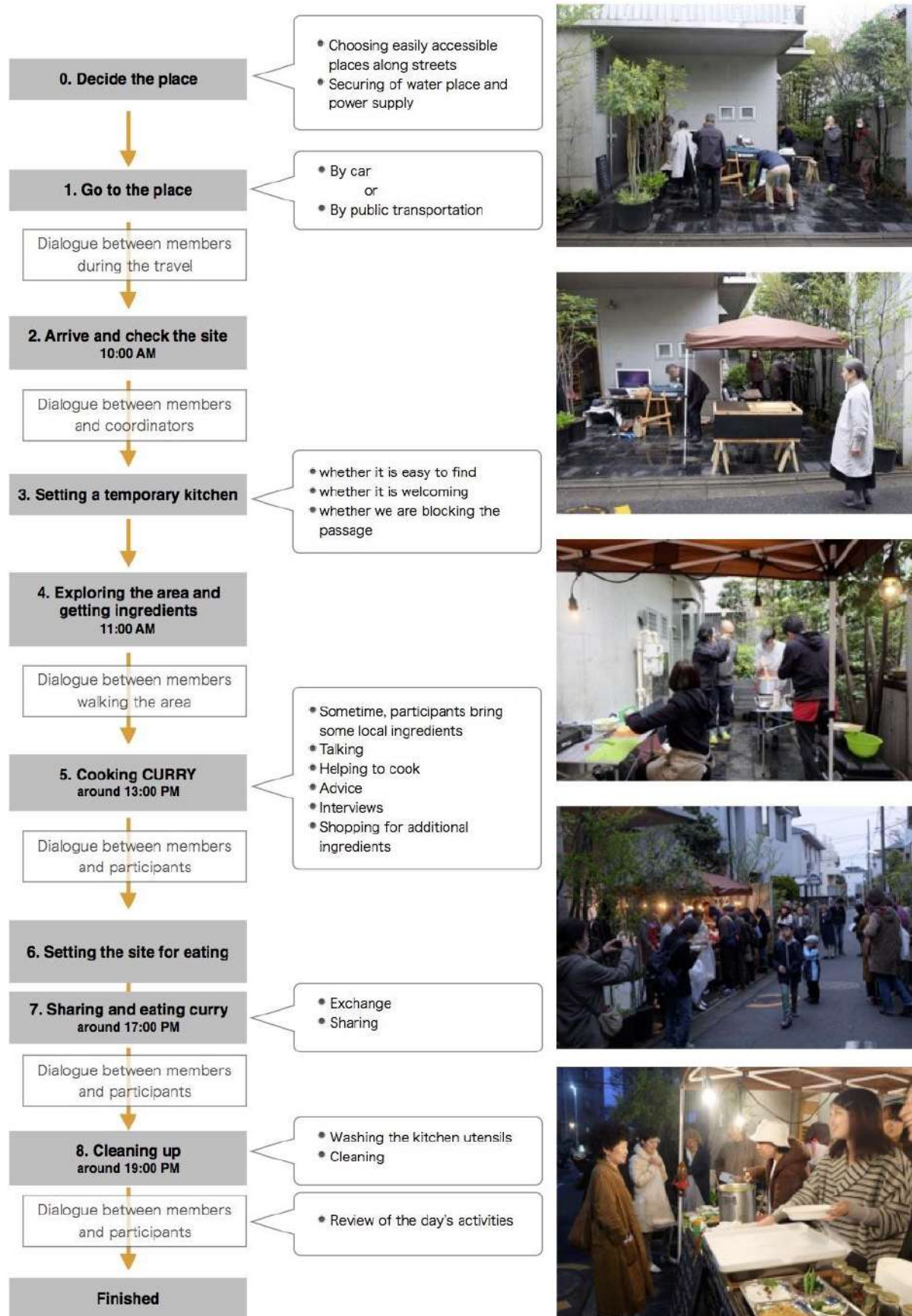


Figure 4. A typical day of Curry Caravan (Kimura, et. al., 2016)

Figure 4 illustrates a typical day of “Curry Caravan,” based on our “cook-out” conducted in Kamiigusa, Tokyo, in April 2015. As shown, we begin to set up a temporal kitchen, our site for the “cook-out.” We carry along with us a series of equipment. It includes: portable cooking stoves, curry pots, utensils, spices, lightings (lanterns), tents and tables. Depending on the lot given, we try to organize these items in a “proper” manner so that community members in the neighborhood (including passersby) can access easily to the site. Then, we go for a shopping, trying to discover local produces and ingredients at farmers’ market and other local grocery shops (other than franchised supermarket) in the vicinity. Occasionally, residents come and “donate” their own grown fresh produces.

Then, we start cooking. Thereon, we just make ourselves visible and open, so that residents in the neighborhood can associate with the situation in one’s own convenience. Some would be simply observing and watching at a distance, while others may join in the process of cooking. In many occasions, we get to meet residents in all generations, listening to their life stories and local episodes. We discovered that such co-cooking situations facilitate our communication for they create informal, joyful atmosphere. There, participants are loosely connected, but at the same time, all of them are “focused” on an identical goal, that is, to finish cooking curry.

In the evening, when the curry is ready, we all gather and eat together. Eating together is an opportunity through which we can speculate upon the relationships among community members and understand the nature of “assets” in the neighborhood. We offer cooked curry for free among participants. It is neither a “volunteer model” nor a “business model”; we refer to our model as a “deficit model” (Kato, et.al., 2014) because we cover the whole expenses needed for cooking. Seemingly, it is a give away, and may be evaluated as costly activities. Some people look suspicious when they discover that a bowl of curry is shared free in their day-to-day mundane. Thus, we were often asked about the purpose of providing free meal. Through our activities, we began to discover that this is a qualitative “method” to recognize the value of communication. We receive various priceless experiences such as encounter with local people and places, and discoveries of local “assets” and cultural identities. Communication processes that embed us in “Curry Caravan” are quite unique. They may resemble the structure of the relationships in potlatch type of primitive communication or in gift economies, but in different, modern contexts. In part, an occasion created through “Curry Caravan” can be understood an attempt to (re)build images of the community members, and at the same time, it is expected that communication through co-cooking may contribute to foster an individual’s ‘civic pride’ in a long run. It is important to note that a ‘civic pride’ itself cannot be designed directly. What counts is a communication design through which the idea and importance of the ‘civic pride’ is delivered.

Discussions

There are several lessons we learned through our “cook-out” experiences.

1. From solving problems to developing relationships

We suggest that it is important to re-examine the relationships between a place-making activity and local community from the standpoint of the “capacity-based” approach. Especially, when we consider enhancing the value of the local “assets” within open environment, we need to seek the ways in which we can collaborate with the local community members. For instance, we are already familiar with the cases where universities and local communities conduct joint research. There, universities are expected to have various expertise and techniques to face the problems at hand. In turn, local communities provide with research funds and other forms of financial supports. As mentioned, such “needs-driven” approaches tend to convert community members into “clients.”

In contrast, we can produce practices based on mutually beneficial relationships. When stakeholders aim to increase the value of local “assets,” both the university and local communities will be linked in a reciprocal and autonomous fashion. When the expertise of participants are provided within “common” places, it is desirable that the relationships are built upon a “pro bono” style, for example.

Based on our experiences of more than 75 times of “cook-out” activities, we suggest that a co-cooking functions better in the setting in which things/events are loosely organized. That is to say, a semi-structured plan allows us to think and try spontaneously “on-site,” that leads to think and act creatively. It shifts our focus from solving problems to developing relationships.

2. “Loose” duplicates

As discussed in Kimura et. al. (2016), our activities were “loosely” duplicated in various contexts (Figure 5). For example, the coordinator of our “cook out” in Suginami (April, 2015), started a project called “Garden of October” in his own garage space. He identified his activity with ours. He is an owner of a café and a stationary shop and is also an active leader of MACHIZUKURI association of this area. “Garden of October” is held regularly in his shop’s parking space, to create a “semi-public space,” to enjoy the space in-between garden and street, to appreciate the atmosphere and nature surrounding the site. He serves coffee to passers-by or local community members and enjoys communication with them. Through his place-making attempts, residents now have informal opportunities to meet neighbours and know each other better.

Yet another attempt is a case of “WAI WAI Curry Kitchen.” The coordinator of the “Curry Caravan” in Asaka, Saitama (February, 2016), started the project with her daughter’s group. She was inspired by her experiences with us. In a joint-cooking situation, people who meet each other for the first time can enjoy casual communication. When we cooked curry together, participants cooked, talked and ate together in a natural setting. Some people seem to have a preconception whereby they have difficulties communicating with disabled people. However, through the communication brought about by cooking together, people can engage in conversations with disabled individuals and make acquaintances. “WAIWAI Curry Kitchen” was held in Shibaura House in Tokyo. Shibaura House is an office building for a printing company, and its ground and second levels are open to the public as a “common” place. Neighbours and office workers in the vicinity use the space in their daily life. “WAI WAI Curry Kitchen” was a co-cooking activity designed for local junior high school students, including disabled students. The aim of this project was to offer an opportunity to learn experientially about the community and create connections for neighbours to help each other.



Figure 5. Garden of October (left); WAIWAI Curry Kitchen (right)

3. Semi-members

It was an unanticipated, but a pleasant consequence for us. Through a series of “cook-out” activities, “Curry Caravan” contributed to bond participants together to form a group of “repeaters” (Figure 6). They were all strangers and passersby in the beginning, coming from different places with a variety of reasons. They admit that they became “fans” of “Curry Caravan” project and began to participate in our activities whenever possible. They can be referred to as “semi-members” because they learned details and procedures of our settings through participating repeatedly. They are no longer one-time guests to a “cook-out” situation. By now, they became an integral component of our activities. “Semi-members” are not only helpful in practices of cooking, but also indispensable for they engage in communication with us as well as with community members. Interestingly, “semi-members”

are also “strangers” to the site we visit. They play distinctive roles in between “Curry Caravan” members and community members, and thereby contribute to promote and elaborate the ideas behind our activities. By participating in our activities repeatedly, they became close friends, and by now, they get together in different occasions other than “Curry Caravan.” It implies that our act of placemaking created opportunities in which strangers meet and foster new connections that can be nurtured outside the original context.



Figure 6. Garden of October (left); WAIWAI Curry Kitchen (right)

4. Capacities of the “hosts”

Not only those who live in the neighborhood share a series of “assets” of the community. It is important to acknowledge that they also have the power to attract “visitors” from the outside. Constant and continuous hospitality of the neighborhood is also regarded as “assets” of the community. When we consider the relationships between “outsiders” and residents, it is important to take in account the ways in which we can increase the numbers of visitors from outside the community. As discussed, “Curry Caravan” is a temporal, spontaneous placemaking through creating “cook-out” situations. By positioning ourselves between public and private spaces, we try to promote and reclaim the sense of “common” spaces. Our “cook-out” site alters the nature of the space by loosely connecting (reconnecting) local “assets” on the spot. We recognized that memorable and satisfactory experiences tend to be realized when we try to alter “private” spaces into “common” spaces, rather than to intervene into “public” spaces for alterations (Kimura, et. al., 2016).

We discovered that there are many “friendly” places suited for “Curry Caravan.” There, various layers of local “assets” (shown in Figure 2) are selected and connected so that we can simply drop by and immediately start cooking without lengthy explanations and preparations. They are all ready to host “strangers” to take part in explorations for communicative placemaking. For example (Figure 7), a parking space next to the shop, an entrance space in front of public bath, a small alley in local neighborhood, or a front yard of an old house.

These are all “private” spaces, but were easily (and joyfully) converted into “common” spaces by hosting us.



Figure 7. There are many “good places” that enable our “cook-out” activities.

Conclusion

As we have discussed, “Curry Caravan” can be understood as a “method” through which communication within the local community is facilitated. Particularly, when our “cook-out” situation is designed and implemented as a “common” place, it may raise community members’ awareness about commitment to the local community, and to gradually foster their ‘togetherness.’ Again, from the “capacity-focused” perspective, what stands out is not the idea of marketing. Rather, it is a joint construction of the situation through communication among participants on-site.

When we reflect upon the nature of our social relationships, being with someone or being on-site (at the time of the event) is becoming more and more important. It points to the design of sharing, and that is realized through raising our consciousness about our problems at hand. “Curry Caravan” project is an attempt to promote a sense of belonging to the community, and the nature of human relations in the region. Whereas the “common” space we claim is temporal and spontaneous, the process of changing the nature of spaces through communicative activities itself is a useful one to think and talk consistently about how our

relationships are constantly negotiated. The relationships we emphasize are “loose” and seemingly fragile, but they have a strength in their capacity to invite changes. Such readiness to changes are one of the important characteristics for us to further continue this caravan.

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Civic Engagement in Developing Cultural Resources at

Cheorwon, Korea

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Abstract

Government-led development plans have been carried out on a large scale in the border region of Korea's Demilitarized Zone. On the other hand, some civic groups such as artists and cultural planners are involved in discovering and utilizing local culture of the region. There are two notable civic groups working in the field of culture and arts in Cheorwon: *Mo-eul-dong-bi* and *Cheorwon Gong-gam*. There are two walking trails designed by *Mo-eul-dong-bi*. One is following the story of a novel written by a native novelist, and the other is the mountain path beside a minefield adorned with poem and pictures by the members. Having developed the idea of *Mo-eul-dong-bi*, an artwork symbolizing the history of division and the hope for peace was built at the representative cultural sites of Cheorwon. Meanwhile, *Cheorwon Gong-gam* invented two festival events receiving the request of the local government. Cheorwon is extremely cold in winter and famous as wintering sites for migratory birds. Using these conditions, the trekking event on the frozen river, and the bird watching festival held on New Year's Day were planned. The both events were great success, and the government designate them as official festivals of Cheorwon. Civic initiated projects tend to be less expensive, smaller scale and more nature friendly than government-led project. In DMZ borderland, natural environment is preserved well and cultural resources are not exploited yet. The creative ideas of the civic groups need to be welcomed more often.

Keywords: civic engagement, local culture, DMZ border region

Introduction

As an underdeveloped area, government-led development plans have been carried out on the large scale in the border region of Korea's Demilitarized Zone, and civilian activities are usually under the control of the military. Nevertheless, some civic groups such as artists and cultural planners are involved in discovering and utilizing local culture of the DMZ border region. Local

governments have been attempting to diversify current tourism system which is focusing on “Security Tourism”. Especially, effective outcomes have been increasing in the private sector. In this paper, I will present the process of creative placemaking by civic engagement with the case of Cheorwon. After interviews with the civic groups and observation in the field, I will discuss the significance of civic participation in planning and design process of inventing the public places and festivals.

Security Tourism vs. Peace Tourism

Security Tourism is a term referring to a unique type of tourism in Korea which means touring places related to national security. The underground tunnel constructed by North Korea to invade South Korea, and the observatory to view DMZ area are the typical sites for Security Tourism. It usually operates as 3-hour package tour. Visitors' behavior is under military control, and hostile relations between North and South Korea is emphasized. Cheorwon was the center of anti-communism as a region that had experienced the Communist rule during post-liberation era and had been a fierce battle field during the Korean War. After the second underground tunnel was found in 1975, the "Iron Triangle Land Development Plan" was devised and Cheorwon was developed as a national Security Tourism site. At that time, the government tried to show the public the serious security crisis in order to achieve "total security." Cheorwon designated several scenic spots and battlefields of the Korean War as national Security Tourism sites in 1982(Jung, 2017; Kim, 2018)

However, as the military circumstance of the Korean peninsula has been changed peacefully, the DMZ border region has been named “Peace Region” and the concept of “Peace Tourism” has emerged. Though there is no clear definition of Peace Tourism in Korea, it tends to be used for tourism programs with an emphasis on ecology, education, culture and arts, and communication with local residents, rather than focusing on national security. In Cheorwon, it is agreed with the idea that the local tourism should break from the old pattern of Security Tourism according to the current of the times.

What is Special in Cheorwon?

Cheorwon is located at the center of Korea where the military demarcation line is set. It has several special features. The central front of the DMZ where Cheorwon is located has the highest military tension. In particular, many parts of Cheorwon still remain as unidentified minefield so people's access is under control. You can often see the landscape where the minefield is spread out on both sides of the road. Since many of the infrastructure had been destroyed during the war and the original residents were scattered by evacuation, most of the

people living in Cheorwon after the war were from other regions. They cultivated the minefield at the risk of their life and pioneered it into the villages.

Cheorwon is the Korean War Reclaimed Area. In 1945, South Korea was divided by the 38th parallel and Cheorwon was included to North Korea where the Soviet Union governed. When the North and South Korea negotiated the ceasefire of the Korean War, Cheorwon was reclaimed by South Korea. These areas are called Reclaimed Area. As a result, the old building of Labor Party Headquarter remaining in Cheorwon has become a symbol of the regional history and an important base for the local tourism.

There is a river called Hantan River that passes through the midwestern volcanic area of Korea and it runs through Cheorwon. The river has impressive canyon and cliffs because it pass through mountainous areas where volcanic activity has occurred. While the scenery of the Hantan River is usually seen from the top down, you can see the scenery of the canyon more closely when doing rafting at the river. Since Cheorwon is extremely cold in winter, the river is freezed when it reaches around January.

Cheorwon is famous for migratory birds wintering sites. This was due to various conditions of Cheorwon. After the Korean War, not only the DMZ, but also the broad civilian controlled areas have been designated below the southern limit line, which has severely limited people's access and development activity. This provides a good habitat environment for sensitive migratory birds. In addition, people's activity such as building rice fields and artificial reservoirs make it possible to provide enough food and safe sleeping sites for migratory birds. There are two notable civic groups working in the field of culture and arts in Cheorwon: *Mo-eul-dong-bi*, a literature coterie composed of local residents who learn writing and share their works each other; and *Cheorwon Gong-gam*, a social enterprise which plans and operates festival events using local resources. The local government collaborated with them and finally succeed in several projects. These projects are deeply related to the special features of Cheorwon mentioned above.

Art Projects by the Local Literature Coterie

There are two walking trails designed by *Mo-eul-dong-bi*. One is following the story of a novel written by a native novelist. This novelist's name is Lee Tae-jun, one of the representative novelist in Korea during the Japanese colonial period. However, Cheorwon society did not want to actively promote his work because of the fact that he left to North Korea after liberation. Chung Chun-geun, who is a member of *Mo-eul-dong-bi* and one of the influential activist in Cheorwon, is taking the lead in informing Lee Tae-jun's literary value and utilizing it as a tourist resource. Recently, he made a walking trail named *Chon-teu-gi-gil* based on the Lee Tae-jun's novel titled *Chon-teu-gi (A Countryman)*, which is well described in the scenery of Cheorwon. The story begins at the old Cheorwon police. Chung proposed an idea to create this

trail to the local government and received funding to install guide maps at 13 locations. Each point shows the contents of the novel(Table 1).

Table 1. Contents of *Chon-teu-gi-gil*

(1)	Cheorwon Police Station where <i>Chang-gun</i> (the main character) comes out
(2)	Cheorwon office where <i>Chang-gun</i> is complaining
(3)	The place where <i>Chang-gun</i> meets his friend, <i>Gwang-sang</i>
(4)	Looking at Anak Cave thinking about the hostile world
(5)	The place where <i>Chang-gun</i> reminding his failure in the past
(6)	The puddle where <i>Chang-gun</i> made up his mind
(7)	The hill where <i>Chang-gun</i> take farewell of his neighbours
(8)	The shrine where <i>Chang-gun</i> and his wife have conversation
(9)	Yulry-ri Intersection where <i>Chang-gun</i> take farewell of his wife
(10)	The road where <i>Chang-gun</i> and his wife walking and watching each other
(11)	The road where <i>Chang-gun</i> and his wife meet again
(12)	The place where <i>Chang-gun</i> and his wife eat a rice cake
(13)	The road where <i>Chang-gun</i> and his wife parting again

The members of *Mo-eul-dong-bi* reproduce and sell the rice cake described in the novel. Although it was not passed down anymore, they consulted the elders who remember the food and recreated it. Currently, they only sell the rice cakes in a small scale, but the project is planned to be expanded by little and little in the future.

The other trail is the mountain path beside a minefield adorned with poem and pictures by the members. The landscape of the minefield symbolizes the history of war and division, but it also represents the process of overcoming and turning into a new life. *Soi Mountain Ecological Forest Green Road* is a promenade built in Soi Mountain. The access of civilians to the mountain was controlled until 2011. Most of this area is still unidentified minefields and people can experience the unique natural scenery that has been preserved and left in its natural state for a long time. The members of *Mo-eul-dong-bi* voluntarily planted flowers on the trail next to the minefields, and exhibited their works and called them “Road of Mine Flower”. Mine Flower is the title of a poem by Chung Chun-geun. The content is about the peaceful reality that keeps breathtakingly in the situation of division using metaphor of the flower blooming on the minefields. It shows the present situation of Cheorwon tacitly and depicts the local scenery together. The members of *Mo-eul-dong-bi* are trying to use this as a local brand, such as inventing a local herb tea and named “Mine Flower Tea”.

Having developed the idea of *Mo-eul-dong-bi*, an artwork symbolizing the history of division and the hope for peace was built at the Labor Party Headquarter. For more than a decade, Chung Chun-geun has consistently suggested building a clockwork art piece to indicate the

time of division. With a peaceful atmosphere of these days, the local government began reviewing Chung's idea and planning a project to create a symbol of peace. It was aimed at making an art piece harmonizing the significance and value of the Labor Party Headquarter and diversifying tourism program which has been focused on Security Tourism. So they requested proposals and one of the participating companies suggested a project by referring to Chung's ideas. Their proposal was finally selected as the first prize after examination and it was installed in June this year. Since the clockwork art piece was inspired by the Chung's poem titled *Between 6 and 12 o'clock*, part of the poem was engraved on the sculpture. After the installation, Chung gave a lecture on the meaning of the art piece to the local guides. There has been a lot of opinion in Cheorwon that there is no change in the contents introduced to tourists in the existing Security Tourism, but this art piece is regarded as a possibility to provide a new story.

Festivals Planned by the Local Social Enterprise

Meanwhile, *Cheorwon Gong-gam* invented two festival events receiving the request of the local government. Cheorwon is extremely cold in winter and famous as wintering sites for migratory birds. Using these conditions, the trekking event on the frozen river, and the bird watching festival held on New Year's Day were planned. Kim Young-gyu and Kang Seok-gyu, the member of *Choerwon Gong-gam*, planned these festivals for the first time. They were always interested in finding and promoting something that only Cheorwon possessed. Because Cheorwon is a region of migrants after the Korean War, so they wanted to overcome the lack of attachment to the region and lack of local identity.

Kang was asked by the local government to make a festival to show the characteristic of Cheorwon as a migratory bird wintering site. He combined theme of migratory birds with the festival items that he had been thinking about from before. He let people make a wish with candles wrapped in paper, which they could easily make, and put candles somewhere on the venue. The festival was held at the Togyo reservoir of Yangji-ri village, well-known as a migratory bird village. The Togyo reservoir is the largest artificial reservoir in Cheorwon, which was built for rice farming. From mid-October to March the following year, more than 1,000 red-crowned crane and white-naped crane, 300,000 wild-geese and 300 eagles are wintering here. Early in the morning, hundreds of thousands of wild-geese fly high up into sky from the reservoir. The festival was planned to begin on the night of December 31 and greet the New Year, ending with a view of the migratory birds flying from the reservoir in the morning. Some of the budgets was used to ask the village residents to prepare foods for the festival visitors, so they could also participate in the festival preparation. It is a festival that only Cheorwon could held, and a very successful example with a small budget.

The Hantan River freezes when the weather below -10°C continues in winter, and then it becomes solid enough for people to walk on. A trekking event called Hantan River Ice Trekking Festival walking on the frozen river has been held since 2013. This was also planned by *Choerwon Gong-gam* according to the local government's request. Ice-trekking provides special and rare experience because it is only possible about 10 days around mid-January and has strong local characteristics. Throughout the 6km-long trekking course, several ice sculptures showing Cheorwon's identity are set and small musical concerts are performed. At the main venue, visitors could enjoy programs such as kite flying and dog sled riding. The residents of Cheorwon participate in the work of making ice sculpture or building bridges around the trekking course. Residents use their own know-how to do the work. In the food market, the local residents' council manages to sell local food and make some profits. It is a good example of ecotourism that local residents participate and enjoy the ecological environment of Hantan River without harming it.

The both events were great success, and the government designate them as official festivals of Cheorwon. However, in the case of the Hantan River Ice Trekking Festival, making excessive facilities and changing the original concept are resulted since the local government has started to host the festival as an official local event. However, the actual event planning continues to be handled by the private activists who was the member of *Choerwon Gong-gam*. He is constantly in consultation with the local government to keep the original purpose and meaning of the festival.

Conclusions

In Cheorwon, activities in private sector are making a great contribution to the new and unique identity of the region, for the change to post Security Tourism era. It is especially done with taking advantage of local historical, ecological and cultural resources. Moreover, civic initiated projects tend to be less expensive, smaller scale and more nature friendly than government-led project. In the private sector, they could conceive innovative ideas freely and make bold practices unlike the public sector which is inflexible to change. More to the point, the trust relationship between the public and the private make the private sector possible to demonstrate their capacity enough. In DMZ border region, natural environment is preserved well and cultural resources are not exploited yet. The creative ideas of the civic groups need to be welcomed more often.

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Co-creating Neighborhood Places by Multi-interest-communities: A Study of Development Trend of Community Planning and Building in Taipei.

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Abstract

Since 1994, Taiwan has promoted the “community building” (*she-chu-zhong-ti-ying-zhao*)” to encourage community organizations to lead community residents through activities of various aspects to create a sense of community identity and establish community awareness. Since 1996, Taipei City has promoted the “Regional Environmental Improvement Plan” to allow community residents to propose reforms and apply for funding for the surrounding environment. Then there are different and related policies for cultivating community planners and allowing community residents to jointly develop regional development plans. These policies and subsidy programs both assist community organizations in establishing “one” more and better community. By 2008, professional community planners began to reflect on whether there was a better way than “a wide range of community residents are invited to conduct workshops”, so they developed new ways to discuss environmental visions with large and small NGOs of all sizes. These methods were brought together to establish a new approach to the OPEN GREEN Matching Fund at the Taipei City Government's Urban Renewal Office in 2014. They encouraged various types of communities in the neighborhood to collaborate in making proposals and create a multi-interlaced community through co-creating places in neighborhood.

In addition to a brief review of the community planning history in the 1990s, this paper will focus on the experiences of collaborative placemaking by various communities in neighborhood in recent years. The study found that a good placemaking can achieve three different social bonds: The first is the emergence of the community. Create a rain garden in the neighborhood, so that the community concerned with the city's water conservation issues emerged in a real place conducive to promote issues and establish links with neighborhood residents. The second is the establishment of a community. To make an urban farming garden in Taipei, residents who love to grow vegetables will link each other and establish a farming community in the city by this place. The third type is the concatenation of communities. By

creating a place, similar interest communities can be grouped together to share experiences, and different interests can be combined to create a more complete public space. This is an important turning point and new trend in the transformation of the community environment in Taipei City, both for social or physical aspects of space building.

Keywords: collaborative placemaking, co-creation, community building

A Third Way Exploration in Old Community Regeneration:

Practical Experiment in Qinghe Area, Beijing

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Abstract

Along with the rapid urbanization process in China, the focus of urban development has gradually transformed from new area development to old community renewal, especially in the big cities like Beijing. Different from the shanty town redevelopment dominated by the market in the past two decades, with large scale demolition and resettlement as the main characteristics, these old communities, built before 1990, have been for a long term mostly out of the sight of either the State or the market. There emerges a trend that the State has had to return to the community renewal and community governance, because the attempt to transfer responsibility to commercial property management mostly failed since the housing privatization. While it is showed in the pilot projects of old community comprehensive renovation in Beijing that, this kind of livelihood projects from the perspective of engineering and technology with huge public investment are hard to popularize, nor sustainable. With a big data supported social space analysis on the old communities in Beijing central city, with regard to their characteristics including distribution, quantity, building age, building area, residents, housing price, etc., it is revealed that the accumulation area of the old communities has formed a "new poverty belt" surrounding the Old City, facing a serious double dilemma in both spatial and social decline, which calls for an exploration of new type of regeneration road to space renovation together with social revitalization. The paper take the practical experiment of community regeneration in Qinghe area in Haidian District, Beijing, as an example, to demonstrate a third way to the organic regeneration of old communities, through participatory community planning together with community governance , to realized the interactive reproduction of society and space, towards a comprehensive and sustainable development.

Keywords: Old Community Regeneration; Participatory Community Planning; Community Governance; Qinghe Area; Beijing

Making Community Icon to enhance commercial community solidarity and to enhance marketing capability: Case Studies of local idol, Yurudoru, and local character, Gyoranyan

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Abstract

In Japan, community has been fragmented for several decades. The communities in the rural area are decreasing population mainly due to the out-migration, thus losing its social stability. The communities in the city area lacks social solidarity since they are relatively new and people living in these communities do not associate themselves like in rural area. Accordingly, communities in both rural area and city area need to enhance their identity in order to strengthen their social stability and solidarity.

The problem is that it is not so easy to enhance community identity, especially when there is not a strong identity to begin with. This is often a case for community in city area. One of the recent attempts to enhance their identity is making local character, often called Yuru-Character. There is also new attempt of making local idol to accomplish the same objective.

The author, with help from his students, has created local character of Gyoran Commercial District, a district that is close to the university where author teaches. This local character was created through the neighborhood competition. The author and students have created several related goods like stationaries, stickers and so on. The commercial district also sponsored to make flags and fans (uchiwa). Students have issued local papers that include cartoon of this character. The papers have been distributed to local schools, and the character is gradually becoming popular among students.

The author has also organized local idol group in order to support local communities. The idol group have recorded and published CD. They have been performing at local festival for the purpose of attracting people.

The author would like to discuss the quantitative effects as well as qualitative effects of these two social experiments.

Keywords: Yuru-character, Community Icon, Community Design

Background of Study

1. Emergence of the need for community enhancement

In Japan, community has been fragmented for several decades. The communities in the rural area are decreasing population mainly due to the out-migration, thus losing its social stability. Some rural communities have ceased conducting their traditional festivals due to the lack of young people.

The communities in the city area do not have the problem like rural are, however lacks social solidarity since they are relatively new and people living in these communities do not associate themselves like in rural area. Accordingly, communities in both rural area and city area need to enhance their identity in order to strengthen their social stability and solidarity.

The problem is that it is not so easy to enhance community identity, especially when there is not a strong identity to begin with. This is often a case for community in city area. One of the recent attempts to enhance their identity is making local character, often called Yuru-Character. There is also new attempt of making local idol to accomplish the same objective.

2. A Boom of Yurukyara (Yuru Character or Loose Character)

Yurukyara, which is an abbreviation for Yurui Character (Loose Character), has become a boom for many local municipalities or local communities, or even for corporation in Japan. Its history is relatively new.

The definition of Yuru Character is that it should have following three criteria (Jun Miura; the founder of Yuru Character).

1. It possesses a strong message of love to the community.
2. It should not be handsome and should be unique.
3. It needs to contain “loose” character that is loved by many people.

Jun Miura, an illustrator and columnist, has made the word “Yuru-Character” in 2004 and he owns the copyright. Miura has found that there are odd local characters made mostly by local municipalities or local tourist bureaus for promotional intentions. Miura thought that they are

funny and worth investigation. He began to write column in weekly magazine “Spa weekly” introducing a “Yuru-Character” from all over Japan. His column gained attention and “Yuru-Character” become a boom. One of the famous “Yuru-Character” at the dawn of boom was “Hikonyan.”

“Hikonyan” was made in 2007 as a promotional character for 400th anniversary of Hikone Castle, a national treasure. Currently, the two most popular Yuru-Characters are “Kumamon” and “Funasshi.”



Figure 1. Hikonyan

“Kumamon” was made in March, 2011 to celebrate the opening of bullet train to Kumamoto. It has been popular until today. It is one of the most famous “Yuru-Character” at present (December 2014).



Figure 2. Kumamon

Debut of “Funassi” was by Twitter in November 2011. It was intended to promote Pear of Funabashi City by individual. It is not recognized officially by city of Funabashi. However, it is now nationally famous.



Figure 3. Funasshi

3. A Boom of Local Idol

Local Idol has been a boom as well.

ここ数年、日本ではご当地アイドルがブームである。

Local Idol can be recognized as an idol group that mainly performs in certain geographically limited areas. Their objective is to revitalize

ご当地アイドルとは、特定の地域を基盤として活動するアイドル(ローカルアイドル)

のなかでも、特にその地域性を打ち出した活動を展開しているアイドルのことをいう。

その目的は、地元の活性化のためや、全国区・メジャー進出のための土台づくりなど

様々だが、その波は全国各地に広がっている。

仲川秀樹の著書によると、第一次地方アイドルブームは2002年、第二次ブームは2004年夏である。（仲川秀樹『メディア文化の街とアイドル 酒田中町商店街「グリーン・ハウス」「SHIP」から中心市街地活性化へ』2005,p.142）

ご当地アイドルブームが訪れた背景について、以下に項目ごとに整理する。

明治学院大学 経済学部 服部ゼミでは、2014年1月から2014年11月まで、『ユルドルSKM（商店街勝手に盛り上げ隊）』というご当地アイドルグループを結成し、全国の商店街をライブ活動で盛り上げることを目的に、主に東京の3つのエリアを中心に活動した。

本調査では、筆者自らがリーダーとして活動した『ユルドルSKM』を事例として、また成功事例のアイドルグループを対象に調査を行い、ご当地アイドルが地域にもたらす効果がどの程度あるのかを検証し、ご当地アイドル事業を成功させるために有効な方法を提案することを目的とする。

ご当地アイドルとは、ローカルアイドルと呼ばれる地域密着型のアイドルのなかでも、特に地域性を打ち出した活動を展開しているアイドルのことをいう。特徴は、グループのコンセプトに「地元の活性化」を掲げている場合が多く、グループ名も地域名に関連している場合が多い。一般的には地方で活動するアイドルを指すことが多いが、大都市である東京近郊で地域密着型の活動をするものもご当地アイドルと呼ばれる。

2.2 ご当地アイドルブームの背景

“Idol” is a quite interesting phenomena in Japan. The first time,

2000年代に出現したライブ系アイドルの中でも、地域性を打ち出したご当地アイドルのブームが訪れた背景には、地域社会の変遷が関係していると考えられる。

近年は、行政だけではなく市民グループなどのミクロな人々が地域振興に取り組む事象が数多く見られる。ご当地アイドルによるまちおこしのブームも、そういった背景が関連していると考えられる。その背景を確認するために、日本の戦後60年間の地域社会の変遷を整理する。

まず、戦後の高度経済成長期の状況について整理する。西山八重子は著書の中で、この時期の開発政策についてつぎのように説明している。

戦後の経済復興は、工業化を促す国土開発や工場誘致のための町村合併など、国家主導の開発政策によって推し進められた。（中略）1950年代後半から60年代にかけて三大都市圏に臨海工業地帯が建設され、さらに「1962年、この拠点開発方式を全国に広げる全国総合開発計画が出された。1968年には国民総生産（GNP）が世界第2位となり、驚異的な高度経済成長を達成した。（西山八重子「農村―都市の社会学から地域社会学へ」町村敬志（他）編、『地域社会学の視座と方法』2006,p.32-33）

しかし急激な開発は、経済成長の代償ともいえるさまざまな弊害を地域社会にもたらした。西山は同書でつぎのように説明している。

投資効率を優先させた都市の急激な工業化は、深刻な自然破壊、大気汚染や地盤沈下、騒音などあらゆる種類の公害を引き起こし、すでに1950年代には水俣病をはじめ四大公害事件が社会問題化した。（中略）大都市周辺では、農地が虫食い状に住宅団地となり、団地開発のもたらす環境破壊や社会資本未整備は、地方自治体の行財政に大きな負担となった。そして農村では、都市への人口移動が農村社会の解体と農業の衰退をもたらし、過疎問題が深刻となったのである。（西山八重子 前掲書 p.33）

また戦後は、制度として地方自治や住民自治を進めるような動きが生じた。中澤秀雄は著書の中で、つぎのように説明している。「戦後の改革と地方自治法によって、地方公共団体に団体自治が付与されると同時に、住民自治の考え方やリコールなどの制度も盛り込まれた。」（中澤秀雄「地域社会の自治と再創造」町村敬志（他）編、『地域社会学の視座と方法』2006,p.157）

そして、このような背景で生まれたのが住民運動である。中澤は、「1960年代後半以降、開発による地域社会の変容に見舞われた農漁村を中心に各地で住民運動が生じた。」（中澤秀雄 前掲書 p.158）と説明している。

つまり、1960年代後半以降には、急激な地域開発により生じた問題を契機として、住民が主体的な活動を実行して地域社会のあり方を問う動きが生まれたのである。

1970年代は、それまでとは一変して地方分散の動きが広まった時代であった。「地方の時代」ともいわれるこの時代の政策について、木下斉・広瀬郁は著書の中でつぎのように説明している。

1970年代に入ると当時の首相、田中角栄が「日本列島改造論」を提唱する。潤沢になった日本人の所得再配分、つまり税金の使い道を地方に向ける政策の始まりとなる。都市インフラ整備の主軸が1960年代までの首都圏中心から地方都市に移行し、高速道を含む道路網、新幹線を含む鉄道網の整備が急速に進んだ。（木下斉・広瀬郁『まちづくり：デッドライン 生きる場所を守り抜くための教科書』2013,p.53）

「地方の時代」は一時流行語にもなったが、その後大きな進展はなく、地方から都市部への人口流入は激しくなる一方であった。地方と都市の格差は是正されないまま、バブル経済期へと移行していく。

1980年代から1990年代は、バブル経済とその崩壊の時代であった。1985年のプラザ合意後の円高不況に対する日銀の公定歩合引き下げなどの金融政策により、土地や株式等の資産価値が上昇した。やがて、1989年に株価と地価の調整のために行われた金融引き締め政策により、土地や株式等の資産価値が50%以上下落し、バブル経済は崩壊した。（政治経済教育研究会編『政治・経済用語集』2009,p.131）

一方、以上のような流れの中で、全国各地で地方の衰退が深刻化し、さまざまな問題を引き起こしている。ここでは、その中でも人口の減少問題と地域間格差問題に焦点をあてて説明する。

まず、人口減少問題について整理する。近年、全国各地で人口減少による市町村の過疎化が進行している。全国過疎地域自立促進連盟のデータによると、2014年4月時点の過疎市町村数の合計は797であり、その数は全市町村数の46%を占める。

(<http://www.kaso-net.or.jp/index.htm>)

服部圭郎は著書の中で、過疎地域についてつぎのように説明している。

人口減少地域を過疎地域という言葉で表したのは、1966年の経済審議会の地域部会中間報告である。そこでは、過疎を「人口減少のために一定の生活水準を維持することが困難になった状態」と定義した。1970年にはその問題に対応するために過疎地域対策緊急措置法を既に制定している。（服部圭郎『縮小時代における都市と地域の未来展望』2015）

また、1960年代から顕在化していた人口減少問題が、近年で改めてクローズアップされている理由について、服部はそれがより広範囲に及んでいることを挙げている。服部は、1990年から2010年までの人口増減率によって分類された自治体数の割合のグラフ（図3）を示した上でつぎのように説明している。

最近になればなるほど、人口が減少する自治体数が増えており、かつその減少率が高い自治体も増えている。人口が減少している自治体は全体の76%を占める。4分の3以上の自治体が人口減少を経験しているのである。

前述したように、人口減少というのは決して新しい問題ではない。「過疎」という言葉は1966年から使われるようになってきている。ただし、当時はこれは極めて局地的な問題であった。

現在は、多くの自治体が人口は減少していくという将来を想定しながら運営をすることを余儀なくされている。（服部圭郎 前掲書）

つぎに東京一極集中の問題について整理する。図4は、1954年から2011年の三大都市圏（東京圏・名古屋圏・関西圏）とそれ以外の地方圏の転入超過数のグラフである。ただし、沖縄県は返還される1972年以前のデータが存在しないため、除外している。転入超過数とは、転入数から転出数を差し引いた数値である。

このグラフから、戦後の高度経済成長期に地方圏から三大都市圏に急激に人口が流れ込んだことは明らかである。さらに1980年代から1990年代初頭、そして2000年代にも、高度経済成長期よりゆるやかではあるが東京への人口流入が起こっている。

さらに、服部は「東京圏や大阪圏への流出人口は、1960年代に比べるとはるかに少なくなった。しかし、それによって生じた地域間格差はさらに広がっている状況にある。」（服部圭郎 前掲書）と説明している。服部はその状況を、都道府県別人口のジニ係数のグラフ（図5）を示した上でつぎのように説明している。

ジニ係数は主に社会における所得分配の不平等さを測る指標ではあるが、ここでは日本における人口の偏在性を測るために用いている。すなわち、一般的なジニ係数

ご当地アイドルは、2013年上半期に放送されたNHKの連続テレビ小説『あまちゃん』により、国民に広く知れ渡るようになる。東北地方を舞台に、16歳の少女が海女となり、また思いがけないことから地元のアイドルとなる姿が描かれたストーリーは好評を博し、主人公が驚いたときに発する「じぇじぇじぇ」は、その年の「新語・流行語大賞」にも選ばれた。『あまちゃん』には、ご当地アイドルを集めたプロジェクトという設定のアイドルグループ『GMT』が登場する。また、それにちなんでNHKは2013年夏に「全国『あまちゃん』マップ！あなたの町おこしキャンペーン」を展開し、視聴者から寄せられた地域の名所や名物などをwebサイト・放送で全国に伝えた。その際に「地元サポーター」として、47都道府県それぞれの代表のご当地アイドルが選ばれ、リポーターとして活躍した。（<http://www.nhk-ondemand.jp/program/P201300113500000/>）

『あまちゃん』の放映や、それから派生した企画は、一部のアイドルファンだけではなく、国民に広くご当地アイドルの存在を知らしめたと考えられる。

2.3 ご当地アイドルの紹介

2014年現在活動中のご当地アイドルを以下にいくつか紹介する。なお、説明文は各アイドルのホームページから引用した。

(1)とちおとめ25

栃木県のご当地アイドルグループ。2010年に結成、上海万博のステージでデビューを果たした。グループ名は、栃木の農産物を代表する収穫量日本一のいちご「とちおとめ」に、夏でも食べられるよう開発された「なつおとめ」の品種番号「栃木25号」をかけあわせたもの。栃木の農産品や魅力をプロモーションするユニット。2011年「U.M.U. AWARD」のファイナリスト。（<http://tochiotome25.com>）

(2)アイくるガールズ

2013年に結成された福島県いわき市を拠点として活動するご当地アイドルグループ。いわき市のまちづくり関連のNPOとライブハウスの経営者らが運営している。いわき市の魅力を全国へ発信し、街・経済の活性化をはかることを目的に活動しており、2014年9月に市が「公認ご当地アイドル」に認定した。2013年、2014年「U.M.U. AWARD」のファイナリスト。（<http://www.iwaki-idol.com>）

(3)水戸ご当地アイドル（仮）

2012年に結成された茨城県水戸市のご当地アイドルグループ。「街を元気に盛り上げて広く発信していこう、地域を全国に発信して元気にしていこう」をモットーに、

モデル業やタレント業など、芸能活動全般を通じて水戸市を盛り上げている。2013年に「U.M.U. AWARD」のグランプリに輝き、水戸市から芸術文化功労賞で表彰された。

(<http://mito-idol.kirara.st>)

(4)LinQ（リンク）

2011年に結成された福岡県福岡市を拠点として活動するご当地アイドルグループ。グループ名は「Love in 九州」の略である。メジャーデビューシングル『チャイムが終われば』がオリコンシングルデイリーランキング2位を記録した。また、NHK連続テレビ小説『あまちゃん』の企画で、同局が展開した「全国『あまちゃん』マップ！あなたの町おこしキャンペーン」で、福岡県の代表ご当地アイドルに選出された。

(<http://loveinq.com>)

(5)ひめキュンフルーツ缶

2010年に結成された愛媛県のご当地アイドルグループ。2011年に発売したデビューシングル『恋愛エネルギー保存の法則』がオリコンインディーズチャート1位を記録した。地元根深く根付いており、地元の新聞社がバックアップをとるほか、地元の商店街や地下街が「ひめキュン応援団」として協力体制を敷いている。

(<http://himekyun.jp/pc/>)

(6)はちきんガールズ

2012年に結成された高知県のご当地アイドルグループ。高知の観光名所や特産品をモチーフにしたオリジナル楽曲を持ち、ライブパフォーマンスを通じて高知県のPRを行っている。2010年に高知県から「高知県観光特使」に委嘱される。2014年「U.M.U. AWARD」のファイナリスト。 (<http://www.cielo-club.com/hachikin-girls/>)

Gyoran Laboratory

Meijigakuin University where I teach is located in Minato-Ward, Tokyo. Minato-Ward is municipality of 232, 786 people. Its density is 114 per hectare.

1. Gyoranyan (Yuru-kyara of Gyoranzaka)

In order to provide some opportunities for my students to learn and be engaged in community design projects, I have decided to make a yuru-kyara for Gyoranzaka and also to organize the local idol group as well.

The idea of making a yuru-kyara for Gyoranzaka came up from my former student. I told her that she should make a proposal to Gyoranzaka merchant association. She made the proposal to do a design competition of Gyoranzaka's Yuru-Kyara. The proposal was luckily accepted, and we began to conduct promotional activities. For the promotional activities, students made the propaganda video and posted in the You-Tube¹

We send flyers to elementary schools in the vicinity, and also posted in bulletin board in the neighborhood. We asked them to come up with the idea of Yuru Character with an illustration. There were 87 proposals, and we posted on the board in December 23 and 24, during the time of a lottery festival sponsored by local merchant association.

Gyoranyan received the most vote with 40. It was designed by local mom, whose son goes to local elementary school. Gyoranyan is a cat that tried to eat fish and was counterattacked and eaten by fish. However, the cat somehow avoid being digested and lives.

At first, we thought it to be an official Yuru Character of local merchant association, but the association declined our offer. So in order to protect the designer's right, I have registered trademark of Gyoranyan.

¹

Despite the decline of having Gyoranyan as their official Yuru Character, the relation between Gyoranyan and local merchant association has been going quite well. They have sponsored to make a banner with Gyoranyan on it, and also a fan with Gyoranyan design that will be distributed in the local summer festival.

I have used Gyoranyan as a tool for product making practices. The students have produced “Plastic Files,” “Notebook,” and “Stickers.” They sell these products in local festivals, however, it is used mostly for promotional activities.

We have also made “Kigurumi,” a mascot that is human size. This was because in order to enter the competition of Yuru-kyara National Contest, having kigurumi was a must. The students

Gyoranyan has been attending in several neighborhood activities including 1) summer festival sponsored by local merchant association held in July, 2) sport festival in local kinder garden, 3) local meetings of elderly groups, and so on. Gyoranyan has also been in radio talk show, and has been active in SNS, especially Twitter. Gyoranyan also goes to stroll every Friday from 15:00 to 16:00 around the neighborhood.

One of my students had conducted a questionnaire survey to surrounding neighborhood. Out of 119 respondents, 69 (or 58%) knew Gyoranyan, and 81% answered they have a positive image. If you categorize the respondents to age segments, the age group between 10 to 19 knows Gyoranyan more than other age groups (Figure 4).

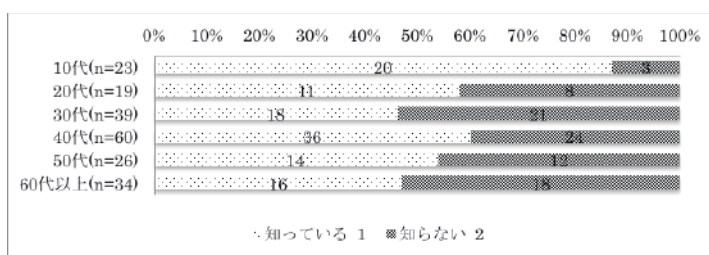


Figure 4.

2. Yurudoru SKM (Local Idol Group)

Yurudoru was, in a sense, a much more ambitious project than Gyoranyan.

Conclusion

Yurudoru project has ended. This is because two of the four members had graduated from the University in March 2015. They are no longer students. However, we still get a request from some local citizen groups or local merchant groups to perform for some festivals now and then. We occasionally respond to their requests and perform with the two remained members, but the quality of performance has been subordinate.

On the other hand, Gyoranyan, the Yuru-kyara of Gyoran-zaka still exists and is cooking. It intends to run for the Yuru-kyara contest that will be held in November 2015. We have set a goal to get top 100 votes. It is a hefty goal, but not impracticable.

ⁱ- Keiro Hattori is a professor in the Faculty of Economics in Meijigakuin University, Tokyo, Japan. He is also a licensed city and regional planner since 2002. He has master degree of City and Regional Planning and Landscape Architecture from University of California at Berkeley. His publication includes “Curitiba, Human Oriented City”(2004, Gakugei-Shuppan, Tokyo), “Wisdom to create Sustainable World” (2006, Kajima-Shuppan, Tokyo), “The Great Sin of Road Policy” (2009, Yousensha), “Town Planning for Teenagers” (2013, Iwanami Shinsho”. He was heavily involved in Cyberjapa Planning Project in Malaysia from 1996 to 1997 as a site planner and urban designer

Creating Vibrant Street Life: A Spatial Character Study of Shopping Streets in Yogyakarta

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Abstract

On April 2018, World Bank mentioned Indonesia as an ‘emerging confident middle-income country’, thanks to the country’s 20-year Development Plan. The stated development plan has four pillars, which one of them being Environmental Friendliness, showing government’s seriousness in sustainability development. Several impacts are seen in in order to realize the plan, such as the establishment of Green City Development Plan in 2015, enforcement of Indonesia’s Standard for Walking Facilities in 2014, and that many cities in Indonesia attempt to be world class cities, including Yogyakarta with its strength in tourism.

However, all the efforts mentioned above faces some obstacles. For example is the one coming from the private sectors that are more focused in developing housing and in promoting more space for cars rather than providing greener environment. In Yogyakarta, the government has actually tried to promote greener lifestyle and environment by fixing the infrastructure of sidewalks in the hope that the citizens would be encouraged to walk more. Sadly the effort seems to be futile since no significant change in people’s awareness to occupy the street. This phenomenon happens might be because the focus of the development is too technical on infrastructure rather than on how to humanize the street. The spatial layout of the street is often overlooked, hence it becomes less and less attractive to people.

When we observe Piazza Navona, one of Rome’s vibrant streets, it is not created by merely providing good pedestrian infrastructure, but more to the ambience and social interactions created by the streets. In Yogyakarta, there are two shopping streets, known as Malioboro and *Jalan Solo*, which are very vibrant and famous as attraction for both locals and tourists. The aim of this study is to find out the specific spatial character that makes the two shopping streets so vibrant despite the fact that Yogyakarta is not pedestrian-friendly city. Field observation is conducted to get spatial data such as relationship between the place and the user, parking space configuration, the stores frontage, and the street facilities. The result of the research is the compiled and might become a guideline to promote more vibrant streets in Yogyakarta.

Keywords: shopping street, livable street, spatial layout.

Impact Evaluation of Alley Revitalization Project in Yangon and Investigation of Potential as Urban Commons

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Abstract

This study evaluates the impact brought by an on-going place-making project to revitalize underutilized back alleys called Back Drainage Space in Yangon, Myanmar, initiated by a social enterprise / NPO *Doh Eain*. Based on a series of field surveys and a stakeholder workshop, the authors attempted to grasp the historical background, current condition, community profile, project participation and residents' preferences related to use and management. The objective of the surveys is to consider the potential of the alleys as urban commons and their role in the face of urban renewal of Yangon. The findings revealed that the project brought positive impacts to the community although the level of participation by the community was low, and it also brought attention to some existing urban safety issues to be considered. This research assessed the project using five DAC evaluation criteria of relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability, and the results indicated sustainability as a key area to be developed in the future.

Keywords: Alley revitalization, Yangon, Back Drainage Space, Stakeholders, Urban renewal,

Background & Objective

Yangon is going through rapid urbanization since the country's democratization in 2012 and experiencing typical problems such as traffic congestion and lack of housing caused by a growing urban population, as an increasing number of new development projects with large scale commercial buildings and high-rise condominiums are springing up in the city. While the city government is busy trying to provide better solutions for transportation and housing issues to serve the public good, other important amenities such as providing sufficient public space for the people has not yet realized. There have been a few events or attempts to create public space temporarily initiated by foreign organizations such as Flyover Art Project

implemented as a part of a city festival, co-organized by the Institut Francais de Birmanie and Yangon Regional Government in 2016 (“Flyover Art Project,” 2016).

This paper introduces an on-going place-making activity initiated by a social enterprise / NPO *Doh Eain*, which attempts to revitalize existing alleyways or so-called Back Drainage Space (BDS) into a space for the community, employing a participatory process developed along the way. The aim of this study is to understand the historical background, current conditions and existing issues in order to evaluate the impact brought by the project to the community, and to consider ways in which BDS can be utilized as urban commons in the future.

Methodology

This research is based on a series of field surveys conducted between 2016 and 2018. Due to a lack of official records or documentation to comprehend the historical background of BDS, the authors began by conducting semi-structured interviews with residents in the Central Business District (CBD). Based on the findings, some issues were selected as themes for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), such as intended use and management of the space, in order to get a deeper understanding of the subject as well as people’s perception and desires regarding BDS. In addition to the qualitative research, household surveys were conducted in areas where projects were implemented to measure the project’s impacts to obtain quantitative data of target communities, along with ocular surveys. While the interviews and FGDs were conducted with residents and ward officers who were actively engaged with the activities, as they were selected by the ward officer or members of the community, household surveys were conducted with randomly selected residents including those residents not actively engaged or having no interest in the project. This allowed for diverse views and perspectives on BDS and the project. Ocular surveys of two BDSs with all buildings facing the BDS were conducted to grasp the physical conditions of the built environment such as the number of stories and units, building period and condition of the means to access to the BDS.

The survey questions are categorized into five themes: history, current conditions, community profile, project participation and preference on use and management and based on the findings, the project was evaluated using DAC evaluation criteria. The result of the evaluation was presented at a stakeholder workshop organized by the authors in collaboration with the community and city government to share ideas and issues and discuss challenges and resolutions together. This paper compiled the findings from the aforementioned four surveys, evaluation and a stakeholder workshop conducted to comprehend the current project condition, considering the way forward for revitalizing the alleys to be used as urban commons in Yangon.

About the Alley and the Project: Process of Place-Making in Case of Yangon

BDS is a five-meter wide alley in the back of buildings with drainage and an underground sewage system designed and implemented by the British planners during the colonial period. It was created as a countermeasure to protect the city from disasters such as flood and fire and to keep the city sanitary by providing sufficient light and air ventilation. The alley once served the community but over the years it became unused and finally access to the alley was closed by the authorities in the 1980s. Nearly three decades have passed with the alleys unused; changes have been brought by the democratization of the nation and in 2014, Yangon City Development Committee (YCDC), the city government, started a clean-up effort.

The alleyways became target of social experimentation when the *Alley Garden Project* was implemented by *Doh Eain* together with community members and authorities in the CBD, during 2017 and 2018. Multiple stakeholders include residents, the ward and township officers, parliamentary members, and representatives from five departments of the YCDC. BDS is under the jurisdiction of YCDC and each one of the five departments in the YCDC has responsibility for specific management tasks regarding BDS as described in Table 1. The project's implementation process was created based on a principle of people's participation which encouraged the formation of a resident committee for project administration and management as well as the participation of the residents in the activities such as meetings and design workshops. The funding structure of the project is a unique model developed by *Doh Eain* with 20% of the total cost of the project implementation provided by residents themselves while the remaining 80% is provided by *Doh Eain*.

Table 1. Responsibility within YCDC Departments for BDS Management

Departments in YCDC	Responsibility
Pollution Control and Cleansing Dept.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collect waste, plan waste management - Supervise and monitor pollution control - Give public awareness for systematic discarding of the waste
Engineering Dept. (Water & Sanitation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Manage systematic sewage disposal - Maintain and improve sewage system
Engineering Dept. (Road & Bridge)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construct, extend and repair new back lanes and new trenches - Expand / improve drainage system to be free of flooding
Engineering Dept. (Building)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inspect buildings that are dangerous for the public safety - Solve issues between owner and tenants for dangerous buildings
Administration Dept.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervise in making disciplines for the use of the space

Yangon City Development Committee (2018)

Findings

Findings from questionnaire survey in 2016-2017, household surveys, ocular surveys and FDGs in 2018 are categorized into five themes: historical background, current condition, community profile, project participation and preference on use and management.

Historical Background

A medical doctor named William Montgomerie proposed the original idea for Yangon's city plan when he came to Yangon with British troops in 1852 after having served as a Secretary to a Town Committee in Singapore under Stamford Raffles from 1819 to 1842. Montgomerie proposed a grid plan with wide roads, emphasizing the importance of a proper drainage system since Yangon suffered from frequent floods due to its low-lying nature and introduced BDS to be implemented behind the buildings (Pearn, 1939). There is no documentation found to indicate any linkage between BDS in Yangon and Backlanes in Singapore, shown in Figure 1, but there are some similarities. They were both built behind buildings for sanitation purposes and Montgomerie was involved in the town planning of both cities at that time which makes one speculate about possible adaptation of Backlane from Singapore being introduced as BDS in Yangon (Matsushita, 2018).

A unique streetscape with this orderly "gap" implemented between buildings remains mostly intact in today's Yangon, giving an impression of an old era to visitors. The residents recalled that back in the 1960s and 1970s, BDS was used by the residents as an informal place of social gathering, playground for the children or shortcut passageway to go back and forth between the neighbourhoods as they knew each other like a family. Under the Burma Socialist Programme Party (1962-1988), the Rangoon Municipal Committee, the agency preceding YCDC, took an active role in the management of the

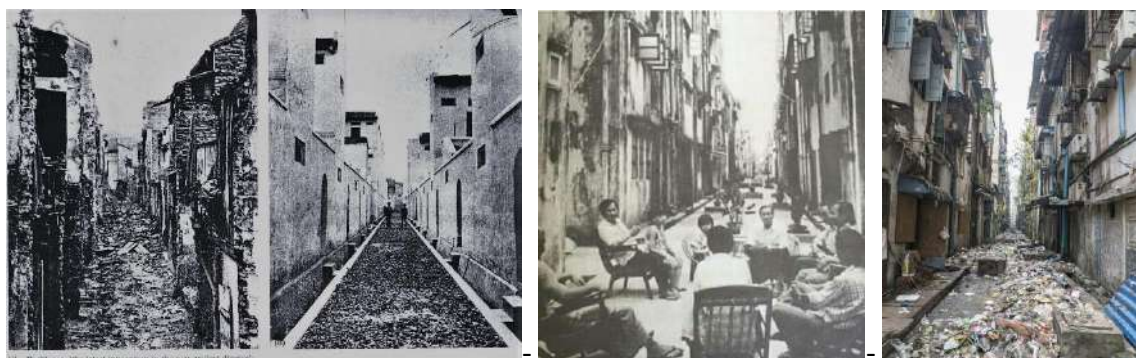


Figure 1. Left: Backlane in Singapore (Yeoh, 2003), Middle: BDS in Yangon in the old days (n.d.), Right: BDS or "Trash Alley" in Yangon today (Doh Eain, 2017)

alleyways by mandating residents to participate in cleaning activities every Saturday and imposing fines for those who did not participate. Thus the alley was kept in good conditions during the 1960s -1970s. However starting in the 1980s, the alley started to get dirty as buildings became taller and population increased, residents started throwing trash into the alley and finally the local authority closed the access to BDS. After the uprising in 1988, the government structure changed and YCDC was established in 1990. The authority stopped mandating the cleaning activity so the residents were to manage cleaning by themselves or by collecting donations to outsource garbage collection and cleaning quarterly or biannually.

Current Conditions: Accessibility, Safety, Security, Density and Ownership

Although many residents thought that BDS became useful after the project, the survey revealed that most residents do not have direct access to BDS from their units, due to a lack of emergency staircases. Old buildings, which are mostly four stories or lower have no rear staircase while most high-rise buildings, typically higher than seven stories, have rear staircases or some means of egress but are unused due to deterioration or misuse. For ground floor access, most ground floor units have back doors but these are often closed or unused. Deteriorated staircases and broken building parts and drainage pipes are posing health and safety hazards to the residents and users of BDS; these parts need to be repaired.

The survey also revealed that most buildings are owned by multiple owners and neighbourhoods with new high-rise buildings are denser, approximately 1.5 times more populated compared to neighbourhoods with old buildings.

Even though the residents and authorities recognize safety risks due to deterioration, there is a big challenge to solve this situation because of 1) lack of finances to pay for the high cost of repairs or to install new staircases by the owners and 2) a difficulty in getting consensus among the stakeholders as there are many owners of different units of a single building. Moreover, even though many of the existing buildings are non-conforming



Figure 2. Current condition of buildings facing BDS. From left: Access from the ground floor; Privatized condition of emergency staircase space; staircase in poor condition; ladder attached on the exterior wall in lieu of proper staircase (Matsushita, 2016-18)

buildings, regulations are not strong enough to mandate that residents repair staircases in bad condition. Therefore it can be said that the old, deteriorated structures and complicated ownership patterns of buildings may hinder the changes necessary for BDS to be used safely as urban commons.

Regarding security, most people feel safer after the project but some security measures need to be considered if the usage of BDS increases and if it becomes open to the public. Security countermeasures suggested or practiced by the residents include: 1) hiring of a security guard; 2) installing CCTV camera; or 3) assigning a resident volunteer as a guard. The third option seems to be most sustainable if the community could organize such arrangement as the other two options require the community to share the costs which could be difficult.

Community Profile

The existing community is relatively close, participating in community activities such as donations, religious events, or regular house-keeping activities. An existing community organization called the Social Welfare Group (Lan Tar Yar Yay in Burmese) was identified which is a group of active residents who work voluntarily for the welfare of the community, taking care of daily issues concerning the community; they turned out to be the active participants of the project.

Project Participation

Most residents recognize that the project brought positive change in perception and encouraged more communication among stakeholders such as residents and authorities at different levels. However, despite the positive change, the participation rate was low. The majority of participants turned out to be either members of the existing community group, Social Welfare Group, or ground floor residents who are directly affected by the changes brought by the project. Moreover, most residents were not aware of *Doh Eain* or did not know about the project mechanism.

Preference on Use and Management

The majority of residents think there is not enough open space in their neighbourhood and feel the need for more open space. The CBD especially lacks playgrounds for children and many residents mentioned that BDS can be used as children's playgrounds. 66% of the

residents think BDS can be open to public, literally opening the gate to allow pedestrians to come into the alley, however 74% think there should not be any business such as tea shops.

An interesting observation was made in one of the project alleys. A teashop had been operating in the alley for twenty years informally before the implementation of the project. It was managed by the ward officer who ran it by its own rules to rent out the space for businesses like a teashop or small retail shops and used the collected rental fee to maintain the alley. This self-governing mechanism worked well as the business owner not only provided funding for the alley maintenance but at the same time played a role of a security guard as he could check any intruders entering the alley. Some of the residents of this specific alley seemed to be content with this arrangement for the abovementioned reasons, as finding a source of income to take care of the maintenance and security issues is a major concern expressed by most residents in regards to using the alleys. However, after the stakeholder workshop with the residents and YCDC, some members of YCDC expressed discontent with having businesses like tea shops to be operated in the alley. When the residents were asked who they think is responsible for the management of BDS, the majority answered that residents themselves are responsible followed by ward and YCDC which owns the property. This indicated a positive sign that the residents are not so passive but considering this place-making activity as a good opportunity for them to improve the existing conditions.

Summary of Survey Findings

In summary, the study revealed that the project brought positive impact by revitalizing an underutilized alley into a space for the community. The project increased the BDS usage from nearly zero to 50 %, improved the perception of BDS and encouraged communication among different stakeholders through the project. On the other hand, the participation level was low due to a limited number of interested persons who are mainly the direct beneficiaries living on the ground floor or committee members who were already active before the project. Importantly, the project brought attention to an existing urban safety issue which is a lack of emergency access for most residents of the CBD due to a lack of proper maintenance and / or strong law enforcement to regulate repairs.

Project Impact Evaluation

Using five criteria for evaluating development assistance as a guide, the authors analysed the survey findings and evaluated the project, with rating from low, medium, and high to understand areas of strength and weakness. The five criteria are relevance, effectiveness,

efficiency, impact and sustainability, according to OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC Criteria, n.d.).

Table 2. Project evaluation using DAC evaluation criteria

Criteria	Evaluation	Rate
Relevance	Matching the Needs and Direction: - Unsanitary condition of BDS has been a big issue for a long time - More open space for the people is needed - Clean-up efforts were started by YCDC and residents before the project	High
Effectiveness	Participation level: - Participation level was low or limited to certain groups of people	Low
Efficiency	- Stakeholders including YCDC, MP, ward, residents and Doh Eain worked in collaboration - The existing "Street Welfare Group" became the main actor for the project - Inter-community networking and knowledge-sharing has started - Still learning phase for all stakeholders	Med
Impact	- Increased the use of the alley from zero to 50% - Promoted communication among the stakeholders - Brought positive perception & action - Brought attention to existing safety and issues	High
Sustainability	- Some alleys started community regular clean up activity - Low and / or limited participation of the residents - Lack of accessibility - Need for funding for maintenance & repair	Low

In summary, the project was highly rated for its relevance and impact as the activity matched the needs of the residents and supported the direction the city is taking, and resulted in positive impacts as described earlier. On the other hand, effectiveness and sustainability were rated as low due to low / limited participation rate, lack of accessibility and unresolved issues to improve the safety and security of the alley. Efficiency was rated as medium, as the project is still in its developmental phase and searching to find an implementation method that best suits the local context, good practices to exchange experiences and share knowledge that has started to occur among the communities. The existing community group contributed greatly to the project realization including the facilitation among multi-stakeholders.

Stakeholder Workshop: Discussion from the Tables

A stakeholder workshop was conducted to exchange ideas and discuss issues together among the stakeholders based on the above findings. After sharing good practices and common

issues, each table selected one problem to generate ideas for solution in four categories: space-oriented, action-oriented, product-oriented and policy-oriented, summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Problems, Issues and Ideas for solutions

Problems	Issues	Ideas for solution
How to encourage <u>more participation</u>?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tenants, often hostel dwellers are not participating - some residents are too busy to participate due to business - project operation is not transparent for all the residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promote awareness by sending official announcement to the residents - inform using news media and radio - Health Department to provide information about healthy living - paint a chessboard on the floor to attract the elderlies - create a team
How to fix <u>poor sewage and drainage pipe</u>?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tenants, often hostel dwellers are not cooperative in terms of contributing donation for repair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - collect money from each household to use to repair drainage & sewage system - develop a mobile application so that house owner can easily find information about repair and cost
How to improve <u>safety & security</u>?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no law and regulation for a lack of emergency staircase 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Install CCTV cameras for security - Install ladder for emergency as an alternative solution - Street Welfare Committee should take responsibility for security - submit repair proposal to YCDC
How to realize <u>long-term maintenance</u>?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - collect fee by renting the space - make rules for having business like requiring permission, fee, and cleaning - open a flea market to sell goods collected from household and make community's collective fund - get experts' help to educate people - establish a public library for education and collect fund from it
How to solve <u>problems of trash throwing</u>?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - some residents still keep throwing trash during the night or before upgrading - lack of discipline - lack of knowledge about plastic garbage - a plan of collecting garbage from upper floors failed due to problems among residents, being afraid to enter / be entered, bad timing, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - trash pick-up from front of the houses - put better garbage collecting system, rotation system by residents - promote trash separation system - sell recyclable materials - wire-net kitchen windows (but not allowed due to fire hazard) - residents to remind each other to have discipline - broadcast awareness practice - need effective punishment - install CCTV cameras - hold stakeholder meetings regularly

		- loosen law to allow for activities by charity organizations
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Can installing CCTV cameras solve problems?

Installation of CCTV cameras was often mentioned during the discussion as a solution for security and surveillance as it can deter some residents from throwing trash into the alley. However some group pointed out that installing CCTV is not so effective because there is no strong law enforcement such as fines to accompany even if some misconduct is recorded. The recording also may not be always reliable due to an unstable supply of electricity and the cost of purchasing and maintaining the equipment may not be affordable. The community may need to consider an alternative such as arranging for a person to act as a security guard for the community.

What can we do in the ally? – Do's and Don'ts

The rules about use of the alleys is still unclear, whether income-generating activities are allowed or not, and if allowed, whether there should be a guideline to indicate which type of activities are allowed and how such rules may be decided, by whom, etc. At present, there is a tendency that the residents and YCDC are in favour of having certain types of activities such as a library and generate income somehow, but not in favour of other types such as teashop. As income generation within the community is important considering the need to maintain the alley in order to use it safely and comfortably, a rule for the use should be discussed carefully considering all aspects.

Conclusions

The findings from the four surveys, evaluation and a stakeholder workshop brought a better understanding about BDS in considering the way forward for revitalizing the alleys to be used as urban commons in the future. A roadmap towards sustainable management of BDS (Figure 3) was derived as a conclusion, showing five components that are essential in achieving sustainability that are; awareness & transparency, funding, law enforcement, rules & regulations and participation. In order to meet the participation criteria, accessibility must be secured for which basic needs of sanitation, security and safety shall be satisfied.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the residents, local authorities, volunteers and Doh Eain for their support and cooperation in this study. The field study was made possible by the opportunity provided by the SATREPS program supported by JST and JICA.

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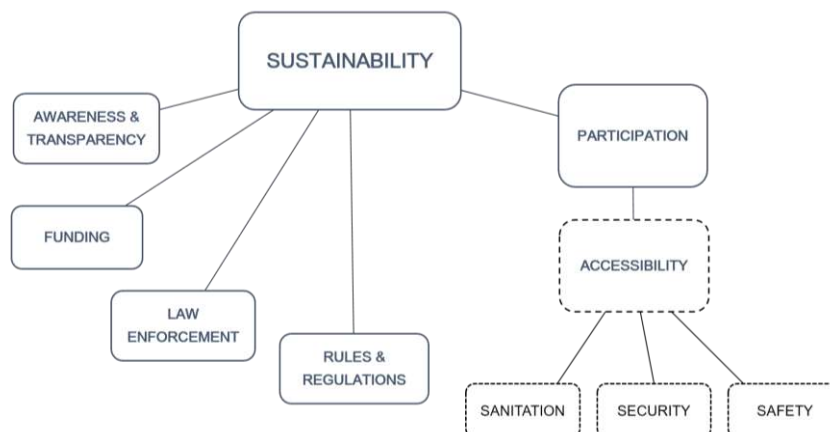


Figure 3. Roadmap towards sustainable management of BDS

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‘We Care for Our RPTRA’: Children’s Views and Expectations of Child-Friendly Integrated Public Space (RPTRA) Parks

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Abstract

Small public urban parks, called child-friendly integrated public spaces (RPTRA) have been extensively built in densely populated areas in Jakarta. RPTRA parks are an essential place for children to make friends, spending time with families, playing and learning. For a more sustainable development of small public urban parks in the future, the decision making of small public urban parks should engage children as participants in the planning and design process. However, documentation or studies related to children’s participation in the planning and design process of RPTRA parks were not available. Furthermore, studies of how children were involved in the post-occupation evaluation of RPTRA parks were also limited. To fill this gap, we have been working with 201 children from ten RPTRA parks in a project called ‘We care for our RPTRA’. This paper presents two models of children’s participation: children’s audits of existing RPTRA parks and their planning for future small public urban parks. This study resulted in a set of child-based themes of more satisfying small public urban parks’ quality. It is expected that this study will contribute to the future development of small public urban parks that are more sustainable, meaningful and responsive to children’s needs and to improve the quality of existing RPTRA parks that will be cared for and loved by children.

Keywords: Small public urban park, Child-friendly Integrated Public Space (RPTRA), participation, planning and design process, children

Introduction

The child-friendly integrated public spaces—RPTRA (*Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak*)—are small public urban parks that are built in densely populated areas. They aim to provide a place that integrates various public functions and activities, such as playing and learning for children, social interaction for citizens, family consultations and information centres, evacuation areas and economic activity spaces managed by Family Welfare Movement (PKK) groups. RPTRA was one of the programs initiated by the former governor, Basuki Tjahaja

Purnama and was regulated through the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government Regulation No. 196/2015. As of October 2018, the City Government has already developed about 293 RPTRA¹ in Jakarta. The rapid development of RPTRA, since its launch about three years ago, was made possible by funds from the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) allocation of private sector companies and the City Government. According to Jakarta Deputy Governor Sandiaga Uno, the city administration has planned and allocated funds in the city's draft of Medium-Term Development Plan 2018-2022 to build 105 new small urban parks, called *Taman Maju Bersama* (Move Forward Together Park).² In general, the functions of *Taman Maju Bersama* and RPTRA are similar. The differences are in the involvement of citizens in designing park activities and managing parks. By developing *Taman Maju Bersama*, the city administration discontinues the development of RPTRA.³

RPTRA parks are an essential place for children to make friends, spending time with families, playing and learning. A study by Aji, Budiyaniti, and Djaja (2017) at three parks in West Jakarta (RPTRA Kembangan Utara, RPTRA Kembangan Selatan and RPTRA Meruya Utara) found that the main reasons for children to use RPTRA are for recreation (play), education and sports. The reasons for children using RPTRA were the availability of facilities, easy access to RPTRA and the role of parents. Another study by Faedlulloh, Prasetyanti, and Indrawati (2017) at two RPTRA parks in North Jakarta (RPTRA Sungai Bambu and RPTRA Sunter Jaya Berseri) found that both RPTRA parks served as a place for citizen's social interactions and citizen's actualisation. Their study also found that both parks were managed and controlled together in the public interest, open for all without any exception and were a relatively free space to be used by anyone.

Our studies at ten RPTRA parks in Jakarta (Prakoso and Dewi 2017, 2018) found that RPTRA parks were not only a place for children to play and socialise but also a place to learn and exercise, to read, to rest and to restore. For adults, RPTRA were a place to accompany their children. Our study also revealed that children had developed a sense of attachment to RPTRA, adults showed a high satisfaction towards RPTRA and RPTRA had become one of the children's favourite places. Children in our study demonstrated a positive attitude towards RPTRA and were joyful and happy while being at RPTRA. Children also displayed repetitive movement between an RPTRA and home, and children considered RPTRA as a safe and secure place to be.

¹Data was derived from *map* RPTRA <https://awesome-table.com/-KFXDw0drjPvQ8scxrbC/view> accessed date 9 October 2018.

² Data was derived from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180410134747-32-289676/anies-sandi-target-bangun-21-taman-maju-bersama-tahun-ini> accessed date 5 June 2018.

³ Data was derived from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/04/04/city-to-buildtaman-maju-bersama-stop-rptra-development.html> accessed date 9 October 2018.

Although several studies have considered RPTRA parks as valuable assets in the everyday lives of children and citizens (Aji, Budiyaniti, and Djaja 2017, Faedlulloh, Prasetyanti, and Indrawati 2017, Prakoso and Dewi 2017, 2018), Utami, Mugnisjah, and Munandar's study (2016) at five RPTRA parks in Jakarta (RPTRA Taman Kenanga, RPTRA Bahari, RPTRA Kembangan Utara, RPTRA Sungai Bambu dan RPTRA Cililitan) discovered that RPTRA had not optimally contributed as a child-friendly urban park and had not fully promoted child-friendly activities (active space, individual space, ecological space and cultural space). Studies also showed that the development of RPTRA parks had not engaged citizens (Faedlulloh, Prasetyanti, and Indrawati 2017) and the management of RPTRA parks had not fully benefited their users (Utami, Mugnisjah, and Munandar 2016).

For a more sustainable development of small public urban parks in the future, the decision making of small public urban parks should engage children as participants in the planning and design process. Children as active citizens should be given opportunities to not only participate in planning but also in monitoring the process of any child-friendly project. Furthermore, they should be given opportunities to become the agents for positive, sustainable change of our built environment (Malone 2017). Additionally, children's participation in planning and monitoring processes could serve as the main indicator of progress on how a city can implement child-friendly initiatives (Malone 2017). Engaging children and adolescents as participants in assessing, planning, designing, monitoring and managing urban environments have been demonstrated in various cases of urban environment and space improvements. For example, see Alparone and Rissotto (2001), Rismanchian and Rismanchian (2007), Ghaziani (2008), Green (2012), Derr et al. (2013), Derr (2015) and Atmodiwirjo and Yatmo (2017).

To support sustainable development goals in a child-friendly project like RPTRA parks, we worked closely with children as the principal and active users of RPTRA parks. Documentation or studies related to children's participation in the planning and design process of RPTRA parks were not available. Furthermore, studies of how children were involved in the post-occupation evaluation of RPTRA parks were also limited. To fill such gaps, we worked with 201 children from ten RPTRA parks in a project called 'We care for our RPTRA'. The objectives of this project were to engage children as participants in the process of post-occupation evaluation of RPTRA parks and to listen to the voice of children in developing a more satisfying small public urban park in the future.

This paper presents two models of children's participation: children's audits of existing RPTRA parks and children's planning for future small public urban parks. This study resulted in a set of child-based themes of more satisfying small public urban parks. It is expected that the result of this study could contribute to the future development of small public urban parks

that are more sustainable, meaningful and responsive to children's needs and to improve the quality of existing RPTRA parks that will be cared for and loved by children.

Case Studies: Ten RPTRA parks

This study chose ten RPTRA parks, located and distributed in five municipal districts in Jakarta (see Figure 1 and Table 1). The RPTRA parks were selected because citizens and children had used them for more than one year. The length of time that RPTRA parks were used was the primary consideration for their selection, since the length of time was one of the reported predictors of a positive relationship in the development of children's sense of place (Jack 2012, Mathews 2003) and place attachment in general (Lewicka 2011).



Figure 1. Location of selected RPTRA parks

Table 1. List of selected RPTRA parks

No	RPTRA	Part of Sub District	Sub District	District	Area (m ²)	Inauguration date
1	Sungai Bambu	Sungai Bambu	Tanjung Priok	North Jakarta	±3838	May 13, 2015
2	Bahari	Gandaria Selatan	Cilandak	South Jakarta	±770	May 21, 2015
3	Taman Kenanga	Cideng	Gambir	Central Jakarta	±2084	May 30, 2015

No	RPTRA	Part of Sub District	Sub District	District	Area (m ²)	Inauguration date
4	Kembangan	Kembangan Utara	Kembangan	West Jakarta	±3250	June 10, 2015
5	Cililitan	Cililitan	Kramatjati	East Jakarta	±2642	October 22, 2015
6	Sunter Jaya Berseri	Sunter Jaya	Tanjung Priok	North Jakarta	±3513	December 18, 2015
7	Pulogebang Indah	Pulo Gebang	Cakung	East Jakarta	±3642	December 23, 2015
8	Meruya Utara	Meruya Utara	Kembangan	West Jakarta	±4994	December 29, 2015
9	Karet Tengsin	Karet Tengsin	Tanah Abang	Central Jakarta	±654	December 30, 2015
10	Bintaro Permai	Bintaro	Pesanggrahan	South Jakarta	±540	December 30, 2015

The ten RPTRA parks were observed and audited using the Community Park Audit Tool (CPAT) adapted from Kaczynski, Stanis and Besenyi (2012). The results can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. RPTR park audit results

Aspects	Parks information
Access and surrounding neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All parks can be accessed for use easily. 2. All parks have names, rules, event/program information, opening hours and contact information available. 3. All parks have at least one entry (can be locked for safety) and have a physical boundary (fence or wall). 4. No parks have public transit stops within sight. 5. Several parks have an on-street parking area and limited motorcycle parking space. 6. Most parks do not have sidewalks on roads bordering the parks. If there are sidewalks, most are unusable. 7. No external trail and bike routes border the parks. There is no traffic signal on any roads bordering the parks. 8. In general, RPTRA parks are surrounded by a high-density residential area.

Aspects	Parks information
	9. There are no significant signs of vandalism, graffiti, excessive litter, heavy traffic, excessive noise or threatening persons or behaviours.
Park facilities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There are generic outdoor facilities, i.e. soccer field, playground, amphitheatre, jogging trail, foot reflexology path, family herbal plants area (<i>taman obat keluarga</i>) and fish ponds (<i>kolam gizi</i>). 2. There are generic indoor facilities, i.e. multipurpose rooms, small libraries (reading rooms), PKK marts (selling snacks and drinks), nursing rooms, offices, public toilets and toilets for the disabled, hand wash basins, pantries and storage rooms. 3. Most facilities are in good condition and are usable. 4. Outdoor fitness equipment is only found at RPTRA Cililitan. 5. Several parks have additional facilities, such as pre-schools, prayer rooms and the sub-district office.
Park quality and Safety	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All parks are equipped with benches, gazebos, and trash cans. 2. All parks have paved paths or trails. 3. Trees shade approximately 25-50% of a park's area. 4. In general, 25-75% of park areas are lit. 5. There are no emergency devices in the parks. 6. From the centre of the park, the surrounding neighbourhood is partially visible. 7. All parks have adequate vegetation and landscapes. 8. Park activities are monitored alternately by six park officers and by 24-hour surveillance cameras.

In general, the ten RPTRA parks followed the generic design specifications and facilities set by the Jakarta City Government. The RPTRA parks had generic indoor facilities (see Figure 2) and outdoor facilities of RPTRA parks (see Figure 3). The total building coverage for indoor facilities was $\pm 145 \text{ m}^2$. The total budget allocated to build one RPTRA park is $\pm 1,4$ billion Rupiah. The design of ten RPTRA parks followed the same specifications and facilities, so the overall visual design and layout of RPTRA parks were similar. The site plan of ten RPTRA parks can be seen in Figure 4.



Figure 2. Generic indoor facilities of RPTRA parks

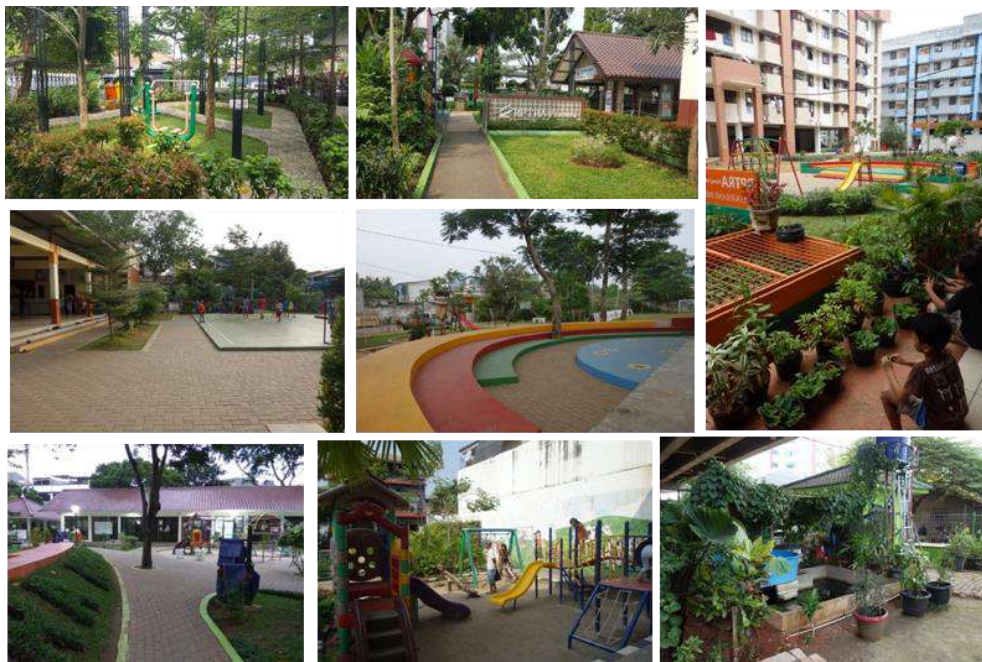
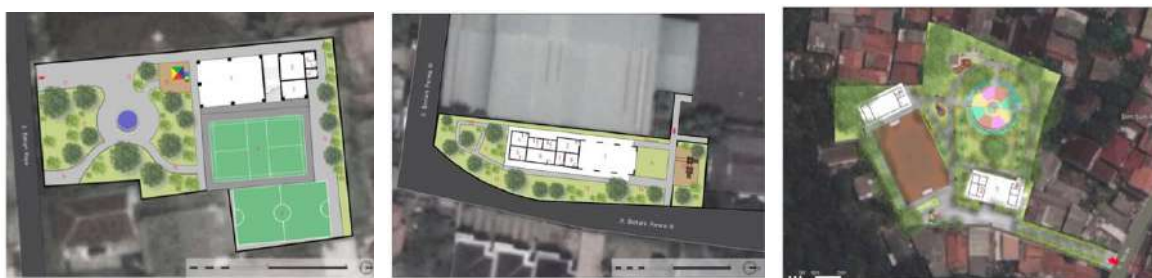


Figure 3. Generic outdoor facilities of RPTRA parks



Site plan RPTRA Bahari



Site plan RPTRA Bintaro Permai



Site plan RPTRA Cililitan



Site plan RPTRA Pulogebang Indah



Site plan RPTRA Karet Tengsin



Site plan RPTRA Taman Kenanga



Site plan RPTRA Meruya Utara



Site plan RPTRA Kembangan Utara



Site plan RPTRA Sungai Bambu



Site plan Sunter Jaya Berseri



Figure 4. The site plan of Ten RPTRA parks

Method

‘We care for our RPTRA’ is a workshop that uses children’s rights as active users of RPTRA parks to gain a better knowledge of children’s views and concerns for RPTRA parks. After permission was obtained from the parks coordinator to conduct a workshop and a specific date and time was specified, the parks coordinator selected and invited 20 children (boys and girls) ranged from 9-14 years to participate in the workshop. The workshop was conducted at the multipurpose room in an RPTRA park on either Saturday or Sunday, in the morning or afternoon. The location and schedule of the workshop were accessible and set at the most convenient time for all children. The children who participated in the workshop were the regulars of the RPTRA park. The workshops ran for about two hours. Ten workshops were held between May and August 2018, and a total of 201 children (117 girls and 84 boys) participated. The atmosphere during the workshops can be seen in Figure 5.



Figure 5. The atmosphere of children's workshops

Before the workshop began, the children were briefly informed about its goals. Children were told that their being in the workshop played an important role in the future of their RPTRA park. Most understood and chose to support and participate freely in the workshop. These opening communications before the workshop showed collaboration between researchers and children in gaining consent (Danby and Farrell 2005). Following this, we held icebreaking games to create a friendly and enjoyable atmosphere and to lessen any uncomfortable situations between facilitators and children. It was essential to create a workshop environment where children felt safe and comfortable with those they worked with (Farrell 2005, Birbeck and Drummond 2007). After the icebreaking games, the children were divided into four groups of five each, run by one facilitator. The facilitator used a helpful and respectful attitudes approach (Hopkins 2010), where the facilitator directed the process and worked with the children in sharing knowledge, forming ideas and creating a new plan for a better RPTRA park. In groups, children and their facilitator sat closely together in a circle on the floor, to create conditions of social support (Chawla and Heft 2002) where children felt respected, supported and where they encouraged each other.

The workshop was conducted in two phases. The first phase engaged children in auditing the existing RPTRA parks. Children participated in an audit process of the built environment that had been demonstrated in various cases, for example, in the redevelopment of an Auckland

central city square (Carroll and Witten 2017). In our workshops, children were given a set of worksheets and a site plan of an RPTRA park. In the worksheets, children were asked to write comments related to seven aspects of RPTRA parks, such as location, safety and security, vegetation, facilities, activities, cleanliness and people (see Figure 6). After writing their comments on the worksheet, children were asked to stick two coloured notes on a prepared site plan of an RPTRA park (see Figure 7). The red notes indicated particular features of the park they disliked or were concerned with, and the yellow notes indicated particular features of the park they liked.

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2. Investigasi RPTRA

	yang kami SUKA dari RPTRA	yang kami KURANG/TIDAK SUKA dari RPTRA
LOKASI 	Jalanannya bagus tidak ada yang rusak atau tidak ada yang terganggu untuk berkendaraan atau untuk berjalan.	Jalanannya jauh dari RPTRA
KEAMANAN 	Merasa aman.	
PENGHILAUAN 	tanamannya bersih, daunnya terlihat segar, tanahnya bagus, kurang bertumbuhan atau ber- buah.	
FASILITAS 	wernya selalu lancar PRK merknya banyak yang di jual	wernya kadang- kadang kotor, di situ bersih.

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2. Investigasi RPTRA

	yang kami SUKA dari RPTRA	yang kami KURANG/TIDAK SUKA dari RPTRA
AKTIVITAS 	lapangannya luas di tempatnya banyak banyak buahnya.	posisi kotor. kadang- kadang di tempatnya tidak dimainkan.
KEBERSIHAN 	Udaranya segar, ada penghijauan, tidak ada yang membuang sampah sembarangan.	kelompokannya airnya kotor. kadang-kadang membuang sampah sembarangan.
ORANG-ORANG 	teman-teman baik bukan-bukan yang perilaku.	orang-orang yang anak laki-laki iseng bukan-bukan yang membuang sampah sembarangan.
LAIN-LAIN?		

PENELITIAN STRATEGIS NASIONAL TH 2018 "PENGEMBANGAN PANDUAN RANCANG RPTRA YANG
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Figure 6. A sample of the children's' worksheets



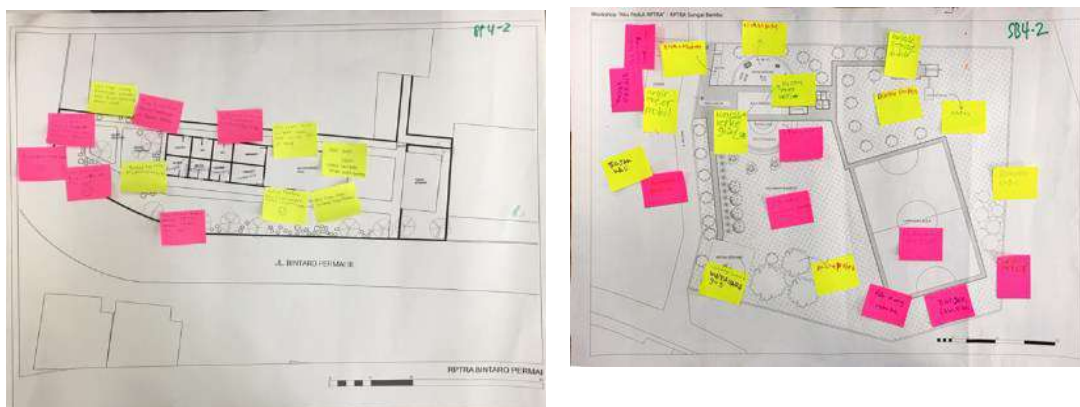


Figure 7. Samples of children's visual mapping of an existing RPTRA park

Since the audit was conducted in an RPTRA park and the children were regular visitors of the park, children were able to recall describe and, even, guide us to a specific area or spot they commented on in the worksheets. They were rooted in the park and could be considered as experts who had specific and articulate knowledge about the park. Knowing their RPTRA park very well meant they were able to recognise what they liked and what they would like to change in the new park.

The second phase was listening to and involving children in the planning process for future parks. Children were asked to discuss their ideas and expectation of future parks in groups. They wrote down ideas for future parks. They were then asked to design the future park in drawings (see Figure 8). Children's drawings had been used by many scholars to explore children's preferences and desires in playground design. For example studies, see Robbe (2017), Caymaz et al. (2018) and Snow et al. (2018). Drawing was a medium which many children found more enjoyable and fun, and it was also inexpensive (Hart 1997). According to Barraza (1999), children's perception and environmental information could be revealed through drawings. According to Hart (1997), there were some problems with drawings as a method. During the audit process, children criticised park playgrounds as unattractive and boring. However, children's drawings still expressed the typical, traditional playground. This may have been because their knowledge of more attractive playgrounds was limited. In their drawings, children showed some stereotypical images of playgrounds based on what they saw and knew. Another problem was that children felt incapable of producing what they considered to be good drawings and were afraid of making mistakes since there were no pencils, erasers or rulers provided in the workshop. According to Hart (1997), these were some problems with drawings as a method. In this case, the facilitator took part in supporting and encouraging children to draw and express freely without hesitation. This was a special effort used by the facilitator to overcome these problems.

At the end of this second phase, each group was asked to present their ideas for future parks before groups. Presenting ideas helped children to construct and express their thoughts on their new park's design proposal. The presentation also meant an opportunity to reflect on their ideas and an opportunity for their ideas to be heard by their peers. These were called conditions of competence and reflection (Chawla and Heft 2002).



Figure 8. Samples of children's drawings of future parks

Results

This paper presents the results from two models of children's participation. First, it presents a set of children's expressions towards existing RPTRA parks as the outcome of children's audits of them. Second, it presents a set of child-based themes of more satisfying small public urban parks, as the outcome of children's planning for future small public urban parks.

1. Children's audits of existing RPTRA parks

In general, the features of existing RPTRA parks that children liked and inspired them to visit on a daily basis were the closeness of RPTRA parks to their house, safety and security of the park, availability of park facilities such as a playground, multipurpose room, soccer field, toys (Lego, snakes and ladders, etc.), organized and structured activities which children can choose and participate in (such as traditional dance, martial arts, drawing class, English class, etc.),

greenery of park's vegetation and the hospitality of the park's officers. Children's comments towards the quality of existing RPTRA parks they like can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Samples of children's comments towards the favourable qualities
of existing RPTRA parks

'The park is easily accessible and close to home. It takes no time to be here [park]. We can easily walk to the park'.
'We can access the park by bike or motorcycle [drop by parents] easily'.
'The park's officers will always be in the park; there is nothing to be worried and afraid of. They will keep us safe'.
'We feel safe at the park. There is always someone in the park. Nothing to be afraid of'.
'The park has many facilities for us, such as a playground, soccer field for playing futsal, reading space, toys, toilet, hand wash basin, and PKK Mart where we can buy drinks and snacks'.
'In general, we love the park. We can play and refresh ourselves'.
'There are many activities we can do at the park, like dancing, jogging, exercise, playing, drawing, learning, etc.'
'In this park, we can hang out with friends, doing homework and school projects'.
'The park is quite clean in several areas, such as field, multipurpose room, reading room and playground'.
'The park is nice, cool, lot of trees. The park has grass areas and shrub areas where we can play hide and seek'.
'The ladies [park officers] are all very friendly, attentive, kind, care and helpful'.
'Most of the people or visitors who come to this park are friendly. Most of them are regulars. We know them and are familiar with them'.

Although, in general, children were happy and satisfied with RPTRA parks, children's audits of existing RPTRA parks revealed that there were several aspects of park's conditions which they disliked and were concerned with (see Table 3). Minimal play equipment which did not accommodate collaborative play among different age groups of children was the most complained about condition listed. They thought such playgrounds were unattractive and boring. Children were also concerned about the limited space of reading rooms, and the unorganised books therein that made it difficult for children to find books. They were also worried about park cleanliness, toilet hygiene and broken play equipment. The children also expressed their disapproval of adult behaviour which they considered inappropriate, such as smoking, dating, littering and bullying smaller kids. The children also indicated that, although the RPTRA park was quite green, it was not beautiful.

Table 3. Samples of children's comments towards unfavourable qualities
in existing RPTRA parks

'There is no sign that tells the direction to the park'.
'The entry to the park is too narrow and is always locked'.
'Sometimes, we felt threatened and disturbed by adults who didn't care about RPTRA, especially they who were littering, smoking, dating, speaking dirty and had no empathy'.
'The playground is unattractive and does not support collaborative play. We have to wait in line for the playground. The play equipment is not enough. It was too limited. Sometimes we have to fight for the swing and soccer field'.
'The playground is mostly used for smaller children [under ten years old]. It does not suit bigger children like us and teenagers'.
'The park has no other sports fields, like badminton, basketball and volleyball'.
'The toilet is dirty and smelly. The water is yellowish. Sometimes it has no water'.
'The food and drink sold at PKK mart is limited, not many choices for us to choose'.
'There is no Wifi in the park'.
'There are areas that are not adequately lit and are dark at night'.
'The park is green but is not beautiful'.
'There are some activities that are not allowed by the park's officers, such as riding a bike'.
'Activities for teenagers are limited'.
'There are a lot of dead trees and unproductive fruit trees. There is much animal waste in the sandpit [playground area]'.
'Some of the play equipment is broken. We cannot play'.
'Many things in the park are broken, such as the bench, trash bins, fences, water tap, doors'.
'The gazebo is leaking when raining'.
'The soccer field is made of cement. It hurts when we fall'.
'Our soccer field is made of dirt. It is muddy when it wet and dusty when it is dry'.
'There are areas in the parks that are flooded and muddy when it rains'.
'There is only one toilet. There is no separate toilet for boys [men] and for girls [women]'.

2. Children's planning for future small public urban parks

The outcome of children's planning for future small public urban parks created a set of child-based themes of more satisfying small public urban parks. The final list of child-based themes of better small public urban parks was obtained through systematic analysis of 40 drawings. In general, children's drawings could be identified as detailed, sketchy or rough. We had no intention to judge the quality of children's drawings. Whatever the quality of children's

drawings, the content of their drawings was very interesting to analyse. During group presentation, children were able to explain every element shown in their drawings and the ideas behind their park's design. Children's presentations helped us to understand the content of their drawings and the reasoning of their park's design. We found 59 elements which were shown in the drawings (Figure 9). For example, a soccer field was an element shown in all 40 drawings. The elements that showed in almost all of the drawings were trees and a traditional playground (see-saw, slide, swings and superstructure). A café and roller skate fields were elements which were shown in only one drawing.

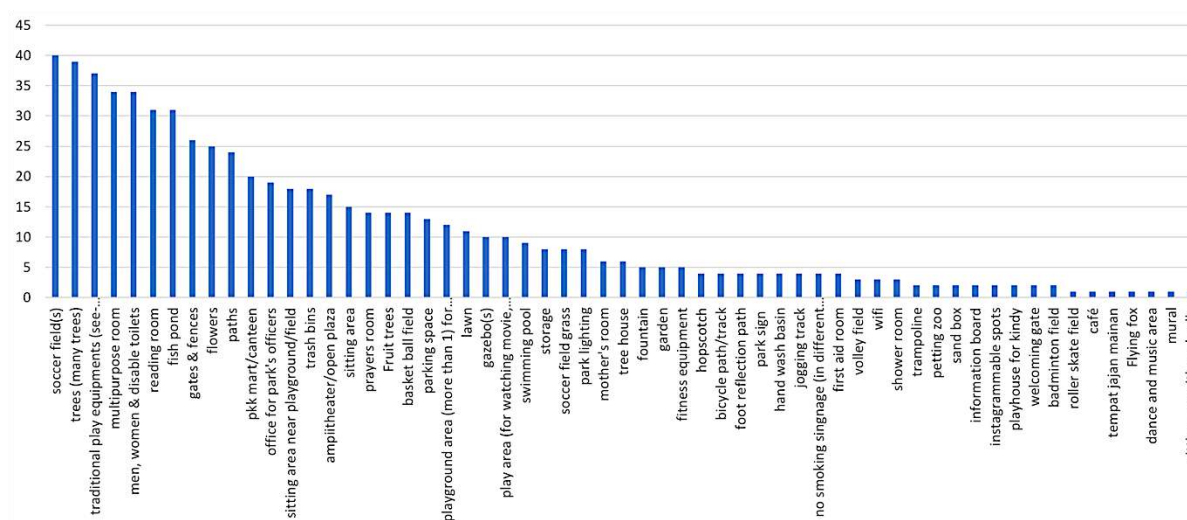


Figure 9. Elements of children's drawings

We then categorised elements and grouped them into themes. An example of a theme was 'a place that supports play'. Elements included in this theme were grass surfaces on the playground area, diverse play equipment and water features in the playground area. This theme included data gathered from children's comments and expressions on the park's unfavourable features. For example, children's comments on the existing park's playgrounds as being unattractive and unsupportive to bigger children were represented in that theme. Another example theme was 'a place that we can get active and fit'. Elements included in this theme were identified through the drawings of various sports fields and gym or fitness equipment. We identified 18 themes derived from children's drawings and audits. See Table 4 for the final list of themes indicating child-friendly small public urban parks' quality.

Table 4. A set of themes/indicators of quality in child-friendly urban parks

No	Themes/Indicators	Descriptions
1	A place that supports play	attractive playground (to avoid boredom)
		diverse play equipment (for climbing, sliding, etc.)

No	Themes/Indicators	Descriptions
		diverse play materials (sand and water, etc.)
		a longer slide
		ground surfaces with impact absorption
		playgrounds for different age groups
		playgrounds for collaborative play (no queuing time)
2	A place by which we can get active and fit	a multipurpose sports field (for playing soccer and basketball alternately)
		gym or fitness equipment
		two sports fields (big and small) to avoid conflict between age groups
3	A place that we can move around	pathways wide enough for jogging, biking, running, walking and hopping/jumping
4	A place that has many shady trees and flowering plants	most activity areas are shaded with trees
		more flowering plants to beautify the park
5	A place for free play	flat and green open spaces (lawn) for picnics, playing ball, playing chase and running
6	A place that is well maintained	regular maintenance (to fix anything that is broken so that everything is functional)
		recycling containers (organic and non-organic containers)
		trash bins are located near activity areas
7	A place for social integration and creating communities	an indoor multipurpose hall to support community gathering, community events, parties and celebrations
		an outdoor plaza to support community exercise and community events
8	A place that promotes various activities	an indoor multipurpose hall as the extension of children's living space for various children's activities (dancing, drawing, studying, etc.).
		space for dancing and playing music
9	A place where we can read books	a spacious reading space to accommodate more children who want to read
		a reading space with a variety of collections

No	Themes/Indicators	Descriptions
10	A place where we can watch movies, play video games, and that has toys	indoor play space with TV and toys
11	A place for gathering peers	gazebos as a shelter and a place to hang out with friends after school hours and do school projects
12	A restorative place	benches and gazebos to sit, rest and relax in
13	A place to watch and to wait	benches near sports fields
		benches near playgrounds
		benched near pathways
14	A place where we can learn about science and the environment	family herbal plants area (<i>Taman Toga</i>)
		vegetable garden
15	A place that provides basic needs	drinking and food mart
		separate toilet (men and women) with clean water
		disabled toilet with clean water
		water tap with clean water for washing hands located near toilet and activity area (playground or sports field)
		prayer space (<i>musholla</i>)
		lighting in most activity areas
16	A place with signage	warning signs (for adults who do not follow parks' rules and regulations regarding smoking, dating and littering)
		decorated walls/mural for visual pleasure
17	A place that is safe	security systems to avoid vandalism, bullying, violence and crime
18	A place with more fish	bigger fish ponds with many fish

Conclusions

This paper demonstrated the participatory practice with children in the process of evaluating existing RPTRA parks and developed a set of child-based themes of more satisfying small public urban parks. In general, children were happy with RPTRA parks and considered that they had favourable qualities. However, the audit process showed that children expressed unfavourable opinions of the qualities of RPTRA parks more than favourable ones.

Therefore, through a planning process with children, we were able to gather 59 ideas of new

small urban parks and synthesised them into 18 themes of child-friendly small public urban park qualities.

Participatory practice with children is challenging. We put effort into making this project meet the criteria as an effective project for children's participation (Chawla and Heft 2002). In the beginning, this project was based on our interest in bringing the existing RPTRA parks or future *Taman Maju Bersama* (Move Forward Together Park) into becoming one of the children's favourite places. We also sought to discover the criteria of child-friendly small public urban parks. The opportunity to work with 201 children from ten RPTRA parks was rewarding and meaningful. At the end of the process, we were able to establish a set of themes indicating child-friendly small public urban parks' quality. The set of themes could be established because children believed this project was based on their concerns and issues. Children were informed, and consent was obtained during the beginning of the workshop. They were treated and respected as people who were competent in expressing their concerns and views. The limitations of the participatory process were that children were not given the opportunity to reflect on the participatory process. They were also not informed about the outcomes of the workshops. Children were not involved in the decision making of the 18 themes of child-friendly small public urban parks' quality.

In summary, children in this project demonstrated that they understood their importance in the making of future small urban parks. They were able to engage in dialogue with peers and facilitators. Therefore, we hope that the results of the project are valued by adults, including the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, planners and architects. It is expected that the results of this study could contribute to the future development of small public urban parks that are more sustainable, meaningful and responsive to children's needs and to improve the quality of existing RPTRA parks and the future development of *Taman Maju Bersama* that will be cared for and loved by children.

Acknowledgements

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Generative Hubs for Urbanism

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Abstract

Within the past two years, the Singapore government has built three integrated community hubs around the island. Varying in size and specific purpose groups, each integrated community hub espouses to be the common destination for its residents. In tandem with the state's decentralisation plan of 1991, such large-scale communal architecture is playing a significant role in rejuvenating the heartlands and fostering a sense of place as the town matures. These nodal developments leverage on their urban context and programmatic offerings in a bid to generate sustainable ecological hubs for the city. Integrating various national and community stakeholders within a single development might seem be a literal trope for a whole-of-government approach to co-locate, co-share and collaborate. However, the complexities behind such collaborative practices in architecture through a curated participatory design process demands close investigation and critique. While we monitor the post-occupancy performance of these integrated community hubs, it is also necessary for designers to reflect and analyse the design process through variegated post-mortems. This paper seeks to revisit the theoretical underpinnings of large-scale communal architecture as social condenser, and investigate the productive potential of such integrated hub ecologies, in harnessing not only economic value in land and space optimisation, but new synergies in the governance framework, closed-loop environmental outcomes and social impetus in the context of Singapore.

Keywords:

Integrated Community Hubs, Social Condenser, Whole-of-Government, Smart Ecology, City Room, Communal Architecture

Introduction:

Integrated Community Hubs – The Emergence of a New Social Infrastructure

Singapore has been fervently pursuing the building of projects of a more civic nature over the past decade, conjuring new plans to develop various areas around the island. From domestic Housing Development Board (HDB) flats to an international High-Speed Rail (HSR) train terminus, the state recognises the opportunity to invest in civic infrastructure in times of global economic uncertainty. Apart from leveraging on more competitive bids, a steady injection of government initiatives will ensure buoyancy of the construction industry while allowing for greater sophistication in terms of productivity and manpower. However, the current pursuit of communal architecture is also reflective of the government's reading of critical social issues, such as inequality, which have also recently translated into national awareness. Widening economic gaps and increased social stratification calls for an enlarged common ground and space for interaction between social groups.

Aptly, Our Tampines Hub or OTH would be the primary subject matter in exploring the efficacy of communal architecture, from design conceptualisation to participatory approaches and finally lived-in mechanisms. Using OTH as the vehicle of investigation does not posit the architecture to be a model example. If any, it should be deemed as an ongoing socio-political phenomenon that demands monitoring and analysis. This paper seeks to identify the growing role of large communal architecture in Singapore through the avenues of city planning, participatory design and societal development.

We can take reference to earlier underpinnings of the club as a Social Condenser, which the Russian architectural organisation, the Association of Contemporary Architects (*Obščestvo sovremennykh arhitektorov* or OSA) advocated. Michal Murawski notes that “the Social Condenser was a proposal for a type of architecture that would serve as a tool for the construction of radical new kinds of human communities: communities of collective residence, work, and public culture, in which the alienation and privation of peasant life would be overcome; and communities of equality and empathy, in which the old hierarchies of class and gender would be designed out of existence” (Murawski 2017).

In appropriating this idea for Asia's 21st century, Leon van Schaik postulated the re-emergence of the community club as “a building type that posed the problems of relating a complex, variety of volumes within a program that embodied the social mission of modernism, it was an ideal testbed for form-follows-function ideology” (Leon 1999, 2). Evidently, the notion of an integrated community and lifestyle hub readily associates with a community club or

community centre which was the urban solution for a racially and culturally-diverse nation as Singapore.

Community spaces as envisioned by city-planners and policy-makers at the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) are deemed as “one of the basic building blocks of a society where people gather and participate in activities” (URA 2018) in tandem with the national rhetoric of forging a common experience. Future plans have been made for “multiple community facilities being integrated into one-stop hubs, providing more convenience while creating a strong sense of familiarity and identity” (URA 2018).

Table 1. Comparison of Singapore’s integrated community and lifestyle hubs (built and unbuilt)

Projects	Type of Integration (order not by percentage)	Year Unveiled		Official Launch	Size (GFA/sqm)	Planning Area Population*
Singapore Sports Hub	Community & Commercial Sports & Recreation	2008		2015	274,550	-
Our Tampines Hub	Community & Commercial Sports & Recreation	2011		Aug 2017	121,440	Tampines 258,310
Bedok Heartbeat	Community & Commercial Sports & Recreation	2014		Feb 2018	43,590	Bedok 284,930
Kampong Admiralty	Community & Commercial Residential Healthcare	2013		May 2018	32,330	Admiralty 14,480
Bukit Canberra	Community & Commercial Sports & Recreation	2015		2020	24,500	Sembawang 79,740
Punggol Town Hub	Community & Commercial Residential Healthcare	2013		2021	42,300	Punggol 146,640
Sengkang Central	Community & Commercial	2018		2022	78,236	Sengkang 232,100

	Residential					
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To date, three large community hubs have been built across the island, namely Our Tampines Hub (OTH), Bedok Heartbeat and Kampong Admiralty. Two more town hubs have been designed and are in their preliminary construction phases – Bukit Canberra (formerly referred to as Sembawang Integrated Hub) will be progressively opened from 2020 (Neo 2018, July) while Punggol Town Hub (PTH) is slated for completion in 2021 (Neo 2018, October). URA recently closed the call for public tender of Sengkang Central, which is also envisioned as an integrated community hub with private housing in June this year (URA 2017).

Urbanism of Tampines:

Singapore's Contemporary Urbanism in the Heartlands

Most urban development arise from a confluence of many factors and decisions, some of which might be consequential and informed by the course of history. Prior to Singapore's independence, three quarters of the population were concentrated in the urban core and nearby suburbs. Tampines is one of the earliest New Towns and Public Housing Estates meant to cope with greater urbanisation and decentralisation. It was planned and developed by the HDB in the 1980s based on the Neighbourhood and Precinct Planning Concept. According to HDB's former Chief Architect, Tony Tan Keng Joo, Tampines was the "culmination of improvements of the new town model"¹, which clinched the United Nations' Building and Social Housing Foundation (BSHF) World Habitat Award (Developed Country Category) in 1992 for its contribution to "innovation and successful human settlements".²



Learning Tampines

aims to create learning beyond the classroom, making learning very much part of everyone's life.



Active Tampines

uses a Three-Pong Outreach Approach – mass participation, lifestyle sports and family oriented events – to engage residents to stay active and healthy



Green Tampines

engages the community by promoting life-long clean and green habits like recycling, gardening and keeping their living environment clean and clutter-free.



Caring Tampines

addresses the welfare needs of residents in a holistic way, such as with health care and financial assistance



Creative Tampines

introduces art and cultural programmes to the residents encouraging them to express their creativity and appreciate the cultural diversity in our community

Figure 1. Resident Engagement Programmatic Themes (DP Architects, 2011)

As of 31 March 2018, HDB reports that Tampines is home to about 232,700 HDB residents and it manages 68,812 flats in the town, being the most developed regional centre in the eastern

¹ Transformation of Tampines from rural wasteland to world model. *The Straits Times*, 2 October 1992.

² HDB wins international award. *The Business Times*, 2 October 1992. p2.

part of Singapore. According to the Department of Statistics, this regional centre has 152,800 resident working persons aged 15 years and above, second to the Jurong West planning area (MTI 2015, 366). The strong development of Tampines Regional Centre and Changi Business Park in the east continues to attract business and employees out of the city's Downtown Core which includes the Central Business District (CBD). Hence, it is apparent why Tampines was chosen to spearhead the first integrated community and lifestyle hub given the existing population and maturity of this regional centre.

In the Planning Permission Stage (URA) Report, the consortium aimed for OTH (then still referred to as Tampines Town Hub or TTH) to “shape the community landscape of Tampines, encompassing Civic and Social, Sports and Recreation, Arts and Cultural and Commercial” through “5 programmatic themes of Tampines: creative, green, active, learning and caring” so as to become “a vibrant and interactive one stop service hub in an integrated community complex”(DP Architects, 2012). OTH was envisioned as a unique community landmark for the residents living in Tampines but also as a sustainable model and benchmark for other planning areas in Singapore.

Apart from addressing greater aspirations for the community, the premise for the entire development is also based on the need for better integration of government services and public amenities. In terms of programming, the co-location of various functions managed by government agencies can be seen as the transformation of the Singapore government from a traditional hierarchy into a new-age system of governance characterised by a whole-of-government approach that “breaks down vertical silos, encourages the spontaneous horizontal flow of information that will enlarge and enrich the worldview of all agencies” to create “an environment in which officers consider spill-over effects of what they do and their impact on the policies and plans of other agencies” (Ho 2017).

Generating a Whole-Of-Government Framework: From Co-Locating to Co-Sharing and Collaborating

*“Reform the environment, stop trying to reform the people. They will reform themselves if the environment is right.”
Once their environment is nurturing, people's behavio(u)rs change and they seek ways to be nurturing to themselves.”*

Buckminster Fuller; The Village Voice, 1 February 1973

In the context of OTH, land productivity through co-location and intensification of the otherwise independent and often single-use buildings into an amalgamated plot yields the optimisation of this highly-regarded resource. It also further frees up the potential of the sites

that were originally occupied by these facilities for other use or further intensification. Besides generating economics of adjacencies, the case of OTH also facilitates the sharing of common resources that not only breaks down silos and provides an added convenience for the residents.



Figure 2. Public sector agencies and stakeholders operating within OTH

The OTH management reported that amalgamating the supposed sites has made the operations of soft services 30 percent more efficient compared to other community centres.³ While the People's Association (PA) is the lead agency of community centres nationwide, they also serve as the interlocutor for integrated community hubs, such as OTH, connecting users with various government agencies. The convenience in co-locating public-sector services and facilities within one site has seen a good record of patronage at the Public Service Centre. This new product of a one-stop integrated service facility mitigates the need for residents to traverse through the corridors of various statutory boards to get their concerns addressed in most situations.

This awareness of co-locating and co-sharing was probably best articulated by PM Lee in his 2014 National Day Rally when he raised the issue of cumbersome bureaucratic procedures and unnecessary red-tape. In discussing how Singapore can be an outstanding city, PM Lee vividly illustrated the need for “all our different agencies to work more closely together, especially when their responsibilities overlap with one another or are split between different agencies” (Lee 2014). This whole-of-government approach definitely challenges the conventional modes of communication and operation between typically hard-line ministries, statutory boards and

³ Report from People's Association, 2018.

boundaries to which most civil servants are accustomed.

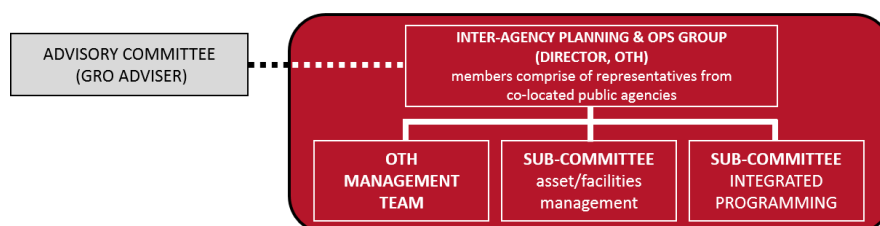


Figure 3. Governance structure of OTH (PA, 2018)

A Collaborative Framework

The governance (and inspired spatial) structures of OTH deliver on the whole-of-government approach with immense collaborative potential. An Inter-Agency Planning & Ops Group oversees the overall functioning and outreach through a series of integrated programmes with varying numbers of partners. Given the radical attempt to dissolve barriers between government services in the form of a new built typology, it is thus worth measuring or quantifying the success of these endeavours, of how cultural policy can be made through types of public domain design.⁴

Table 2. Integrated Programming of OTH (PA, 2018)

	SPORTS	COMMUNITY	ARTS & LIFESTYLE		OTH (10%)	2 PARTNERS (50%)	3 PARTNERS (40%)
2017	18%	41%	41%	2017	17%	59%	24%
2018	28%	46%	26%	2018	27%	51%	22%

Anchored upon users' centric design, the three-dimensional clustering of programmes allows for new types of communal spaces which can leverage on the possible interfacing and interaction of activities and user groups. These thresholds from soft-programming can be designed into the building in a number of architectural strategies, which can be categorised as nestling, transitioning and associating. For the case of OTH, each strategy was predominantly based on the spatial requirements of each agency while the volumetric adjacencies were conceived by the design team. A case in point would be the kitchens located within the library's culinary section which are used for cooking lessons organised by the PA. By carving niche spaces, there would be a higher chance for users to associate with other spaces and facilities related to their primary purpose. OTH also departs from the conventional notion where communal spaces are clearly defined and designed as a single entity, to create a network of spaces. Through an array of Interweaving Streetscapes, Interlocking Sky Terraces or even Shared Roof Gardens, these networks of shared domains make a considered attempt for

⁴ Hajer & Halsema 1997

multiple interactions among user groups of varying ages and interests.



Figure 4. Union of diverse programmes & zones of OTH (above)
3-dimensional spatial interlocking of programmatic clusters (below) (DP Architects, 2011)

PA has reported an average monthly visitor-ship of 1.5 million since its opening last year (Koh 2017). As a comparison, the monthly average number of international visitors by air in 2017 was 1,128,984 persons as reported by the Singapore Tourism Board. In June 2018, OTH even celebrated the milestone of having 20 million visitors since 2017 and recent reports from PA show that more than 18 million have visited the premises from January to November 2018.

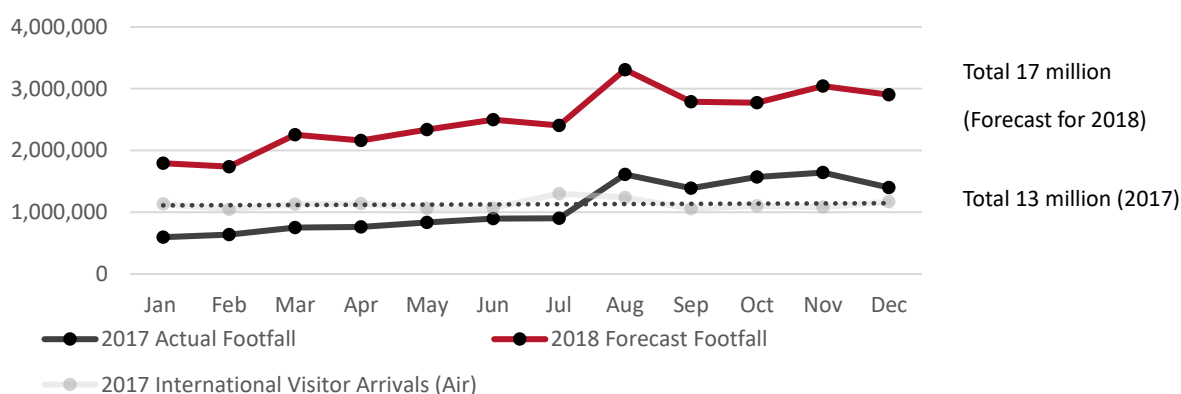


Chart 1. ACTUAL FOOTFALL IN 2017/FORECAST FOR 2018
number of visitors based on an expected increase OF 30% year-on-year⁵ (PA, 2018)

⁵ Forecast is based on a conservative estimate, incorporating variable factors, including number of days in the month, novelty period, high and off-peak seasons as well as proposed stakeholder programmes lined up for the year.

According to PA, the average time spent by visitors of OTH is 2 hours and 51 minutes. In addition, the ratio of males to females is 55:45, which is relatively higher than most community centres where the trend has traditionally shown higher female participation. This could be due to the strong weightage of sports and recreation for this integrated community hub, given that 60 percent of the visitors are adults from the age group of 25 to 56 years.⁶ Overseas OTH's Video Analytics

The architecture of OTH has been touted by other governments as a successful case study for impactful communal architecture, after numerous visits by overseas delegations. With the experience of OTH and subsequent integrated community hubs in Sembawang and Punggol, DP Architects has made headway in introducing such a type of hub in various Chinese cities. Suspending the completely different socio-political dynamics, besides the overt attempt to nurture communities, the development of integrated community hubs in China can be understood as a critical regionalist response to curtail hurried urbanisation and “the idea is to foster the rise of mammoth urban clusters, anchored around giant hubs and containing dozens of smaller, but by no means small, nearby cities”.⁶



Figure 5. Integrated Sports & Community Hub Proposals in China,
designed by DP Architects

Clockwise from top left, Hub Developments in Chinese Cities:
Shunde, Tianjin, Foshan & Guangdong Province

⁶ ‘A tale of 19 mega-cities: China is trying to turn itself into a country of 19 super-regions’. *The Economist*, 23 June 2018.

Producing Environmental Outcomes: Large Smart Ecology and XL City Rooms

Large Smart Ecology

Capitalising the scale of OTH, it was an ideal development to become a ‘living laboratory’ through the adoption of various environmentally-friendly and smart technologies that enable users while generating environmental benefits.

Harking back to the ideals of the Smart Nation initiative in 2014, PM Lee depicted “a nation where people live meaningful and fulfilled lives, enabled seamlessly by technology” where “networks of sensors and smart devices enable us to live sustainably and comfortably”.⁷ Here in OTH, digitalisation could maintain or improve desired levels of energy supply security, reliability, quality, flexibility and resiliency while significantly mitigating environmental harm (Ho 2018, 115). Enabled by Trakomatic’s video and sensor technology, an advanced video analytics system programmed in the security cameras allows the recognition of the visitors’ age band, gender and race while tracking points of congregation.

With this data collected, the management would be able to better determine the profile of visitors, types and popularity of activities and events. This aids in more informed decision-making, efficient and effective resource deployment. Major developments are like a fragment of the city but condensed in its operability. Understanding behavioural patterns of end users allows the architecture to respond readily and in a more meaningful manner, even if it is simply through the deployment of autonomous robot cleaners. Large community hubs, such as OTH, need to achieve social sustainability in the long term through active participation, enabled and enhanced by technology.

The integration of social and ecological sustainability has clearly become the focus of architects and critics.⁸ With its scale, the OTH complex becomes an ‘incubator’ for test bedding various environmental innovations in reducing the overall carbon footprint. An example is the inclusion of two one-tonne eco-digesters, which use microbes to recycle waste into non-potable water, liquid plant nutrients and organic fertiliser. On average, OTH generates about 1.4 to 1.5 tonnes of food waste daily. Mandatory use of the eco-digesters written into the tenancy contracts for food-and-beverage and supermarket tenants ensures collective buy-in. The fertiliser produced is collected and distributed to residents in Tampines and community gardening clubs once a

⁷ Prime Minister’s Office, “Transcript of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong’s Speech at Smart Nation Launch on 24 November 2014” (Singapore: PMO)

⁸ Niamh Coghlan, *Aesthetica Magazine* – New Architectures of Social Engagement. This article was a review of *Small Scale, Big Change* which ran from 3 October until 3 January 2011 at MoMA in New York City.

month. Mr Suhaimi Rafdi, the hub's director, "is bent on diverting waste from landfills, and has put in place a closed-loop waste management system" (Poh 2017). To date, OTH has saved a considerable amount in terms of haulage costs, transportation fees, carbon emissions and landfill space, which is redistributed to tenants on an annual basis by square foot of lettable area.

In a bid to achieve the environmental aspirations, OTH installed an energy-efficient chiller plant, LED lights and green walls to reduce overall energy consumption and the carbon footprint.⁹ It was estimated that a fully-operational OTH will make annual savings of 8,715,330 kWh of energy, which is enough to power 1,701 four-room HDB flats for a year and 357,193 cubic metres of water that can fill up 142 Olympic-size swimming pools. OTH's workings of a sustainable ecology extends beyond daily consumption and recycling of resources to include the programming and activation of the entire development. Ultimately, employing closed-loop systems ensures the viability of large communal architecture that is capable of being smart and ecological, and still humanistic in its core.

XL City Rooms

Notwithstanding the socio-political concerns of the Superblock, as espoused by Alan Colquhoun, the conceptual underpinnings of the city room are to "interiorize many public

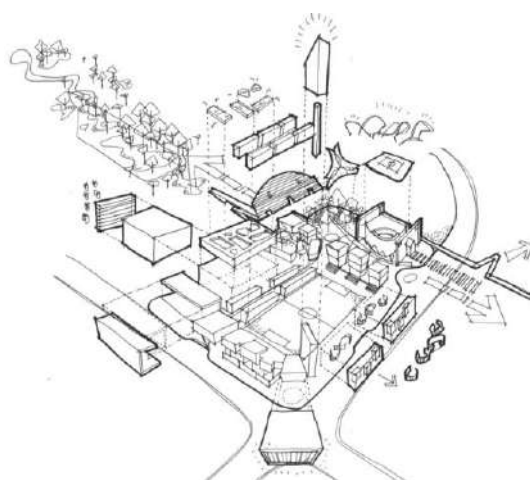


Figure 6. Connecting OTH as a city room
(DP Architects, 2011)

⁹ Buildings, residential and non-residential, account for close to half of Singapore's electricity consumption in which 60 percent of electricity is used for cooling and 15 percent for lighting (NCCS 2014, 6). Hence, it is imperative to improve cooling efficiency, "coupled with regulatory requirements and incentives, developers are encouraged to build and retrofit chiller plant systems with higher efficiency" (CLC 2018, 61).

realm activities commonly associated with outdoor urban settings and streetscapes” (Lim and Teo 2017, 55). *City room* or *city corridor* can be understood as “node connectors or paths (which) serve further to accomplish area definition and linkage” (Maki 1965, 6). “Maki and his students chose the open-ended systems as an optimal model of understanding the framework, while using point development process as a design tool” (Xi 2013, 122).

Similarly, Louis Kahn shared the belief that “[a]rchitecture comes from the making of a room” in which a town square or street ‘is a room by agreement’ as ‘moving from an indoor to an outdoor space actually implies moving from one interior space to another, from a room of a building to a ‘room of the city’.¹⁰ This architectural idea has since been implemented in People’s Park Complex (1972) and Golden Mile Complex (1973) through large atrium spaces; “a social collection space that existed for the public domain and allowed interaction, brought within the comforts of a building and enhanced with proper planning” (Maki 1965, 6). Akin to how the architects of People’s Park Complex and Golden Mile Complex “inserted a civic component to the design that was not in the original brief” which “became the most vital aspect of the success of the building” (DP Architects 2017, 33), the Festive Walk of OTH assumes the role of the *city room* or *city corridor* – the lifeline of the development seamlessly connected with the Tampines suburban centre and the communal park.



Figure 7. Bringing in the urban streetscape – Festive Walk (DP Architects, 2011)

The issue of scale and bigness is evident in Towers’ delineation of his nine Principles of Community Architecture in which he mentions how community projects should be of a modest scale; decrying how “generally it is large developments and large-scale buildings that cause most disruption and excite public controversy” (Towers 1995, 185). Towers’ predisposition to small to medium-sized community projects stems from an innate bias towards a fully bottom-up participatory design process which actually hinges upon the difference between community and communal architecture. In the case of OTH, whilst the government labels these new urban hubs as integrated community hubs, they are actually communal in nature. Instead of limiting

¹⁰ Excerpts from Drawings for the City/2 Exhibition, 1971.

OTH by geographical or political boundaries, instead of the immediate community, the sheer scale of OTH, coupled with its scale of porosity and programmatic inclusivity, warrants itself as a critical urban node for the community as well as the city.

Building Social Capital:

Infrastructure for Social Interaction, Participatory Process and Stewardship

The People's Association (PA) was established in 1960 to bring different communities together, build social cohesion, cultivate racial harmony and strengthen trust between the Government and the people (Lee 2018, 4). Community centres were set up as meeting grounds for various ethnic, language and religious groups, playing a crucial role in the population's cultural, social and political nurturing. However, this function has somewhat declined as leisure activities in Singapore have proliferated and become, apparently, an essential mode of social participation (De Koninck 2017, 75). Specific forms of leisure and recreational activities contribute to the development of social capital which is pertinent to democratic citizenship and fostering community spirit. The integration of various sports, leisure and recreational programmes is thus seen as a means for PA to remain relevant to the shifting needs of the population.

Back in October 1970, the Singapore Planning and Urban Research Group (SPUR) had already advocated that "planning for recreation demands immediate attention, because of the limited amount of land available for recreational purposes" (SPUR 1970, 80). The Group went on to suggest that "the needs for community centres should be proportion to the density and income level of the population in the particular locality" with the provision of added facilities, such as branch libraries. The framework proposed by Andersson *et al* illustrated why "social capital networks also provide an important contribution to understanding structures and content of social interactions in urban growth" (Andersson *et al* 2016, 22) of large, densely-populated cities.

Social capital can complement the spatial decay of interaction effects by adding social structures to interaction patterns (Andersson *et al* 2016, 13). In a multi-racial society like Singapore, having adequate avenues for social interaction is critical to ensuring that no particular racial group is neglected or overly-compensated. The *Singapore General Household Survey 2015* reveals that the planning area of Tampines has the second highest population of Malays (approximately 56,008) after Woodlands (approximately 62,322). Whilst participation of ethnic minorities in community centres has been relatively low at approximately 15 percent, close to 42 percent of visitors to OTH are ethnic minorities, thereby highlighting the viability of communal architecture in today's context. Building upon our understanding of the level of urbanisation in Tampines and the progressive need for social capital, it should become apparent

why the site required a recreational development of such a massive scale.

Evoking Participatory Process

The quantifiable success of OTH attests to Towers' argument that "involving users in decision-making gives them a sense of proprietorship that leads them to look after the buildings they use" because "more appropriate solutions, valued by their users, should last longer" (Towers 1995, 173). The consultation process was implemented when DP Architects was awarded the professional services contract in 2011. Such public consultation processes were still in its infancy then, especially considering the scale of engagement required for OTH. DP Architects together with People's Association (PA) recognised that in order to meet the desired goals of communal architecture, the design needed to ensure that the people's needs and opinions were formally documented and acted upon. Hence, the consultation took place in various modes, ranging from focus group workshops to educational outreach.

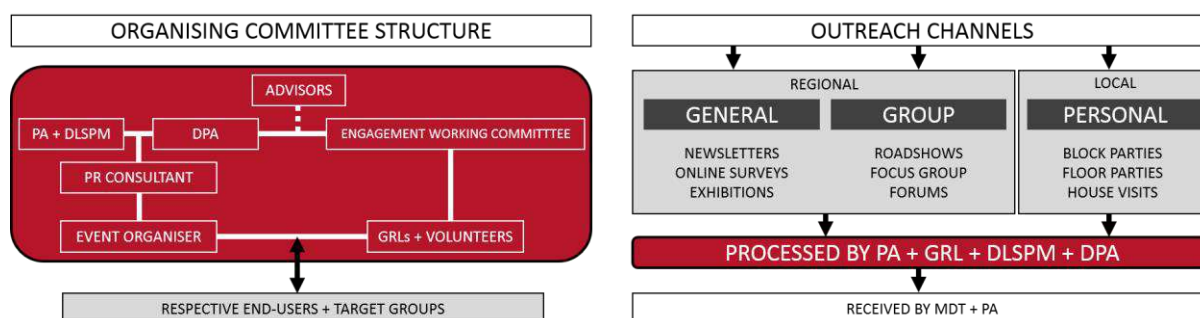


Figure 8. Proposal for Engagement Process (DP Architects, 2011)

Since the onset, the design team identified the need for multiple outreach channels that can cover two communities, the regional and local through three approaches, namely – general, group and personal. During this process, the client, People's Association, reviewed the feedback and analysed how various aspirations can be met collectively. In particular, one of the key pieces of feedback from the public was that they did not want to see another prototypical mall in Tampines, given the saturation of commercial offerings, such as Tampines Mall, Century Square, Tampines, Tampines Central Shopping Street and Eastpoint Mall in the vicinity. In response to this, it was decided to have a small commercial quantum within OTH and even have these spaces located in the basement such that the ground floor and upper storeys can be further freed up for other civic and communal purposes.

Whilst public engagement and consultation was imperative in the design of OTH, it was also noted that the architects needed to provide sound planning principles that are best suited for the client's programme. The purpose of the public engagement process was to further develop those principles through the public's understanding of how the spaces can be utilised and

maximised in the future. In analysing the decision-making hierarchy, Towers' critically notes how "the value of public meetings is, realistically, limited to imparting information and obtaining general approval or disapproval of proposals" (Towers 1995, 167). However, this does not suggest any form of tokenism in the public consultation process given how the end user will eventually corroborate the process and product, in which any negative sentiments of a masquerade would be more than counter-productive.

Table 3. Extract of expectations chart prepared by DP architects

	ROADSHOW	FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	FORUMS	BLOCK PARTIES	PR INVOLVEMENT
OBJECTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To re-ignite interest towards the proposed Tampines Town Hub To gather contacts of interested members Tampines resident for invitation to focus group discussion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To engage interested residents in focused discussions To get feedback for evaluation and design refinement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To engage members and leaders of businesses in the surrounding area to get feedback on their concerns To engage community /religious leaders (eg. the mosque) that are in the vicinity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To engage immediate residents and understand their concern, get feedback for evaluation and design refinement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To spearhead the conceptualizing, execution and management of the engagement
EXPECTED RETURNS - Format of Collated Data - Type of Information (eg: suggestion/complaint /attendance)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendance for focus-group talks Consolidated personal particulars Completed survey forms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identified list of concerns and solutions List of wishes for TTH 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify list of issues regarding to related business Solutions to address issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tabulation of main concerns as immediate residents Overall response to TTH 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concept / ideas to generate interest in the project - Refer to Scope of Works
FORMAT - Roadshow - Exhibition - Display Booths - Open Dialogues - Focus-group Sessions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Travelling display with exhibits, presentation panels and display booths Number booths 'Star'-studded guest appearances Multi-media presentations / Schools participation / Interest group presentations Festival atmosphere with fun and games Just informative Corporate sponsorship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate classroom discussions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General lecture hall address One-to-one visit with surrounding businesses Are forums arranged according to 'stakeholder' presentations eg. families? Or to a specific user group eg. business associations? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Breakfast / Tea sessions Party atmosphere with food and fun 2-3 blks per block party How are the people addressed? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop a strategy to engage all residents and affected people at all platforms and communication modes
MAGNITUDE - Extent - Expected Turnout	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10,000 overall per weekend Entire mall atrium? Restricted to govt buildings? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20-40 each session 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 30-60 each session 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 100-200 each party Is there a cap beyond which the interaction is not productive? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop a strategy to engage all residents and affected people at all scales / levels

Successful engagement requires the genuine commitment on the part of designers to work with users. OTH saw approximately 15,000 residents engaged in the entire participatory design process through 8 focus/interest group discussions, 5 block parties, 10 floor parties, 11 road shows which were managed by an Engagement Working Committee with a core team of 870 grassroots leaders and ad-hoc volunteers. This engagement process took a year from beginning till end to disseminate messages and solicit feedback that would directly inform the architectural design outcomes.

Community Stewardship

During the course of OTH's construction, the Centre for Liveable Cities (CLC) co-organised a design studio with the National University of Singapore (NUS) in 2015 to engage various state agencies in the process to enhance public life and public spaces by formulating strategies for active mobility, healthy living, green and blue spaces and community bonding (MEWR and MND 2014, 40). Tampines, specifically Tampines Street 82 along Tampines Central Park

facing OTH, was selected as the site for investigation. Studies from Re-Imagining Tampines reviewed the connection between OTH and Tampines Central Park, which was actually proposed by the architects but was subsequently rejected. Upon closer investigation, further findings by the design studios were presented to Members of Parliament and the connection eventually came to fruition. In this instance, the community was extended to the academia through an architectural design studio, which can be seen as an added means of participatory design.



Figure 9. OTH Social Media Outreach (PA, 2018)

Unlike how architects and designers would usually be caught up in their peculiar means of representation and communication, engagement with a larger population of residents had to be delivered in a more comprehensive manner. Through verbal dialogues and simplified visual aids, the design team had to read beyond the concerns which were expressed by the residents during group discussions and road shows. After all, user participation would be futile if the end users cannot understand what is being proposed. This process naturally resulted in the reiteration of design concepts that sought to compromise the project timeline and increase overall risks. Hence, it should be noted that adequate time must be allocated for this purpose to effectively imbue the greater sense of public ownership in communal architecture.

With regard to the mono-directional approaches in participatory design, architectural historian, Dr Michelle Provoost, suggests to “build a bridge from single projects to civic institutions and link bottom-up initiatives to public, democratic structures” as it will be “necessary to go deeper into the political, financial, and economic fundamentals of urban development” (Provoost 2017, 83). Indeed, this highlights the unique conditions which allowed for the development of OTH in terms of plot size, plot ratio and programmatic mix – parameters controlled solely by the state. Yet the quality and level of public engagement for OTH suggests how participatory design in communal architecture is not curtailed by the scale and size of the project. In fact, the success behind this multi-directional process of engaging various user groups lie in the balancing of political, financial and economic conditions determined by the state, people and

architects.

Typology and Terminology

In looking at the typology of architecture, there are a number of building types which have an entrenched profile in its own discourse. Residential, office and playgrounds, for instance, elucidate a direct understanding and imagery between designers and users. Spaces for living, working and playing will continue to evolve with changing social and spatial norms but the fundamentals of how these spaces operate are unlikely to change drastically. Yet with the growing chart of building types, we are probably just beginning to understand the nature of community architecture or communal architecture. There are varying definitions and notions behind these terms – while most have been used synonymously, there is a slight distinction between the two words.

Community is deterministic as it identifies the similarities between groups of people, therein setting the boundary for the grouping. On the other hand, communal refers to a shared good, which is based on the assumption that a shared good takes place within a community. Insofar as this research paper is concerned, we are keen to further the usage of the term communal architecture, with explicit reference to how a building is shared with the general public, whether or not they belong to a particular community. From an urban planning point of view, this runs parallel to the rhetoric of a public realm that is accessible and universal. Another reason for the adoption of the term communal has to do with the scalability of such architecture. The issue of scale and bigness was dealt with in discussing XL City Rooms.

As opposed to how certain building types have evolved with greater sophistication in technology or spatial requirements, communal architecture only seems to be gaining traction of late, when cities are confronted with the pressure to densify populations and intensify land use at unprecedented levels. In order to mitigate the challenges of liveability and sustainability with urbanisation, governments are beginning to place more value and significance on the public realm which can remain as stitched pockets of interstitial spaces and thoroughfares or as a building itself. Free space or public space is best imagined as an uncontrolled and unregulated arena that is versatile enough to accommodate different and disparate groups of people and programming of events.

Yet in a closer observation of free space, the extent to which “citizens can demand (for) architecture as a civic right”¹¹ clearly remains a question for many societies. Evidently, the conundrum of communal architecture also lies in the ownership and regulation of the building itself. Regardless of the scale, proponents who see the value and validity of free space within

¹¹ Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara, 2018. Interview from Plane-Site, a short film explaining their position behind their FREESPACE theme for the 16th International Architecture Exhibition in Venice.

a communal space need some sense of ownership and stake holding even though they might not necessarily control, manage or even partake in the architecture. This surfaces the unique relationship and interactions between the government, architects and people, through the post-mortem of a piece of communal architecture.



Figure 8. Final Perspective submitted at competition entry (DP Architects, 2011)

Conclusion

Public discourse on large communal architecture is still growing within the architectural fraternity both locally and globally. It is with the advent of integrated community hubs such as OTH, that we are able to investigate the premise behind and effects of such concerted developments between multiple public stakeholders and residents. Quantitatively, the scale of Singapore's integrated community hubs might confound proponents of Tony Gibson's more idealistic participatory method of "planning for real", which suggests a one-step cure-all kit game which people can play to plan their neighbourhoods on their own. The argument hinges on the issue of scale for community architecture, which has a prejudice for small acupunctural projects as opposed to large Superblocks. Hence it was critical to clarify the difference between preconceived notions of community and communal. Although the Singapore government has used the phrase integrated community hubs, the use of communal architecture in theoretical discussions should be adopted as opposed to community architecture.

Communal architecture like OTH re-invokes the idea of a city room. In today's context, Singapore has developed this theoretical idea to create urban hubs such as OTH. With the ever-growing need to tackle the challenges of urbanism such as land intensification and densification, cities need to find opportunities to co-locate, co-share, and collaborate so as to optimize resources and generate new synergies through the formulation of robust collaborative and ecological design frameworks. Greater emphasis on participatory design processes as part of a multi-directional design approach has shown to imbue greater sense of proprietorship and stewardship even for large communal buildings.

Hub, as a term or even catchphrase, is definitely in vogue, especially in discussing the issues and possibilities of urbanism. OTH stands out as the first large communal architecture with a number of aspirations by the government and people. As a top-down initiative, the infrastructure was meant to house services from 13 different government agencies and statutory boards to meet the growing needs of the residents while enacting upon the push towards a whole-of-government approach. With the increasing number of integrated community hubs in the near future, we can be certain that this building type will remain relevant in Singapore. Akin to how Murawshi describes how community clubs serve as social condensers for new human communities, urban hubs represent a refreshed manifestation of the city room. As an integrated social and urban model, it has even been sought after overseas in developing cities. While quantitative data on the footfall, participation levels, and environmental performance, generated by OTH as an urban hub, are desirable and even laudable, these numbers should not be regarded as an end. Ultimately, beyond favourable economic and environmental outcomes, the ability of a social infrastructure to add to the collective memory of a community should be the main gauge of the positive influence that any piece of communal architecture has on the city and its society.

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Taking Back Our World: Grassroots Re-appropriation of Flatlands in Milwaukee, USA

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Abstract

Flatlands are large empty plots, parking lots, and unbuilt urban surfaces. They are ubiquitous in Milwaukee, a post-industrial city that has seen loss of jobs, investment, and growth. In 2013, the presence of more than 3000 city-owned vacant lots, feared as promoting urban blight if left fallow, prompted the city to proactively find alternate economically sustainable uses for these spaces. Even though flatlands have become symbols of disinvestment, this paper argues that they are nevertheless material culture artifacts where contested uses, innovative economic values, and alternative civic practices find a spatial terrain. This paper identifies how flatlands, written off as dysfunctional and lacking economic value by the media and the City, become sites of new forms of productivity and grassroots everyday acts of resistance against neoliberal and unjust policies. Their very ordinariness, invisibility, and hyper-localization provide a sort of cover and resilience against more powerful forces. A year-long series of interviews, community led Jane's Walks, and history harvests produced rich data around ways local initiatives have transformed empty lots into urban gardens: artist parks, play lots, ornamental gardens, community orchards, agricultural plots, farmers markets, and memorials.

Keywords: post-industrial city, segregation, blight, resistance, environmental justice, design

Introduction: Flatlands

My students and I stood at the intersection of Wright Street and 38th Street with neighborhood residents leading the way. This was a year after the infamous Sherman Park uprising. On August 2016, police shot 23-year-old African American youth Sylville Smith a mile and a half away from where we were standing, and the community rose in revolt. Three days of turmoil led to dozens injured and arrested. Night curfew was enforced, and the national media feasted on the sensational story of inner city violence. *New York Times* later acknowledged, "The burning buildings, smashed police cars and scuffles between police officers and angry

protesters on Milwaukee's north side over the weekend might have seemed like a spontaneous eruption. But for many in the city's marginalized black community, it was an explosive release decades in the making." (Eligon 2016)

A year later, when community members, students and I stood silently in the middle of a residential street in a poorer section of Milwaukee's Sherman Park neighborhood, we pondered on the ominous prognosis in the *Times* article. What did the *Times* mean by "an explosive release decades in the making"? The neighbors told us that they have since rechristened this area as "Center Peace," a reference to the adjoining forlorn Main Street, ironically named, Center Street. The choice of the word "peace" in the neighborhood title, was more intentional. It was a clarion call to acknowledge that determined residents of this area continue to resist the problems of crime and violence. These residents intend to mark their island of calm and peacefulness from the cacophonous world surrounding them. Peace was their response to a long history of neglect and rancor that led to the uprising. Yet, despite the many yard signs advertising Center Peace, signs of poverty and disinvestment were easy to identify: boarded up foreclosed buildings, city-owned vacant homes, deteriorating duplexes with ominous red crosses representing fire risks, potholes, sidewalks filled with fast food and junk food wrappers, empty lots with overgrown grass, and broken beer bottles filled our visual field. What the residents told us was not what we saw in front of us.

This paper examines the politics of aesthetics that underpins this disjuncture. What we see, value and interpret marks our world and helps us read it, yet how what we perceive what we see may not be the lived reality of that place. This contradiction is at the core of how inequality and injustice is perpetuated and established in the everyday world of Sherman Park. As outsiders, my students and I were reading the neighborhood using familiar signs of atrophy. These signs were familiar to us because their symbolic meanings were engrained in us. Broken windows are indisputable cultural icons of dereliction and apathy; lingering garbage and unrepaired potholes are markers of poverty; roadside memorials are signs of crime. Yet as we learnt later, our practices of seeing rendered invisible a vibrant world and a healthy community behind this façade. And, the problem lay with us, our vision, our way of seeing, and our modes of interpreting the landscape. This is what Jacques Ranciere refers to when he uses the term, "the distribution of the sensible;" an aesthetic order with implicit rules and conventions that marks "the division between the visible and the invisible, the audible and the inaudible, the sayable and the unsayable," that reproduces and normalizes social inequalities and predictable negative responses within an urban scene (Ranciere 2004: 3). As researchers and designers, my students and I wanted to see and act on that hidden world that lay imperceptible to us.

What we see does influence what we know about a place. Standing on this intersection we saw large empty plots, parking lots, unbuilt urban surfaces, boarded up vacant buildings, and empty industrial and commercial properties. The physical landscape of this neighborhood resembled a flatland — spaces flattened due to the apparent removal of social and economic value. Flatlands are ubiquitous in Milwaukee, a post-industrial city that has seen loss of jobs, investment, and growth. Even though flatlands have become cultural symbols of disinvestment, this paper argues that they are spatial terrains of contested uses, new economic values, and alternative civic practices. My focus on urban flatlands borrow from the scholarship of Saskia Sassen, Ignasi de Solà-Morales, and geographers such as David Harvey who see these spaces as products of late 20th C. political economy (Sassen 2013, 2006, Solà-Morales 1994). Flatlands includes all kinds of flattened terrains that are divested of values — ranging from a single property lot to entire neighborhoods and regional geographies. Sassen argues that flatlands are not isolated spaces. They mark an edge or discontinuity, between private and public space, economically profitable property and communally valued street, structure and infrastructure, yet their deviancy emerges out of a seeming lack of a hierarchical relationship to the public realm. Additionally, flatlands are “spaces of silence, of absence” where the generative syntax of the American city is disrupted (Sassen 1996).

Flatlands don't appear uniformly across the entire city. We see such landscapes in poor and black neighborhoods, where historic practices of racial discrimination and segregation are replaced in the 21st C. by more subtle and pernicious forms of environmental injustice. Not only are flatlands experienced in our daily life, but also, they are represented in maps, images and media. Figure 1 shows how flat lands are reproduced and perpetuated through representations in a tourist map produced by the City of Milwaukee. The map shows different neighborhoods in the city. Most economically well-off neighborhoods are marked. Inset boxes celebrate these neighborhoods as touristic destinations. East Town, Historic Third Ward, or West Town have descriptions that list historic sites and cultural attractions. But there seems to be a dark gray hole in this geography that has no accompanying descriptions other than an ominous inset with red lettering informing the viewer that, if they could traverse the desolate gray wasteland, they could reach a place called Wauwatosa located 10 minutes away from downtown.

Flatlands represent social power and they are often racialized. A dot map of Milwaukee (Figure 2) shows racial distribution and we find that the gray space in Visit Milwaukee's map coincides with predominantly poor, black, and immigrant settlements. Representations of flatland are accompanied with coincident media imagery around crime, blight, and neglect in popular media (Figure 3). These messages are reinforced by language. Representations of flatlands establish a visual and aesthetic regime of privation that gets inscribed in this

landscape and into the way we perceive these neighborhoods (Figure 4). Flatlands reproduce that political order underpinning “the distribution of the sensible.”

The intersection where we stood in 2017 was part of the flatlands.

Methods

Scholars argue that the way we construe our urban environment influences the way we act. Flatlands, when seen as a space of deviance and decline encourages a response, from the city administration, media, and police, that is primarily focused on resolving problems. Often in their eagerness to solve problems of crime, poverty, and a loss of the tax-base, these institutions forget to hear grassroots voices that may tell an alternative story of human capital, potential, and lived experiences. The aesthetics and discourses around flatlands render community narratives invisible and inaudible to the larger public.

Take for instance the MERI scheme. In 2013, the city of Milwaukee owned more than 3000 vacant lots and the city struggled to find alternate economically sustainable uses for these spaces. After the 2016 uprising, the City unveiled a scheme called the Milwaukee Employment/Renovation Initiative (MERI) that would allow developers to buy 5-50 city owned vacant homes for \$1 and employ neighborhood youth — only those without felony convictions, in a city with one of the country’s highest incarceration rates—for a low \$11 per hour. The regulations also stipulated that these jobs would be limited to 500 hours. Highly subsidized by the city, the rebuilt and rehabilitated homes could then be sold “at grossly inflated prices.” Lamenting at the lost opportunity of involving the current residents and youth in the neighborhood, *OnMilwaukee* commentator Sherwin Huges wrote, “MERI offers no solution to the decades old problems that exist in this historic neighborhood. This ill-advised program will not extinguish the fires that burned nor give hope to those who deserve it. There is little restitution for the community. Eleven dollars an hour won't be enough to pay rent in the homes the temp workers are helping to renovate. This shoddy attempt at recreating a once splendid, beautiful and beloved enclave is a prime invitation for the real urban devil: gentrification” (Huges 2017).

Fundamental epistemological challenges that emerge during times of crisis necessitate new methods of analysis and new ways of seeing. Since 2016, as part of a collaborative research project called “Taking Back Our Neighborhood: Conversations around Place,” community members, students and I began collecting grassroots stories from the flatlands. These stories told a different tale than ones projected in the media. We worked with neighborhood residents, civic leaders and community organizations in Milwaukee’s Northside neighborhoods to reveal a more complicated, if hidden, history of political and economic actions around home demolitions that implicates powerful economic, political and industrial

actors. Two year-long series of interviews, community led neighborhood walks, and history harvests produced rich data around ways local initiatives have transformed empty lots into urban gardens: artist parks, play lots, ornamental gardens, community orchards, agricultural plots, farmers markets, and memorials. Our long-term goal was to understand the lived experiences of the residents of this neighborhood and to examine how the residents reacted to their living conditions. Soon, this project became part of a nation-wide research initiative around environmental justice led by the Newark, New Jersey based Humanities Action Lab.

Our work identified how flatlands, written off as dysfunctional and lacking economic value by the media and the City, had become sites of new forms of productivity and grassroots resistance against neoliberal and unjust policies. The very ordinariness, invisibility, and hyper-localization of these practices provide a sort of cover and resilience against more powerful forces. In this paper, I will describe how counter-practices in flatlands reflect solidarities at a local level that suggest how the city may talk back to the normative and the powerful, what Saskia Sassen calls *Speech Acts of the City* (Sassen 2013).

The History of Flatlands

Flatlands are intentional geographies. They don't appear overnight — they are carefully planned and reproduced over time. The scene we encountered in Sherman Park took a while to become a shibboleth. The physical qualities of this neighborhood were not always as dilapidated, the buildings were not always boarded up, and the street was not always filled with vacant lots. If we compare an image of the neighborhood from 1920s, its initial years, when workers employed in the manufacturing industries along the nearby 30th Street Corridor moved to this quiet neighborhood on the city's suburban fringe, we see well-maintained homes (Figure 5). Local industries such as Masterlock, a company that made padlocks, safes and security products, A O Smith Corporation, that made boilers and water heaters, steel, iron and manufacturing industries, myriad smaller glass and paint factories, and, a little further off, Harley Davidson and Miller Brewery, were major employers. These factories laid out on 30th Street, alongside a railroad corridor, employed most residents of this growing neighborhood (Figure 6). Manuscript census records show that majority of those who lived on this street were German Americans and upwardly mobile (Figure 7). They lived in duplexes, two-storied apartment buildings common in industrial cities of the American Midwest. The upper or lower unit could be rented out to other workers — many single men and few single women — providing the homeowners some additional income. Manuscript census documents show that these renters were employed in the same factory that the homeowner worked in, suggesting a socially homogenous and well-knit community. The layout of the neighborhood displayed characters of a walkable and livable community, with

many corners stores, good local schools, and a main street with well-maintained front yards (Figure 8).

The rot really begins in the 1930s, with the appearance of non-white workers and concomitant racialized housing laws and lending policies. The 1930s Redlining Map (or the “Residential Security” map made by the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation) of the region shows that the area was marked as “definitely declining.” The notes explain that majority of residents worked in clerical, skilled, mechanical and railroad related occupations with average annual family income of around two thousand dollars. “North of North Avenue the area is newer and almost solid flats. Many single-family homes are around Washington Park and vicinity. The area is popular and will hold its own for some time. It is extremely desirable for those working in industry and handy to downtown.” However, the area that is currently Center Peace, was shown as vulnerable to “infiltration” because it was adjacent to neighborhoods with non-white residents. The foundation of Milwaukee’s current racially segregated landscape was set in the years following the introduction of the redlining maps. By the 1960s African American residents moved into this area while white residents moved out to the suburbs (Valent and Squires 1998). Yet, the core of Sherman Park, a bit removed from where Center Peace lies, remained relatively diverse and progressive — residents came together to fight the Park West Freeway expansion two blocks from this street and residents of nearby Grant Avenue were white collared and well off.

The eighties hit hard, with deindustrialization, the so-called war on drugs, growing gang activities, and rising black incarceration rates. As a result, the once middle class residents found it difficult to retain and repair their homes. Many moved out and those who couldn’t, remained mired in a formidable world (Valent and Squires 1998). Our research shows that increasing rates of incarceration, coupled with industrial job losses, led many families to lose their homes and fall under an increasing burden of debt (Figure 9). So, it was no surprise that, during and after the 2007-subprime lending crisis, many residents lost their homes to foreclosures. Stephanie Stillwell (2016) demonstrates that even after this dark period of bank foreclosures, residents of Sherman Park continued to lose their houses to city-tax foreclosures — a city appropriation of homes due to the homeowners’ inability to pay real estate taxes, maintain their homes, or simply default on their utility and city services bills.

This neighborhood, like many similar inner city neighborhoods in industrial cities across the American Midwest, experienced rapid deterioration, first after the second world war and then after deindustrialization, and this paper claims that this decline is a form of environmental injustice. Urban renewal, residential racial segregation, unfair housing policies, and the flight of industries negatively and disproportionately impacted black, poor, and working class

residents of Milwaukee and while the city addressed problems faced by residents from majority white and rich neighborhoods with due alacrity, the fate of Center Peace remained one of purposeful neglect. Even within the Sherman Park neighborhood, the Center Peace area saw significant decline and neglect. Matthew Desmond, in his compelling book, *Evicted*, demonstrates that tenants and poor residents of Milwaukee experienced concentrated poverty and unequal access to city resources as a result of a growing housing crisis (Desmond 2016). The same intentional decline can be seen in the Center Peace area of Sherman Park.

Resisting Flatlands

On that day when my students and I stood on 38th and Wright, Tremere Robinson, a resident of the newly named Center Peace neighborhood, seemed to go past the bleak history of this neighborhood. Speaking to us from her porch, decorated with blooming flowers and plants, Robinson referred to a network of neighborhood matriarchs who form a tight bond of friendship. She introduced us to a few — Ms. Hall, Ms. Virginia, Ms. Jackie, Ms. Cheri, and Ms. Ward — a core group who had transformed this 6-block area from a drug-ridden, crime-ridden, trashy space into a stable and tight-knit neighborhood with a new name. Ms. Cheri was with us and we waved at Ms. Jackie as she pottered around in her front yard. Later, sifting through property records we realized that this neighborhood changes from one block to another. Ms. Robinson's block has many homeowners who carefully maintain their homes. Even the tenants on her block are well integrated— they attend events and know each other. The very next block is in disrepair with dilapidated rental duplexes owned by absentee landlords. Macro and coarse data from census and city records say little about the diversity of Center Peace and only a fine grained qualitative analysis helps us paint a real picture of this street.

Robinson described the strategy of her neighbors as stubborn everyday resistance: “when we show that we care for our properties, we present ourselves to the larger public powerfully ... we take back our streets” (Robinson 2016). According to her, homeowners and a few tenants on her block go beyond the optics of hopelessness towards what Joan Tronto calls the ethics of caring. According to Tronto, the feminist ethics of caring is not a form of maternal nurturing or stewardship but a political strategy for resilience via collective and relational action. Tronto argues that “Every caring act occurs in a larger political context that reflects a given society's values, laws, customs, and institutions” (Tronto 2015). Our interviews with community residents identified stewardship, aesthetic, mutual aid, and community block-watch practices are core caring practices based on a relational understanding of interdependence. Tronto, referring to Margaret Urban Walker argues that “to start from the assumption that humans are interdependent means that the terms for our moral discussions must shift” (Tronto 1993). That shift means that much of our conversations around public

space and public realm should include the practices of the private spheres — thus calling to question the structure of values in our society. In other words, at the Center Peace blocks, resistance came in the form of domestic practices such as gardening, home-repairs, yard work, home-building, and porch sitting — none traditional forms of civic actions examined by scholars of environmental justice in urban settings.

This ‘ethics of care’ residents explained was expressed in individual and communal acts around intangible and intertwined concepts such as “beauty,” “health,” and “relationships.” During a community led neighborhood walk the residents pointed out spaces of potential where tangible results of care-practices could be observed. The Unity Orchard and Scholars Park are two reused vacant lots. The foreclosed, unmaintained, and dilapidated homes located in these lots were demolished by the city as they were used for drug activities and squatting. But while the city, working on the “broken windows” theory, was demolishing decrepit buildings the issue of safety continued to haunt this neighborhood. Since 2010, much of the drug activities had moved out of homes into automobile based dealings. Mobile and nimble drug dealers would park outside empty lots and do their trade.

In August 2006, the City ordered the property on 2577 N 38th Street, owned by an absentee owner, Terrell Bell, to be demolished. The building was foreclosed by Deutsche Bank in January 2006. A condemnation report from April 2006 explained, “This condemned building is looking like it is open, vacant and vandalized again.” Lack of maintenance by absentee landlords, multiple fire damages, and vacancy led to this fatal decision. In November 2015, City of Milwaukee’s Home Grown Program, Middle Ground, and residents led by Cheri Fuqua, transformed the empty lot into a park. Located across from MLK College Prep school the empty lot was hardscaped with a concrete spiral with graveled paths, flowering shrubs, and a little free library. By summer 2018, local artist Willie Weaver-Bey had contributed a copy of his painting to be hung in the park (Figure 10). According to a *Milwaukee Independent* report, “The hope was to counteract the negative forces in the neighborhood – gunshots, litter, neglect – by investing in beautiful spaces for the community” (Inouye 2018).

Another open space named Unity Orchard opened in 2015. Spread over three-vacant lots, Unity Orchard, built by Home Grown and Middle Ground and Fuqua, has a garden with fruit trees, bushes, paths, benches, and a mural. The orchard is located right opposite Fuqua’s home (Figure 11). It allows her to keep an eye on this community space. Community meetings and block watch gatherings are planned in this space during the warm months. Constant surveillance is necessary, because even if the drug dealers moved away, local kids can occasionally be destructive. Fuqua remembers with some sadness how one day she heard a loud explosion. As she ran out into her porch she found that someone had blown up the

carefully erected tiny library on the orchard with firecrackers and firework explosives (Fuqua 2017).

Unity Orchard and Scholars Park are few examples among many similar grassroots restorative efforts. Community residents and ecological organizations in this area have transformed empty lots and devalued flatlands into productive spaces for leisure, sports, urban gardens, and art gardens. In 2016, residents led by Washington Park Partners, a community organization produced a map of local “gardens” called the 2015 Washington Garden Tour Map. The map was also printed in Hmong language for recent Hmong American residents who settled in this area. The map described a careful taxonomy of various open spaces such as parks, community gardens, alley gardens, orchards, farms, flower garden, farmers market, art gardens, and health centers. During the first year, this map was handed out to those who joined a bus tour organized by residents and community organizations, but soon the map was permanently reproduced on a plaque in each garden (Figure 12).

Domestic repair was yet another form of caring. Low home prices attracted new homeowners. Factors that encouraged the influx of new residents into this area included affordable homes, numerous empty lots that could be converted to permanent and temporary urban gardens, proximity to the urban core and social service resources, and easy access to established multi-lingual churches. In recent years, in addition to Hmongs, Laotians, Karen, Somali and other African and Southeast Asian refugee families moved into this neighborhood. Many of the newcomers lacked wealth and generational capital necessary for purchasing high-value property. The many city-owned boarded up homes offered a promising possibility of home-ownership. The increasing numbers of city-owned vacant lots, feared as promoting urban blight if left fallow, prompted the city to proactively find alternate and economically-sustainable uses for these spaces.

One such solution, started in 2011, was the \$1 scheme. This scheme allows individuals to purchase selected city-owned board-ups for one dollar and then rehabilitate it with additional repairs. Prospective buyers need to show that they have the economic ability to repair these building. Often, sweat equity, family labor, and alternate forms of economic loans and funds are available options for interested buyers. According to Hmong American resident Pastor Wang Chao Lee, communal sharing of home improvement and rehabilitation labor was a form of collective caring that allows families to become homeowners with some help from family, friends, community and neighbors. (Figure 13) This sentiment is shared by staff at ACTS housing, a local organization that assists low-income residents of inner city neighborhoods. ACTS staff help resident learn about available capital and alternative equity strategies to buy and rehabilitate older, dilapidated homes. Staff members advise and help

family and extended kin groups find ways to volunteer time and labor on weekends to help each other restore older homes. The organization offers alternative lending options and financing opportunities. The story of homeownership is a long one, but it suffices to say here that many new Southeast Asian refugee families have used the one-dollar home scheme and community-labor and sweat equity strategies to become new homeowners in this area. Their quest for homeownership has reproduced a new residential landscape of Hmong Americans (Figure 14) populating the flatlands.

Conclusions: Designers respond to Flatlands

The Tourist Map of Milwaukee, depicted, perhaps unintentionally, a large gray swath of flatland that seemed to have no historical, touristic or cultural value. The invisibility of the lived and historical potential of Milwaukee's North Side neighborhoods, grayed out in this map is a result of a long history of disinvestments and purposeful acts of injustice. This history has reproduced a sensorial aesthetics of flatlands, that is reinforced by everyday news, practices, and experiences of crime, failing infrastructure, poverty, decline, and neglect. Yet, out of public sight, life in these neighborhoods continue to thrive and flourish. Personal and communal acts of caring such as gardening, homeownership, domesticity, and community policing give residents an opportunity to re-appropriate flatland geographies into vibrant, lived worlds. Geographers have referred to counter-mapping as ways to render such visible solidarities at a local level, because "local mapping, produced collaboratively, by local people and often incorporating alternative local knowledge" (Perkins 2007) render visible a powerful set of grassroots knowledge and resistance-practices otherwise invisible to the larger public (Perkins 2007). The garden map or the Hmong residential map, are cartographic examples of how the local resists the normative and powerful voices and perceptions. My students and I have been collecting, curating, and reproducing "countermaps" in order to explore how design practice and education can learn, respond to, and engage grassroots knowledge and practices.

One such countermap, the Center Peace StoryMapJS (Figure 15) emerged from multiple community led walks through this neighborhood. Also known as Jane's Walks, in homage to Jane Jacobs the urbanist who believed in hearing grassroots views and knowledge of urban residents, our walks involved neighborhood residents leading us through their blocks identifying assets, problems, and places that matter to them. These leaders took us to places that are generally unknown to people outside the neighborhood. They told us histories that are known only to insiders, and pointed out examples of everyday struggles and successes that the media never covers. (see <https://uploads.knightlab.com/storymapjs/68bfe469f701b96f09a8ca90eb690f40/blc-field->

school-2016/draft.html) These narratives, recorded using Zoom recorders, were incorporated into this digital map of the neighborhood, along with archival data, and photographic images.

The Center Peace StoryMap serves as a counter-point to the City Map because it renders visible an emic perspective. Unity Orchard appear in this map as a central public space for the Center Peace community. The map documents sites of caring and provides a new aesthetics that contradicts the prevalent and popular imagery of decline and dereliction.

This storymapJS also traces a series of sites and situations that may gain from catalytic projects from architects, performing artists, and students. Students of architecture enrolled in a public interest design studio in Fall continued the conversation with community residents by designing and hosting community workshops and public art events (Figure 16-18). Drawing from their engagements, the students recreated a “community porch” located on the street-edge of the orchard. Their designs addressed three concerns. They designed anthropometric furniture that engaged the human body. The furniture could be used as seats, play lots, and deep planters. Second, the designers were careful about the layout and arrangement of each furniture unit. The seats were organized to create a social space that allowed community members to use them collectively during summer. Residents expect to use the two-sided prospect of the community porch for community events. The inward-looking aspect provided spaces for block watch meetings, late evening movie screenings, and community barbeques. The sidewalk orientation allowed for seats to hang out and watch the street, a practice popular among elders as well as young adults. The third consideration focused on collective memory and examined ways to engage the residents as co-authors of this installation. For instance, Maria and Pooja’s installation had a plexi-glass skin that had names carved on them. The block residents collected names of those who had died of gun violence or street accidents in this neighborhood. These names, etched on the plexi-glass served as a communal memorial, reminding residents of their gritty determination to “take back their streets” and make peace a reality. Local activist Camille Mays promised to build her emblematic peace garden on this site to add to this installation. According to *Milwaukee Courier*, Mays’s peace gardens serve as roadside memorials for fallen residents but also improve the aesthetic qualities of space. According to Mays, a peace garden is dedicated to “changing the landscape of our communities by adding art, landscaping, and replacing makeshift memorials throughout our city.” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* explains that peace gardens “replace makeshift shrines of liquor bottles, teddy bears and balloons for victims of homicide or car crashes with perennial plants, mulch, stones and other landscaping.” These acts of caring imbue a space with beauty, a form of aesthetics that contemporary scholars call social aesthetics (Highmore 2010, Nielson 2001) Finding and restoring beauty in spaces that are marked as flatlands, as devoid of value is therefore a political act that requires us to listen,

see, and act in ways that are different and counterintuitive to the way we have culturally learnt to read and value our built environment.

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Angkringan as Third Places: The Citizen-Driven Place Making in Yogyakarta Urban Environment

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Abstract

As the art of making places in the city, urban design should consider the dynamic changes of the way of life of its citizens. People and their culture (way of life) should become the prime subject for the urban environment and their development. Third Places apart from home and working places can be one of the primary ingredients of our urban environments nowadays. *Angkringan* is a mobile street vendor to sell a variety of traditional food and beverages located by the side of the streets in Yogyakarta and surrounding cities. It serves for people from a wide range of classes, especially the low income citizens for their simple kind of food and cheaper prices. Recently, *Angkringan* has also been highly desirable for the middle and high class citizens for its informality and their love to getting back to traditional atmosphere. So nowadays, in Yogyakarta the number of *Angkringan* has increased drastically and become a trend for citizen and visitors to eat and hang out at those places with more innovative design (new and adapting heritage properties), and of course, free-WIFI. The aim of this paper is to investigate the role of *Angkringan* as Third Places and the social impact on the shaping of our future urban environment especially regarding the making of social spaces in the city. Visual observation and interviews will be utilised to grasp the whole picture of the phenomenon and will be analysed inductively before drawing some findings and conclusion. It is expected that this study may reveal the role of *Angkringan* and the social impact for the future urban environment, in Yogyakarta in particular and Indonesia in general.

Keywords: *Angkringan*, Third Places, social space

Introduction

Urban design is art of making places in the city (Carmona, et al, 2010). As the art of making places, urban design should consider the dynamic life of the citizens; the human dimension. The urban culture that represents in people's way of life should be the prime subject for the urban designer to design urban environment. One of the important aspects of urban living is social life take place after hour and apart from First Place (home) and Second Place (office, school), that is the Third Places.

In 1999 Ray Oldenburg denotes the word Third Place as public places that host the regular,

voluntary, and informal gathering of people who enjoy their time together. The existence of Third Places in urban environment can be ranging from Barber Shops, Restaurants, Cafes, Malls, Coworking Spaces, and etc. One of the interesting Third Place in Indonesia, especially in Yogyakarta and surrounding cities is the existence of place called *Angkringan*. The word *Angkringan* comes from *Angkring*, meaning mobile vendor that is carried by one's shoulder. So *Angkringan* means place of *Angkring* where we can sit and eat at mobile vendor. As an important place for people in Yogyakarta, this study aims to investigate the role of *Angkringan* as Third Places and the social impact on the shaping of our future urban environment especially regarding the making of social spaces in the city.

Literature Review

Third places exist in most cultures, in various types of neighborhoods and in locations beyond the Main Streets and prominent public spaces of towns and cities. Relationship in a Third Place may vital to customer health and longevity for people receive strong social support and friendships (Rosenbaum, et al., 2007).

In America, the coffee shop and restaurants are the most popular "third places" after pubs, senior centers, parks and malls (Jeffres, et al., 2009). Certain restaurants serve as community anchors, sources of collective identity, and places in which strangers come to know one another to some degree (Williams & Hips, 2017). In deprived community in Britain, social interaction in third places results in changes in the attitudes and behaviour of residents; and the significance, meaning and depth of the social interaction that takes place in them (Hickman, 2013).

Method of the Study

In order to answer the research question regarding the role of *Angkringan* as Third Places and the social impact on the shaping of our future urban environment especially regarding the making of social spaces in the city I utilise naturalism or qualitative inquiry that sees there are multiple, socially constructed realities (Groat and Wang, 2002) in the real world. The strategy of this research is case study that investigates a multiple setting phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1994).

The research was beginning with the visual observation to the setting, understanding the context of the case study. The observation and mapping was conducted during the weekend to get the information regarding the pattern of activities and how *Angkringan* plays as Third Places and also how the mechanisms work.

The second technique is conducting in-depth interviews to several customers and owners in the settings with open-ended questions. All of the interviewees consist of customers of the *Angkringan* with snowballing process. The basic questions of the interviews are 1) the purpose of their coming, 2) meaning of the place, 3) significance and contribution of the place regarding their role as social spaces. The analysis of the in-depth interviews in this study has followed the concept developed by Kvale (2007) on the interview analysis namely:

coding and categorising the texts, condensation, and interpretation of meaning. After the analysis of the interviews some emerging themes can be discussed as the main findings.

Results and Discussions

Existing Condition of *Angkringan* in Yogyakarta

Historically, *Angkringan* in Yogyakarta begins with Mbah (Grand Dad) Pairo who set up a street food business with a wheeled vendor (*Angkring*) near Tugu Train Station in 1969 (northern part of Malioboro Street). This so-called *Angkringan* until now then run by his son Lik (Uncle) Man and still exist until now (Winata, 2014).



Figure 1: Angkringan Lik Man, Near Tugu Train Station Yogyakarta

The number of *Angkringan* in Yogyakarta has been mushrooming and nowadays reached more than 2000 *Angkringan* all over the city (Winata, 2014). Based on visual observation, along Malioboro Street alone, there are more than 200 *Angkringan*. At the beginning, *Angkringan* serve for people from a wide range of class, especially the low income citizens for their simple kind of food and cheaper prices. They usually open from sunset to dawn and traditionally have become a spot for chat and social space for the visitors in an informal ambience. The main food is Nasi Kucing (Rice for Cat), handful rice with Teri Fish and sambal, as if when someone will feed a cat for the portion is small and cheap. The side foods are Gorengan, Sate usus, Sate Telur, etc. The beverages are varied from tea, coffee, ginger, hot milk and etc. all with affordable prices.

Typology of *Angkringan*

1. The Sidewalks Angkringan

Sidewalks *Angkringan* is the most common *Angkringan* situated at the sidewalks of streets of Yogyakarta. They use the sidewalks for running the business from opening the vendor, lying mats, and clean up the dishes. They open their stalls from sunset to dawn, and mostly the customers are male. They are ranging from various age, but mainly the mid-life ages (40 and above).

The Sidewalk *Angkringan* serves various traditional foods, including Nasi Kucing, Satay, and beverages especially hot ginger tea within very cheap prices. The cheap prices makes all of the classes in the society can visit, buy, and enjoy the Sidewalks *Angkringan*. In the context of Indonesia, Yogyakarta is well-known for the cheaper price of goods compared to other cities in Indonesia.

The observation reveals that the nuances in the *Angkringan* is very much informal, the customer are chit-chatting overnight and mingle with other customers as well as the seller. The topic of discussion may vary ranging from economy to politics locally and nationally. The interview to a customer reveal that the atmospheres here are “democratic”, the customers can speak almost about anything from economy to politics without having afraid of being heard by other group of customers (Respondent Fatma, 24 years old, 2018), and also many local artists spend time in the Sidewalks *Angkringan* especially along the famous Malioboro Street (Sholihah, 2016).



Figure 2: Sidewalks *Angkringan* in Yogyakarta

2. *Angkringan* in the Heritage Building (Adaptive reuse)

In the recent years there has been a mushrooming trend that *Angkringan* is taking place in some heritage assets in Yogyakarta. They do adaptive reuse their heritage building, mostly heritage house to be converted as commercial use for *Angkringan*. They ran their business mainly in the front part of the house (*Pendopo*: Main Hall previously functioned as place for public activities and to play *Wayang Kulit* (Leather Puppet)). In Yogyakarta many heritage buildings in the inner city left abandoned in the midst of their strategic location. The conversion of the function of the dwelling into a mixed use building as commercial spaces are become a good choice for the owner, as mentioned in the interviews (Respondent Wisnu, 44 years old, 2018).



Figure 3: *Angkringan* in Pendopo Dalem Sompilan and Pendopo Dalem Sopingan in Yogyakarta

The characteristics of *Angkringan* in the heritage buildings are a bit different with the Sidewalks *Angkringan*, for they are more clean and proper. Even to many people those heritage buildings looks grandeur and unique which enhance the atmosphere of nostalgia. For this atmosphere the owner can increase prices so that the customers are mainly local and international tourists who are curious about the traditional food as well as the informal atmosphere of the city. Other customers are the locals who have better cultural literacy and aware of the heritage conservation movement. The food serve in these places are still the same as we can find in the Sidewalks *Angkringan* but are considered more varied to adapt with the customer appetites. Most of these places do not provide free WIFI, so that the customers come to more enjoy the social interaction in the place with their family, friends or their loved one within their groups. The customer ranging from various age, many come in a big group (mainly from different places in Indonesia).

3. *Angkringan* by moving old buildings to new sites



Figure 4: Kopi Klothok *Angkringan* in a “shifted” traditional building in Yogyakarta

In the recent years, there is a trend for people in Yogyakarta urban area to buy wooden

architecture from rural area and re-use it in new sites. This practice is possible because the traditional wooden architecture in Java is knocking down in construction, ready to move to other places as part of the adaptation to natural disaster (earthquakes and flooding). In this kind of *Angkringan*, the owners try to induce the traditional and oldies atmosphere in the contemporary era. The food and beverages that serve are mainly oldies rural food from the times of our ancestors, makes people wants to try again and sense the nostalgic feeling and regarding the heritage cuisine as well. One of the interviewees (respondent Linda, 50 years old) mentioned that for the first time she came to Kopi Klothok cannot really imagined what kind of food and the tastes, she came only for there are people queuing to eat in this place. After trying once, she then understands why this place is very popular not only because of the cheap price, but also because she then felt the food from her childhood times in her grandmother's kitchen.

4. *Angkringan* in new modern buildings



Figure 5: *Angkringan* in New and Modern Building in Yogyakarta

The *Angkringan* in new and modern building is desirables for the high class society, tourists, and the youngsters (university students). They are cleaner some equipped with Air Conditioning and more variety of cuisine. Even though, they still presenting the *Angkring* (mobile vendor) into the building making it still represent the atmosphere of the tradition. Most of this kind of *Angkringan* is equipped with free-WIFI and live music. Some customers especially the youngsters spend their times working in this place for the WIFI connection.

The characteristics of the *Angkringan* as Third Places can be summarised as follows:

Table 1: The characteristics of *Angkringan* as Third Place

No	Indicator	The Sidewalks <i>Angkringan</i>	<i>Angkringan</i> in the Heritage Building (Adaptive reuse)	<i>Angkringan</i> by moving old buildings to new sites	<i>Angkringan</i> in new modern buildings
1	Character	traditional; less-hygienic; all night open	traditional; hygienic	traditional & modern; hygienic	modern
2	Customer	all of classes in the society but mainly Male	local and international tourists with good cultural literacy; various age, many come in a big group	Local, family, local and international tourists	high class society, tourists, and the youngsters (university students)
3	F&B	Very cheap price, traditional cuisine	Same cuisine serve in the Sidewalks <i>Angkringan</i> but are considered more varied to adapt with the customer appetites; more expensive	oldies rural food from the times of our ancestors; cheap price	Same cuisine serve in the Sidewalks <i>Angkringan</i> and more modern menu (especially coffee from places in Indonesia)
4	Atmosphere	Informal, democratic, full of social interaction amongst the customer-customer, customer-seller	Grandeur, unique nostalgic atmosphere, social interaction amongst the inner group of customer	Informal, always full of customer, social interaction amongst the inner group of customer, less long stay	More cozy, quieter, free-WIFI, less social interaction (more like a coffee shop or restaurant)

Source: Analysis, 2018

Conclusions

This paper presented result of the investigation of the role of *Angkringan* as Third Places and the impact on the social life of the people. The findings have shown that there are several character of *Angkringan*, from the most informal and basic to the most modern and contemporary. Sidewalks *Angkringan* has emerged as the most “democratic” in terms of social interaction atmosphere. The social interaction happens not only amongst the inner group of customer, amongst customer-customer in different group, but also amongst the customers and the seller. Meanwhile, the *Angkringan* in the Heritage Building (Adaptive reuse) appears to be the most unique and nostalgic in character. Many customers come for nostalgia especially for those who have the place attachment with the particular place or the city in general. Other character of *Angkringan* built by moving old buildings to new sites is now become very popular for the public. People have the courage to make long queue just to enjoy the food. However, since the place become very crowded people hardly spent longer time in this kind of *Angkringan*. Thus, the quality of the social interaction may lesser the the other kinds of *Angkringan*. The last is the *Angkringan* in new modern building. The atmospheres in these places are cozier, quieter, free-WIFI, less social interaction (more like a coffee shop or restaurant) and desired by the high classess and youngsters.

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Investigating Hong Kong's Urban Renewal Fund as a Tool for Citizen-driven Placemaking

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Abstract

This paper investigates the relation of the Hong Kong's Urban Renewal Fund (URF) to citizen-driven placemaking (CDP). The URF was created "to provide assistance for residents affected by urban redevelopment projects implemented by the URA [Urban Renewal Authority], to support [...] district revitalization projects to be proposed by non-governmental organizations and other stakeholders in the overall context of urban renewal" (Urban Renewal Fund, 2018). Launched in 2011, just after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and in response to growing concern about Hong Kong's growth-oriented development model, the URF addresses criticism expressed in a 2009-10 survey for a URA Urban Renewal Strategy Review. After discussing the background of the URF, the paper examines three URF projects, which developed approaches for citizen-driven placemaking: 1) "To Kwa Wan House of Stories" (2014-2016); (2) Community Dining Room (2017-present); and 3) "Magic Lanes" (2017- present). Through the discussion of these projects, the paper investigates the institutional frameworks and complex composition of actors, who have been involved, as well as the achievements and limitations of these projects. It also addresses the prevailing contradictions between these small-scale, citizen-driven projects supported by the URF, and the large-scale, growth-orientated developments undertaken by the URA, often in the same districts. In the last section of the paper, the URF program is discussed in comparison to the Urban Regeneration Stations and Open Green programs in Taipei to identify further opportunities for how government-run funding programs could support citizen driven placemaking initiatives.

Keywords: Hong Kong, Citizen Driven Placemaking, Public Space

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From Miniature to Synchroniser:

An Ontology of Small Urban Spaces in Hong Kong

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Abstract

Hong Kong, with some of the most valuable land in the world, is planned and built-out to high density in a massive scale. But between the introverted complexes, along the steep hillsides and in the empty lots of demolished buildings, a different urban form emerges: in the gaps, the overlaps, in the misfit and unused spaces and surfaces of the city. As if reluctantly accepting a margin of interstitiality (not *embracing* it but *allowing* it), the city--perpetually lacking sufficient public open space--fills it with small public object/spaces called *Sitting-out Areas*. These miniature interventions into an otherwise monumental Hong Kong cope with the redundant, vague, leftover spaces, and reflect the cultural, ecological, and geographical settings of Hong Kong.

Referred to locally as 三角屎坑 ('saam kok see hang'), or 'three-cornered shit pit', most

Sitting-out Areas feature little more program than, eponymously, a place to sit and rest. In their abundance, they are an exercise in repetition: the government and its planners have opted for expediency of implementation and maintenance through the reproduction of boilerplate assemblies and standardized details. While the Hong Kong government maintains about 60 'parks', it oversees more than 500 Sitting-out Areas and Rest Gardens that account for a significant proportion of its 'portfolio' of 'parks, zoos and gardens' and form the smallest features in the city's formal network of public open space amenities. Hard-to-find and overlooked, their ubiquity gives them a respectable impact and suggests a latent potential to operate as collective space on a neighborhood scale. Through their uniformity, the Sitting-out Areas impact not only the communities in their close proximity, but are also embedded in a larger system of political, economic and environmental negotiations, which not only constitute but also continually reshape the conditions of each site.

Having never been considered conceptually, collectively, or strategically, Hong Kong's small urban spaces describe an alternative narrative about the city. Neither a retreat from, nor at the

vanguard of notions of nature and community, Sitting-out Areas hint at methods of a more deliberate dialogue in the city, interweaving small and large, public and private, green and grey. By developing a critical analysis of small landscape spaces in Hong Kong, as well as collecting and communicating their unifying spatial, organizational or procedural attributes, the research examines Sitting-out Areas at the scale of both immediate urban and ecological contexts, and the spatial assemblage in reference to the occupant.

Keywords: *Interstitial Hong Kong, Public open space, Urban contingencies, Sitting-out Area*

Digital Placemaking in Everyday Hong Kong: Interfaces and Scenarios

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Abstract

With the rapid development of information and communication technology, the concept of digital placemaking begins to be widely researched and implemented by scholars and professionals from various disciplines. It has also gained popularity in recent urban research. Most previous studies and initiatives mainly emphasize technologies and/or urban policies, which normally take a top-down perspective to examine digital placemaking. Hence, this research takes a people-centred everyday life perspective and incorporates socio-spatial notions of place to investigate the mechanism of digital placemaking. Based on a multi-method research design that combines literature analysis, narrative walks and observation, this research employs a case study of a shopping mall to examine the framework of digital placemaking by investigating interfaces of digital placemaking and its user scenarios. The paper discusses digital affordance of people's space uses and different types of digital placemaking in the quest to collaboratively create an engaging and human-centred built environment. This research will also interest policy makers, planners and designers concerned with improving liveability and quality of life via the digital placemaking approach.

Keywords: Digital placemaking, everyday life, user interface and senario, shopping mall, Hong Kong

Introduction: From Smart Cities to Digital Placemaking

According to the United Nations, cities cover only 3% of the Earth's surface area, but account for 60-80% of its energy consumption and 75% of carbon emissions. By 2030, it is estimated that almost 60% of the world's population will live in cities (United Nations, 2017). As such, cities are facing enormous challenges that include, but are not limited to, liveability, quality of life, sustainability, social inclusion, public health and safety.

To solve these urban problems, the concept of the smart city is being widely researched and implemented by scholars and professionals from various disciplines, and has gained

popularity in recent urban research. Research has focused on various topics such as technology and engineering studies for greater urban efficiency (Mitton et al., 2012), economic-led urban development, sustainable urban growth (Chourabi & Nam, 2012) and urban innovation (Zygiaris, 2013). Industries and technology corporations such as Arup and IBM have also developed smart city strategies and initiatives.

Most studies and initiatives emphasize technologies, take a top-down perspective, simplify the idea of smart cities to the notion of efficiency and treat ordinary city dwellers as passive data sources. However, this study takes a more microscopic and everyday life perspective (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1991; Katz, 2001) and incorporates the humanistic notion of place (Canter, 1977; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977) to examine the mechanism of digital placemaking within the broader context of smart city studies. Specifically, this research uses a shopping mall as a case study to investigate the interface and user scenarios of digital placemaking with special respect to the dynamic relationship between digital properties and individuals' actions.

Examining Placemaking in the Digital Age

The concept of place has been researched by many scholars from different fields such as human geography, environmental psychology, architecture, urban planning and design. In each discipline, place has different definitions and meanings. It is about location, locale and identity (Agnew, 1987) and a way of being in the world, which focuses on the "rich and complicated interplay between people and the environment" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 11). Particularly since the 1970s, a group of human geographers have studied the conception of place by emphasizing individuals' experiences. Relph (1976) believes place and space are dialectically structured by??with human experiences. Tuan (1977) states human experience transforms an abstract notion of space into a meaningful place. '... The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition ... if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (Tuan, 1977, p. 6). Tuan (1977) also suggests there are four dimensions of place: physical, personal, social and cultural. Similarly, Canter (1977) proposes a theoretical framework for the concept of place in his seminal book *The Psychology of Place*. According to him, place is constituted of physical attributes, activities and conceptions.

Following Canter's theoretical framework, this paper explores the mechanism of digital placemaking by focusing on digital attributes, people's activities and interactions between them. Relating to the notion of digital, this study adopts a broad definition of the digital as that which 'translate all inputs and outputs into binary structures of 0s and 1s, which can be stored, transferred, or manipulated at the level of numbers, or "digits"' (Lunenfeld, 1999, p. xv). It normally includes digital devices such as smart phones, kiosk,

computer and media facades and software applications running on a single or diverse platform.

Methods

Some of the previous digital placemaking studies employ action research strategies to evaluate the spatial engagement of situated digital technologies (Fredericks et al., 2015). Other research focuses on inquiring into a certain type of digital interface such as media façade or digital urban screens (Behrens et al., 2014). To more comprehensively examine the framework of digital placemaking, this research follows Canter's (1977) theoretical model of place. It investigates a variety of digital interfaces and selects a newly built shopping centre named YOHO Mall in Tuen Long, Hong Kong as the case study to look into digital placemaking in the real-life context.

Developed and privately owned by Sun Hung Kai Properties Limited (SHKP), the mall opened in 2015 and used the state-of-the-art technology to make a digitally optimized shopping place. According to SHKP, an innovative YOHO Moment concept, which advocates the integration of technology and human, further enriches customers shopping experience. The YOHO Mall is a living example that employs relatively advanced digital technologies to drive placemaking, which makes it an ideal case study to examine the mechanism of digital placemaking and to evaluate its performance. A physical survey of digital attributes and observation of people's activities were conducted for data collection. Additionally, it should be noted that the author is fully aware that the case study shopping mall is owned and managed by a private developer. Thus, the concept of "public" in this article refers to the accessibility of the public in this privately-owned property.

Findings and discussion

1. Digital affordance from personal to public

Technology is widely employed at the YOHO Mall to provide a digitally integrated shopping place to people. The SHKP has launched a mobile app that provides a variety of e-services. Customers can check all the shops, services, and promotional offers with the use of a single app any time anywhere. Particularly, they can book and "queue up" their favorite restaurants, which helps them better plan and arrange their visit before they physically arrive at the mall. During the wait, customers can then explore the other parts of the mall as the app will send them the notification when it is almost their turn. People can also navigate themselves by checking the map built within the app. Drivers can not only find the recommended driving routes to the mall but also can check the real-time availability of parking lots. Moreover, when customers arrive and start shopping, they can easily find a variety of interactive digital screens on-site to access all the services that they can get from the app (Figure 1).

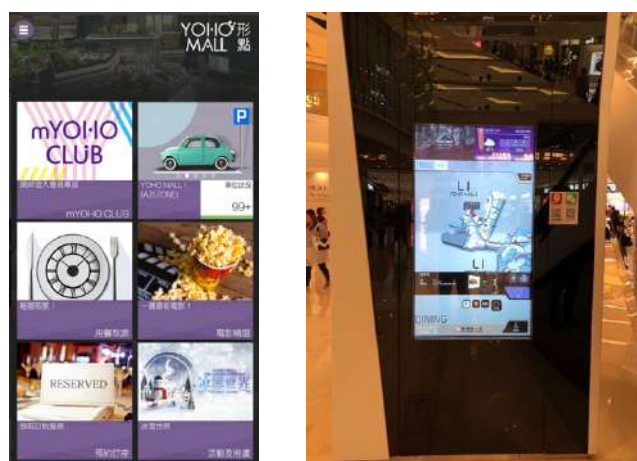


Figure 1. Digital interfaces on a mobile app and an interactive screen at YOHO Mall

From an app on a personal smartphone to interactive digital screens installed publicly in the shopping mall, various types of interactive digital interfaces offer people new forms of opportunities and possibilities to know and to encounter the physical environment. Unlike the environment's physical attributes that are static and are built on-site, these digital interfaces are immersed within diverse user scenarios to afford and sustain people's digital placemaking. The interactive, screen-based digital affordance (Gibson, 1977) extends to using personal mobile apps to interact with the shopping space on-site. Being there physically is therefore not necessary to experience the place and placemaking is digitally mediated and sustained on and off the site.

2. Digitally make place

Different types of digital screens are built at YOHO Mall. They are well designed and built to be integrated into walls, columns and façade of the building. These represent the first approach of digital placemaking by integrating digital media into physical built environment to offer people new place experiences in a very straightforward means (Figure 2). Rather than creating new and more engaging and interactive place experiences, the second approach focuses on employing digital technologies to embellish the existing physical environment with enhanced functions and services—for example, the app's feature of showing the real-time availability of parking lots. Within the mechanism of digital placemaking, these two approaches complement each other to strengthen spatial functionalities and to offer new place experiences.

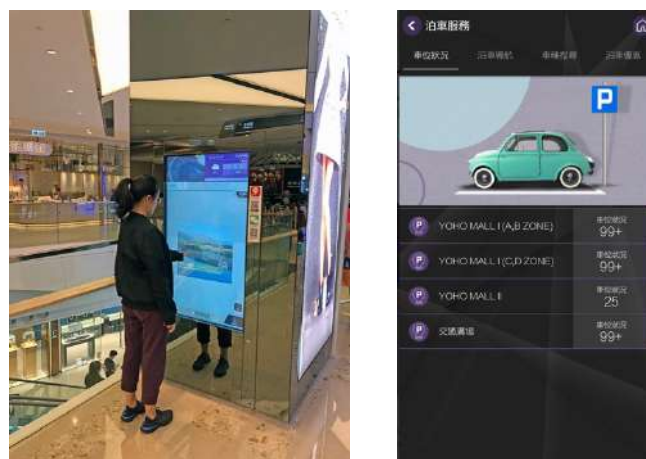


Figure 2. Two approaches of digital placemaking

Conclusion

Employing YOHO Mall as a case study to examine the mechanism of digital placemaking, it is concluded that digital placemaking does not make or create a kind of new space apart from the physical space. Instead, it digitally strengthens spatial functionalities and provides new possibilities and opportunities for people to interact with space in different ways. With the application of emerging technologies, digital placemaking is more like an approach and a process to mediate people's spatial practice and to sustain their spatial appropriation in the digital age. The digitally mediated hybrid physical/digital space thus opens up new forms of spatialities in people's everyday worlds.

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A Critical Look at the Impacts and Efficacy of Tactical Urbanism

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Abstract

In reaction to large scaled strategies that serve the city's economic bottom line, but not individual residents, more decentralized and informal methods of city building have emerged at the turn of the 21st century. These informal city design initiatives seek to combat urban stagnation through the collaborative action of local stakeholders who are affected by such circumstances and seek to reverse or alter them. In the past decade, these actions often fall under the moniker of Tactical Urbanism. In the same manner that open-source software code is available to anyone who wishes to contribute, alter or customize a program, tactical urbanism begins with the initiative of public participants rather than from officially sanctioned protocols. Purposes served by tactical urbanism that are commonly asserted by its proponents include: (1) increasing the diversity of people participating in the process; (2) creating opportunities for new directions and for challenging the status quo; (3) attracting interest to a site; and, (4) creating employment or entrepreneurial opportunities.

Currently literature focuses on methods and case studies for the implementation of the "informal" city; they are basically how-to guides aimed at the academy, professionals and activists. However, there is scant study of the efficacy of these practices. What happens after the project is done (and perhaps gone)? This paper will attempt to fill that knowledge gap through researching outcomes based on stakeholder interviews and published reviews/commentary. The case studies under examination will include those touted at the MOMA exhibit "Uneven Growth: Tactical Urbanism for Expanding Megacities" with a focus on Hong Kong, Istanbul, Mumbai and New York. Initial questions will include:

- What factors help or hinder the implementation of temporary reactivation projects from having longer term outcomes and impacts?
- Which stakeholders are affected positively and/or negatively from such efforts and how are they involved in their implementation?
- What are some best practices in the effective operation of tactical urbanism programs in

terms of producing tangible outcomes and effective demonstrative changes?

More than a decade has passed since Tactical Urbanism's emergence in 2005; now is the time for a critical evaluation of the work.

Keywords: tactical urbanism, design process, public space, informal city, urban design

Balancing "Livability" and "Vitality"

—Studies on Collaborative-driven placemaking of Fangjia Hutong in Beijing, China

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Abstract

Fangjia Hutong (Family Fang's Alley), located in central Beijing, is a typical case of historical high-density residential area. Through over 100 years' development, Hutong has experienced many changes in population density and functional format. Each period has different policy guidance, and multiple stakeholders including the residents participate in it.

This paper takes Fangjia Hutong as a case, examines its multiple transformations, and analyzes the roles and demands of multiple stakeholders. It intends to reveal the effects of planning in preserving and revitalizing historic block and explore the possible ways of balancing "livability" and "vitality".

Through on-site surveys and interviews, this study will uncover the conflicts and game between multiple stakeholders under the influence of planning and market. The primary goal of the municipal government is to preserve the historical appearance, but the previous strict and static protection went against the residents' desire to improve living conditions. More and more young residents chose to move out. Under the Alley Activation Plan, the area was invigorated but changed the lives of local resident. Residents who moved out benefit from rent, while transferring negative costs to the stayed residents. Local resident suffered a lot, such as insecurity, noises, price rise, etc. In response, local resident started to establish NGO, which would provide the basis for collaborative -driven placemaking. Via it, community talents are organized, and offer open consultations. The paper will construe the new collaborative planning paradigm, and coordinate the relationship between multiple subjects to achieve balance.

Keywords: collaborative -driven placemaking, historical block, multiple stakeholders, livability

Introduction

Aiming at the protection, development and sustainable development of residential historical blocks, the research on community construction and historical block protection was carried out. In terms of community building, there are many related studies and practices in Japan and Taiwan (Haili, 2018), but the research focuses on the coordination and cooperation between residents, the government, and the planners. Compared with the multiple stakeholders in the historical block, the relationship is a little simple.

In terms of the protection of historical blocks, the current research has repeatedly demonstrated the Historical Value and cultural significance of historical blocks and the involvement of the government, indirectly ignoring the urgent need for residents to improve their lives.

Research questions and assumptions

Through network data collection, on-site investigation and resident interviews, the author has sorted out the changes in the development direction and the relationship of multi-stakeholders in Fangjia Hutong.

Furthermore, the Respective positions of the multi-stakeholders in the historical blocks dominated by the residential function are derived. And find out the formation factors and main contradictions of the current complex relationship, and finally find ways to ease the contradictions and realize the collaborative -driven placemaking.

The focus of historical blocks planning

Community livability

As a part of the city, the historical district is a city block with mixed functions and cultural blends. It naturally contains residential functions. Since the prosperity of ancient and modern commodity transactions is far less than contemporary, it can even be said that urban blocks, which are classified as historical and cultural blocks and strictly enforce protection measures, are mostly based on residential functions.

For example, Beijing Dongsì 3-tiao to 8-tiao Historical and Cultural Street District, Tianjin Five Avenue Historical and Cultural Street District, Yuzhong Huaguanglou Historical and Cultural Street, and so on. The residential function is common in historical blocks and can reflect the traditional lifestyle and the local culture. Therefore, the residential function as a basic function should be paid attention to in the planning of historical blocks. The promotion of residents' living standards should be the main purpose and one of the comprehensive evaluations of block planning.

Community vitality

The responsibility of the historical block is not only reservation, but also inheritance. It should

not be just a static display, but also a live interaction. And this view has been agreed by the planning practitioners.

If traditional historical blocks do not carry out some measures to enhance their vitality, they will not be able to continue to attract outsiders and create a sense of community belonging to young residents. In this case, it is difficult to arouse people's interest and recognition of traditional culture. If the new generation has no interest or recognition of traditional culture, then the cultural heritage will be even more difficult to talk about, and these historical blocks that are still "live" will soon become "empty shells" in the renewal of residents.

Maintaining the vitality of historical blocks, bringing people in the historic districts to blend, allowing more people to experience traditional culture and traditional life, providing the possibility of outsiders to integrate into the neighborhood and even move into the neighborhood, providing the possibility for the continued continuity and activity of the historical block. At the same time, a community with vitality and belonging, through the collaboration with residents, can carry out spontaneous maintenance of residents, which can greatly help professional teams to solve the problem of "maintenance" of historical block buildings. Compared with the complex requirements of high-cost, long-term stationed site and frequent maintenance of official building maintenance, the spontaneous maintenance of residents is positive.

Community vitality is of great significance to community construction and historical inheritance. Therefore, to enhance the community vitality of the neighborhood should be the main purpose and one of the comprehensive evaluations of block planning.

Qualitative evaluation criteria for "livability" and "Vitality"

Therefore, it can be seen that "level of living" and "vitality of community" in the historical block are two important evaluation contents. In order to evaluate the effect of collaboratively driven local construction in residential historical blocks, and to provide feedback during the implementation and adjust the development direction of historical protection blocks, this paper puts forward two indicators of "livability" and "Vitality".

These two indicators are based on different perspectives, that is, the perspective of local-residents' life and the sustainable development of the district and cultural heritage, and qualitative evaluation of the many changes in the historical block. At the same time, because these two indicators are for qualitative evaluation, they don't set quantitative evaluation indicators, but define and characterize them first.

"livability" of historical blocks

The "livability" of historical blocks is for local aborigines as well as foreign tenants. Livability is the basic attribute of a residential community, while residential-style historical blocks are residential communities. Habitability is an important evaluation criterion for evaluating whether a historical block is built on a people-oriented basis. Any transformation that leads to

deterioration of the current living conditions should be prohibited.

The “Vitality” of the historic district

The “vitality” of the historic blocks is aimed at the sustainable development of traditional historical blocks and the inheritance of traditional culture. Historical protection blocks need to be passed down, and only continuous vitality can introduce new people and resources, so that historical blocks continue to develop as a living historical and cultural carrier (Li, 2015). Therefore, vitality is an important evaluation criterion for evaluating whether the construction of historical blocks is conducive to the future of the block.

The significance of these two indicators is to emphasize the importance of every stakeholders in historical blocks, rather than to one side. It is precisely because of the importance of multiple stakeholders that collaborative -driven is required to “co-drive” rather than just one party for planning and community building.

The transformation process of Fangjia Hutong

This paper analyzes the historical evolution of Fangjia Hutong by taking Fangjia Hutong as an example, and tries to make a comprehensive description of the multiple stakeholders’ game checks and balances and collaborative driving in historical blocks.

Fangjia Hutong has experienced many transformations since the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and today's situation is very different from what it was hundreds of years ago. Up to now, based on the functional form, the history of Fangjia Hutong can be divided into four major stages of evolution (Figure 1).

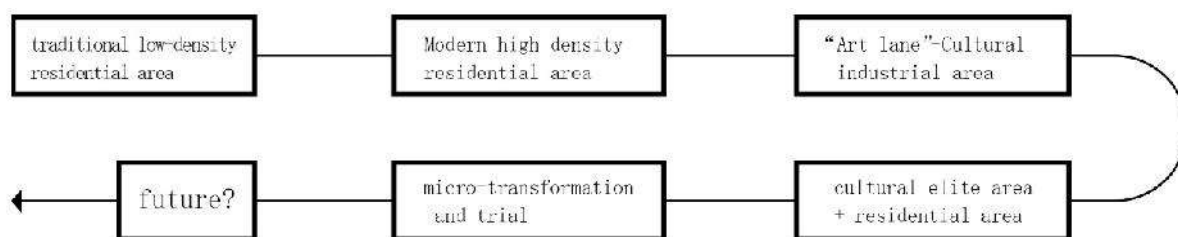


Figure 1. The transformation process of Fangjia Hutong, Beijing, China

The first transformation

The first transformation, from the traditional low-density private courtyard residential district to the modern high-density public mixed residential district.

Fangjia Hutong was first planned to be built during the Yuan Dynasty, and it was part of the Chongjia Square during the Ming Dynasty. Xunjun Wangfu is located at No. 13 and No. 15 of Fangjia Hutong. It is a key cultural relic of Beijing and the second batch of demarcation and construction control zones in Beijing. The early hutong was a single-family house, and the

living comfort was extremely high. However, the public space was lacking, and there was almost no so-called community activity. It was a neighborhood with good livability but lack of vitality.

With the founding of the country and the liberation, Beijing Hutong has changed from “one yard and one household” to “one yard and multiple households”. The population and living density of the Beijing Hutong district including Fangjia Hutong began to rise. And the traditional low-density private courtyards became the district has changed into a modern high-density public mixed residential district.

Although the first transformation made the “livability” of the historical districts slightly lower, it greatly increased the internal “vitality” of the historical blocks through the newly-created courtyard life.

The second transformation

The second transformation, from the modern high-density public mixed residential district to a creative historical district mixed with a variety of formats.

In the “Strategy for Regional Development of Andingmen Street (2011-2030)” released in 2011, it was pointed out that the Fanghu Hutong No. 46 Courtyard should be used as the base point to speed up the transformation of the county’s Wangfu government and promote the overall development of Hutong through demonstration. Actively promote the development of cultural display along the street, catering and leisure, creative experience, etc., promote the integration of avant-garde art and market life, and create a cultural and artistic community and creative leisure harbor in Hutong.

With the gradual development of Hutong commercials such as Nanluoguxiang, Wudaoying and Guozijian, and the continuous development of the creative park of No. 46 Courtyard in Fangjia Hutong, there have been many shops along the street that have been formed by opening the walls and opening the windows. The street is becoming more and more famous, especially favored by foreign tourists.

During this period, Fangjia Hutong ushered in the peak of tourists. Domestic and foreign tourists and nearby residents living outside the block were in constant stream. The commercial variety, commercial scale and commercial density of Hutong reached the highest peak in history. Fangjia Hutong quickly transformed from a modern high-density public mixed residential district to a creative historical district with a variety of formats.



Figure 2. Even open restaurant in the evening in Fangjia Hutong

The second transformation greatly increased the external “vitality” of the hutong, but lost some of the “livability”.

The third transformation

The third transformation, from a multi-format creative historical block to a single-format high-density public residential district.

On May 23, 2017, Beijing Andingmen Street launched the comprehensive environmental improvement work of Fangjia Hutong, standardized management of the creative factory operations in Hutong, and centralized sealing of the shops that opened the walls and opened the doors and windows illegally. Blocking, as of now, 90 openings have been completed, and the commercial atmosphere of Fangjia Hutong has been greatly affected.

Since the beginning of 2017, Beijing has greatly rectified the behavior of “opening holes for walls and windows” and incorporated into the three-year plan of the municipal government to “resolve, rectify and promote”. It is estimated that 16,000 will be rehabilitated in 2017. On May 23, Andingmen Street officially launched the “Ten No” demonstration street in Fangjia Hutong to build work (no illegal construction, no illegal wall opening, no illegal billboards, no messy overhead lines, no illegal operation No vehicles are parked indiscriminately, no littering materials and exposed garbage, unprivileged piles of land locks, no messy stickers, no illegal renting and subletting), and Fangjia Hutong’s behavior of “opening holes for walls and windows” After the basic rectification was completed, the illegal doors and windows were restored, and the illegal construction was completely demolished.

For the rectification work, the residents of Fangjia Hutong have different opinions. The following two residents' evaluations are selected.

A grandfather living in the west side of Fangjia Hutong said: "This rectification is quite good. It should have been done long ago. The hutongs are so messy. How do we live? I said that it was originally for the purpose of recruiting people. Now it is business. However, in order to ease the population, it began to rectify. Before the hutong was dirty, chaotic, and poor, a group

of foreigners in the middle of the night drank more and did not have morals, which greatly affected the rest. These foreigners also had poor quality. When they turn, they urinate and vomit. Hurry and "throw away" them. Next, we must repaint the wall, it is best to manage it like a community. Now there is no street, the hutong in the west is safe, the car is not. Let's go in. Like us, the parking space is already tight. Many foreigners have not lived here. It is half a year to put the car here." It can be seen that the uncle is more supportive of the rectification. He believes that the outside crowd Seriously disturbed his life, and he believed that the remediation action could make the hutong more quiet and comfortable.

And a grandfather living in the east side of Fangjia Hutong said: "There is only one store left, it is not waiting for the price increase. It is far more inconvenient to go to the big supermarket. You are saying that it is necessary to restore the ancient capital. Which generation to restore, there is no one. The ancient capital is the mahogany door. Don't you install a security door. I don't have any influence. People like to go to Beijing Hutong to visit. We can't marry people, people come. Look at the good things that don't get in the way. Those shops are closed at 10:30 in the evening. If they pass, we will talk about them. They will be closed. They are all obedient to the children who grow up." These words reflect The hospitable side of the local residents can also communicate effectively with the merchants. In addition, on the economic level, the rich and prosperous format is indeed convenient for the residents' life.

Judging from the above two paragraphs, the rectification actions have not satisfied all residents; many residents are opposed to rectification; the remediation actions are too rigid, and the businesses that do not disturb the people and the businesses that serve the residents are also removed. Only the remaining supermarkets have no competition, and some commodities have increased their prices, which has harmed the interests of the residents. For the residents, it is necessary to go further to solve the needs of life.

The third shift reduced the external "vitality" of the block, but the "livability" of the block did not increase significantly.

The fourth transformation

The fourth transformation which is taking place, is beginning with a collaborative drive-driven localization based on "micro-reform".

With the help of Tsinghua Tongheng professional design team, the residential-oriented block micro-reconstruction began to be implemented. Local residents, neighborhood committees, municipal officials and professional design teams participated in and coordinated with each other to create a collaborative drive. Create a group and jointly develop a "community code". The planning team started from the aspects of pension station, public space, parking problems, etc., making full use of professional design advantages, focusing on solving the living problems of local residents, and introducing residents to participate in renovation activities step by step, guiding residents to join the community construction, and even eventually building residents

themselves. The NGOs make the coordination between residents and stakeholders of all parties feasible and efficient.

The fourth transformation significantly improved the “livability” of the neighborhood, and in terms of community autonomy, it also laid the foundation for the “vitality” of the neighborhood.

Multiple stakeholders game interaction

In these four transformations, various contradictions and games between different subjects have emerged. The following are the most obvious and most persistent conflicts described and analyzed (Figure 2).

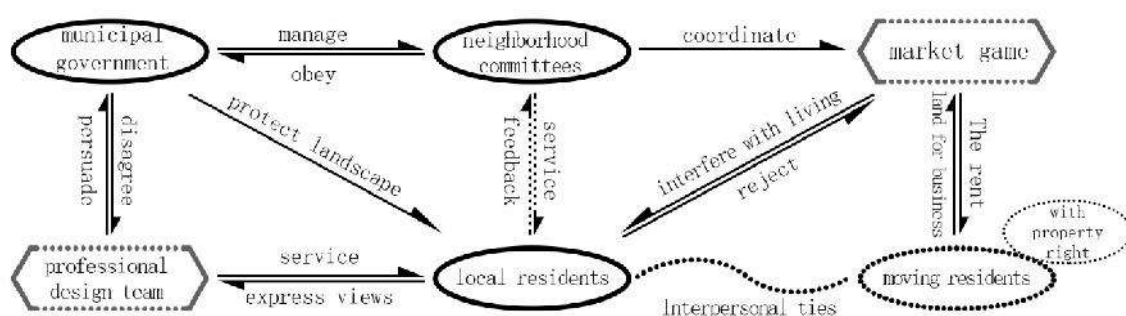


Figure 3. multiple stakeholders of Fangjia Hutong, Beijing, China

Conflict between municipal government, neighborhood committee and local residents

With the development of the times, the demand for space in Hutong residents has increased, and spontaneous construction has been carried out. The government and the neighborhood committee tried to clean up this behavior because of the protection of the historical districts, but they did not solve the actual demand of the residents for the space, which caused the residents' quality of life to be improved. In the end, there is a big contradiction between heritage protection and real life.

Conflict between residents' living and free market economy

When the free market enters the historical block and enriches the block format, it also brings a large number of people outside the venue. These people's activities sometimes conflict with the local resident, and the event time will also have great conflicts. For example, guests who come to the bar will be active until the early hours of the morning, which will interfere with the rest of the local resident.

Conflict between residents who have moved and local residents

Moving away from the local inhabitants, some people still retain the property in the hutong. Unused properties are naturally used for rental. In the early days, tenants only rented houses,

and in the second transformation process, foreign merchants began renting houses. The tenant's bidding ability for foreign business activities is much higher than that of the former foreign residents. The owner of the house has chosen to rent the house to the tenant who is engaged in commercial activities for the sake of maximizing the benefits. As a result, more rents have been obtained. It is a good thing for the residents to move away. But because foreign businesses inevitably bring some negative effects, these negative costs are transferred to local residents who have no interest. Local resident cannot get compensation from moving residents, which makes it difficult to resolve such conflicts.

Coordination between planning team and local resident

The planning and design team is entrusted by the government to carry out the renovation design of the block and is actually responsible to the government. However, in the process of implementing the project, the design team could not ignore the requirements of local resident, which caused the planning and design team to continuously communicate and adjust the plan, and even sought the consent of some planning from the residents.

Inevitable multi-subject mixing

These multi-subjective game interactions in Fangjia Hutong map the complex relationship of multiple subjects in Chinese historical blocks. On the one hand, in the development of historical blocks, it is necessary to retain local resident, safeguard the interests of local resident, and restore or maintain the “livability” of historical blocks; on the other hand, the development of historical blocks needs to introduce new people and even new formats. Maintain the “vitality” of the historic district. Therefore, as long as the historical district is developed, the mixing and game of multiple subjects will continue. Therefore, the best solution is not to avoid contact with multiple subjects or to reduce the composition of multiple subjects, but to make full use of the characteristics and advantages of each subject, and to coordinate the relationship between multiple subjects to achieve balance.

Game and checks and balances

The game will not only create contradictions, but also increase checks and balances, which is beneficial to historical blocks (Liping, 2006). If this kind of game is used reasonably, a balance can be achieved among multiple parties, which is very meaningful for the sustainable development of the block.

For example, in the Fangjia Hutong, the restrictions imposed on the residents by the government and resident committees made the excessive renovation of the building impossible, and protected the historic buildings; and the involvement of the planning team put forward different ideas for the government's “one size fits all” management. It also represents the interests of some residents; during the process of communication between the planning team

and the residents, the cohesiveness among the residents has strengthened, and the NGOs independent of the residents' committee have gradually formed to represent the interests of the residents.

Conclusions

Through government recognition, the professional planning and design team participates, and the residents' self-governing organizations are established to jointly promote the construction of multi-party public participation platforms, so that the relationship of multiple stakeholders in the historical blocks, which is complex and difficult to coordinate, can be transformed into a stable system or a new model (Figure 3) that mutually restricts mutual cooperation and guarantees history. The balance between “livability” and “vitality” in the neighborhood makes the civic life and traditional culture in the neighborhood inherited and developed together.

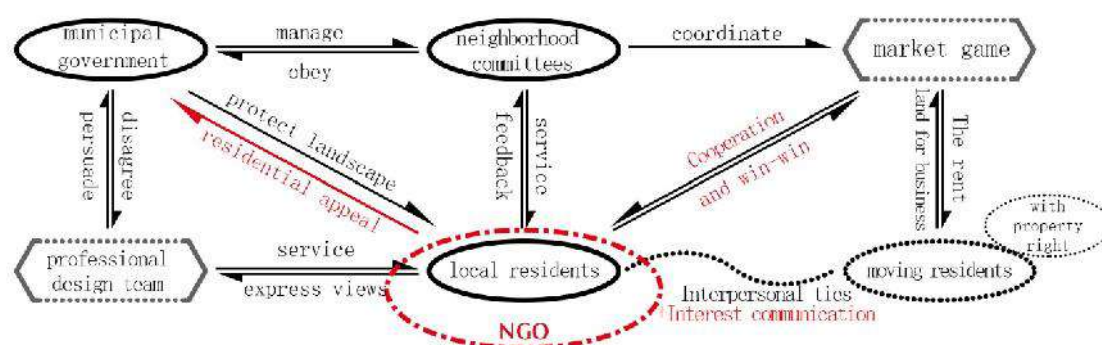


Figure 4. New model of multiple stakeholders of Fangjia Hutong, Beijing, China

Acknowledgements

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Small Steps toward Big Goals: Employing the UN Sustainable Development Goals in Community Design for Placemaking

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Abstract

With the rapid rate of global urbanization, community design is increasingly being employed as a strategy for community economic development through the practice of Placemaking. Primarily employed in weak-market areas, Placemaking is proving successful in creating vibrant environments with an increased quality-of-life including, but far from limited to, a positive economic impact. These initiatives focus on creating, or often retaining, a sense of place as a connecting element in an overall development strategy. Fundamentally based on the premise of participatory process, Placemaking focuses on designing, building and programming semi-private and public spaces in defined geographic areas in order to maximize public benefit. A fairly recent subset called Creative Placemaking highlights the role of the creative community of artists as prime movers in process and product.

The authors propose that the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are an appropriate framework for expanding the breadth of explicit considerations for Placemakers. As Placemaking becomes a preferred strategy for grant makers, educators and public policy it is appropriate to reflect on the ways this strategy, and its implementation in specific communities can be optimized to benefit the residents of the community who are in place at the beginning of the initiatives, as well as, new stakeholders. There are many strong initiatives in place to assist in structuring and evaluating placemaking in ways that include sustainability, social justice and economic development.

Key Words: Sustainable Development Goals, Economic Development, Participatory Design

Introduction

Since the 1960s community designers, have engaged in participatory design practices that work alongside community stakeholders to shape environments in under resourced communities in order to improve quality of life. Positive outcomes in placemaking require strategic decisions in defining community character while maintaining affordability and inclusivity. Evaluation tools can be valuable in helping communities, policy makers and funders, discern strategies that have worked in other communities and which may or may not be appropriate for their specific needs.

Placemaking has been instrumental in reinvigorating the public realm of numerous low functioning neighborhoods, towns, and cities globally. Work has focused on bringing renewed vitality to existing places based on the value driven assumption of the importance of shared public good and inclusive community benefit. There is significant overlap between the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals included in the New Urban Agenda, and Placemaking. There is a shared conceptual premise that planning is most successful when it is initiated by the community, oftentimes in an informal and participatory process, that is “people oriented”, rather than through a more traditional formal approach such as the federal Urban Renewal programs in the US or slum clearance programs that are frequently “infrastructure oriented” and seen as a one time capital intervention rather than an ongoing series of incremental actions.

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.” – Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961).

Placemaking as a multidimensional and multidisciplinary strategy has its early roots in civic change in the tumultuous 1960s in America and is now a recognized planning discipline that is used globally. The antecedents of placemaking are too numerous to review fully here. They include but are far from limited to the following: Major movements including community organizing, community design, historic preservation, environmental and civil rights. Organizations such as the Association for Community Design, Our Town, the Project for Public Spaces (PPS), the Asset-based Community Development Institute, the Congress for

the New Urbanism, UNESCO, ArtPlace America, and the Mayors' Institute on City Design. Influencers include Theaster Gates, Lily Yeh, Christopher Alexander, Jane Jacobs, William Whyte, Norman Mintz, Roberta Gratz, Richard Florida, Rick Lowe, Oscar Newman, Jan Gehl and George Andrews.

There are many descriptions of Placemaking and the following from the Project for Public Spaces (PPS) succinctly weaves many of the major tenets together:

“As both an overarching idea and a hands-on approach for improving a neighborhood, city, or region, placemaking inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community. Strengthening the connection between people and the places they share, placemaking refers to a collaborative process by which we can shape our public realm in order to maximize shared value.

More than just promoting better urban design, placemaking facilitates creative patterns of use, paying particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution. With community-based participation at its center, an effective placemaking process capitalizes on a local community's assets, inspiration, and potential, and it results in the creation of quality public spaces that contribute to people's health, happiness, and well being”.

It is important to note that not everything described as Placemaking actually meets the criteria for Placemaking described in this paper. Some sectors, including hospitality, tourism and lifestyle communities for instance, use the Placemaking imprimatur as a way of lending authenticity in the creation of new places that are distinctly separate, self sufficient and independent (and in general more affluent) from previously established common public spaces.

There are numerous examples of successful Placemaking, and the Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence program has been instrumental in highlighting many of the best examples. Pike Place Market in Seattle is an early and iconic award recipient as a 1987 Gold Medalist. The following summary and image are from the Rudy Bruner Awards Archive.

Case Study: Pike Place Market

Pike Place Market in Seattle renovated historic waterfront buildings to create a thriving farmers market with retail, low-income housing, and social services. Much more than a market, the project spans seven acres and includes 300 businesses and 750 subsidized housing units in an interdependent network of business owners, consumers, and neighbors.

“High praise goes to projects that serve a broad cross-section of society and Pike Place Market emerged as the winner partly because it has become a place for nearly everyone”.

1987 Selection Committee

The Market Foundation, created to support local residents, offers a wide a variety of social services including a health clinic, food bank, child care center, and senior center to strengthen and serve the community.

The farmers market was established in 1907 by local farmers in response to steep price increases in produce. The project preserves the founders’ commitment to creating and serving community by combining retail with residential units and social services. At the same time, the project preserves a section of the city’s waterfront, mixing new development with the adaptive reuse of several blocks of historic buildings. The market’s programming reflects its intention to attract a diverse population to the venue, where people can still “meet the producers” in the oldest continually run farmers market in the country.



Figure 1: Lara Swimmer, <http://www.rudybruneraward.org/winners/?res=pike-place-market>

Creative Placemaking, which brings the role of the artist in the community to the forefront in Placemaking was solidified as a specific strategy in a 2010 white paper created for the National Endowment for the Arts in, “Creative Placemaking: A White Paper for The Mayors’ Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative of the National Endowment for the Arts in partnership with the United States Conference of Mayors and American Architectural Foundation” by Ann Markusen, Markusen Economic Research Services and Anne Gadwa, Metris Arts Consulting. The authors suggest that, “instead of a single arts center or a cluster of large arts and cultural institutions, contemporary creative placemaking envisions a more decentralized portfolio of spaces acting as creative crucibles”.

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) through its Our Town and ArtPlace funding has supported numerous Creative Placemaking activities including the work in Pendleton, South Carolina described below in an excerpt from Kaid Benfield’s article, “Examples of Powerful Placemaking (2013). The NEA and its partner organizations, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, the Kresge Foundation, and Enterprise Community Partners are considering evaluation measures that are explored in detail later in this paper.

Case Study: Town Square, Pendleton, South Carolina

NEA is helping the town, Clemson Little Theater, and five local organizations work with landscape architects and urban designers to create a master plan to renovate the town square. The plan will include designs for the surrounding streetscape, public art, and performance spaces to foster cultural activity.



Figure 2: Town square, Pendleton, South Carolina. Photo courtesy of [Let Ideas Compete](#)/Flickr

Placemaking appears to be a promising strategy for community-based development. However, there are still questions about the approaches to be employed and the development goals best achieved through this strategy. A concern about Placemaking is that it may be accompanied by gentrification and the resulting displacement of existing residents and businesses. Of course, leaving communities with a poor quality of life and few job opportunities is not an acceptable alternative. In measuring the impact of Placemaking the criteria for success needs to go beyond simple metrics such as dollars spent to include measures of equity.

Placemaking and the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)

“What defines a character of a city is its public space, not its private space. What defines the value of the private assets of the space are not the assets by themselves but the common assets. The value of the public good affects the value of the private good. We need to show every day that public spaces are an asset to a city.” -- UN-HABITAT Executive Director Joan Clos i Matheu (2012) Placemaking and the Future of Cities

The Sustainable Development Goals are rooted in the UN Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, “the Sustainable Development Goals are a call for action by all countries – poor, rich and middle-income – to promote prosperity while protecting the planet. They recognize that ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and addresses a range of social needs including education, health, social protection, and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection”.

The seventeen SDGs, pictured below, are an evolution of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG) which were intended to be achieved by 2015. Although it was reported in the *Review of the contributions of the MDG Agenda to foster development: Lessons for the post-2015 UN Development Agenda* that the MDGs helped build a common global agenda on poverty reduction, and fostered important national development strategies, they are widely viewed as a “top-down” process that failed to take into consideration specific existing conditions, and inadequately incorporated other important issues, such as environmental sustainability, productive employment and decent work, inequality. Part of the work that led to the development of the SDGs was the 2012, Project for Public Spaces (PPS) and United Nations-Habitat publication “Placemaking and the Future of Cities”. The seventeen SDGs in contrast to the eight MDGs are meant to be more nuanced, inclusive and place/culturally appropriate.



Figure 3.

The New Urban Agenda which was, adopted in 2016, and includes the SDGs, focuses specifically on rapid urbanization. “The New Urban Agenda represents a shared vision for a better and more sustainable future – one in which all people have equal rights and access to the benefits and opportunities that cities can offer, and in which the international community reconsiders the urban systems and physical form of our urban spaces to achieve this”.

“If well-planned and well-managed, urbanization can be a powerful tool for sustainable development for both developing and developed countries. The New Urban Agenda presents a paradigm shift based on the science of cities; it lays out standards and principles for the planning, construction, development, management, and improvement of urban areas along its five main pillars of implementation: national urban policies, urban legislation and regulations, urban planning and design, local economy and municipal finance, and local implementation. It is a resource for every level of government, from national to local; for civil society organizations; the private sector; constituent groups; and for all who call the urban spaces of the world “home” to realize this vision”.

The New Urban Agenda incorporates a new recognition of the correlation between good urbanization and development. It underlines the linkages between good urbanization and job creation, livelihood opportunities, and improved quality of life, which should be included in every urban renewal policy and strategy. This further highlights the connection between the New Urban Agenda and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, especially Goal 11 on sustainable cities and communities”.

The World Urban Forum 9 (WUF9) was convened in 2018 in part to share examples of projects and progress globally in implementing the SDGs. A delegation from the American Institute of Architects Housing and Community Development Knowledge Community

attended. Jamie Blosser AIA summarized the following in the trip report, AIA at the World Urban Forum (2018):

“Access to public space and social and gender equity are deeply connected. Many people, especially women, children, and marginalized peoples are not allowed equal access to open space that many of us take for granted, and in fact suffer violence, harassment, and at the very least, discomfort. Around the world, there are many inequities related to types of amenities, types of public space, and the lack of participation by community members to define their own needs and uses for public space. Below are three examples out of many presentations at the WUF9 that related to these issues. helping to build the supermarket, but ensuring that the taxes and revenue of that market were able help fund the planned open space”.

The following illustrate the ways in which the more nuanced sub-categories of the SDGs are being implemented. Some of the pertinent sub categories of the SDGs are listed below the examples.

In Mumbai, India PK Das of Pedaska Associates has worked with the local community to reclaim 12 kilometers of seafront into public open space, by integrating over 300 kilometers of “nullahs,” or creeks and waterways that lead to the river. Das calls the nullahs the “drains of the city,” and through integrating them into public open space, they remove barriers that are not only physical - the linearity of these parks along the seafront and along the nullahs allow pedestrian connections between neighborhoods that don’t otherwise exist. Das is very concerned that the term “citizen” is replacing the term “public.” He explained that this is a critical distinction to make as we design our public spaces to be inclusive to everyone, and calls the project funding “Public Public Public,” termed as a successful alternative to Public Private Partnership (PPP) models, and through which he challenges the free market economy which has been so devastating to social equity in Mumbai. Through this process, money was raised by citizens through their parliamentarians, and a process of transparency was developed which requires that all project expenditures are accountable to these citizens. They currently completed 4 kilometers of the total 12 kilometers, and they are using this as a pilot project for other adjacent neighborhoods.



Figure 4: PKDAS and Associates

6.b Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management

11.4 Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage

11.7 By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities

12.8 By 2030, ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature

Case Study: “Occupy Your Street”

In Lima, Peru Ocupa Tu Calle¹⁶, (ocupatucalle.org) or “Occupy Your Street,” is a strategy developed by a group called Lima Como Vamos, and the Avina Foundation¹⁷ (avina.net/avina/en) to help create more public spaces for all citizens. “Through localized urban interventions, Occupy Your Street promotes the recovery of disused city spaces, improve the conditions of existing spaces and generates new public places. Thus, through the implementation of parklets, pilot cycleways, temporary closures of streets and avenues - or other interventions - not only a better city is achieved, but the relations between citizens and the welfare of the community are fostered.” Ocupa tu Calle works to make sure that everyone has the right to occupy public space. They utilize concrete interactions and create knowledge exchange processes to help build the influence of those who are not typically at the table to decide the use of public spaces in their neighborhoods. For instance, through their participatory processes, they identified that a park planned for a low income community in Lima did not actually meet the more specific needs residents had for a supermarket in that neighborhood. Through their engagement processes, acting as a liaison between the governmental agencies and the community, Ocupa tu Calle created added value - not only helping to build the supermarket, but ensuring that the taxes and revenue of that market were able help fund the planned open space.



Figure 5 & 6: Plataforma Urbana

10.2 By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status

11.7 By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities

16.7 Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

Case Study: The Women's Roundtable

The Women's Roundtable was led by Ana Falu, of the National University of Cordoba, Argentina. Under her facilitation, public space was identified as the highest priority of the NUA that would make the most difference in a woman's life. Khairiah Mohd Talha, an urban planner from EAROPH Malaysia, honed in on critical urban planning elements to consider in developing spaces that are safer, more comfortable, and more accessible to women and children. She recommended that all city planners and designers should:

- Consider where women feel safe and unsafe related to transit. For instance, underground versus above ground transit creates safety concerns. Provide adequate call areas and monitoring. Keep transit "in the thick of things" and not separate, requiring walking in dark streets/ alleys or away from street activity.
- Consider the activities of pickpockets in relation to the proximity of streets and sidewalks. In some cities, pickpocketers on motorbikes have ample opportunities to be on or near the sidewalk, allowing them to molest pedestrians and safely get away.
- Consider that back lanes and alleyways are also public space and need improvements like lighting, plants, adequate trash storage, and accessibility so that they are not seen as places for crime/ molestation.
- Change the timing on crosswalks so that women with strollers and the elderly can cross without having to sprint.
- Consider accessibility not just for people in wheelchairs but people with strollers and shopping carts - minimize steps and the need for carrying strollers and carts wherever possible.

- Make sure there is access to free public bathrooms so that women and their children can safely participate in street and economic activity.

More than one woman spoke up to address the gaps in the New Urban Agenda, specifically that there is no accommodation in the NUA for LGBTQ+ or specific mention of the increased dangers that women of color and specifically indigenous women, may encounter while in the public realm in some countries.

3.6 By 2020, halve the number of global deaths and injuries from road traffic accidents

5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere

5.5 Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

11.2 By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons

Measuring Success

As described in *Tensions and Opportunities in Evaluating Place-based Interventions* (2012), “All stakeholders want to ensure that scarce resources are well spent. Therefore, calls for quality evaluation will remain part of our programmatic demands, particularly as we remain focused on what works, how it can work better, and how it can create better communities for all.” There has long been recognition in the community design and development community that typical numeric measures of accomplishment such as number of housing units created, although important, are insufficient. Too many interventions have been unsuccessful in the long run. Tragically we see failures of the, then thought to be promising, strategies of the 50s and 60s that have often (but not always) resulted in wholesale criminal control of housing blocks often resulting in demolition.

Evaluating community economic development initiatives such as those employed in Placemaking is very complex, particularly when the evaluation includes measures of equity. Success or failure depends on many factors that cannot be controlled by the Placemaking initiative such as the relocation of a government facility, collapse of a financial institution or other seemingly unrelated events. Residents and businesses displaced by Placemaking and its spin off economic benefits are often not included in the evaluation. There is also complexity in establishing the criteria for measurement. Challenges also include selecting the time period for measurement in incremental processes, allowing sufficient time to measure both positive results and lack of resilience of measures implemented, and accounting for outside factors that impact the development.

There have been many efforts to measure the impact of community design and development that include nuanced examination of the social, environment and economic impacts of development and perhaps most importantly the resilience of these initiatives. These include standards for recognition of achievement of specific established standards for development such as resource use in LEED- ND (Neighborhood Development) and health in the WELL Community Standard. Award programs that recognize superlative work that look at broader design efforts have also identified placemaking successes such as the Aga Kahn Award for Architecture recognition of Superkilen in Copenhagen described in *Recipients of the 2016 Aga-Kahn Award for Architecture*. Similarly the Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence recognized Pike’s Market in Seattle which includes over 40 years of thriving

affordable housing and community services in addition to the well known market that led the movement featuring local food.

Several standards attempt a holistic look at community development and attempting the difficult task of quantifying the elements of practice and directly addressing equity. For example, the Living Community Challenge seeks to “create a symbiotic relationship between people and all aspects of the built environment.” Elements of the standard include beauty, equity, health, and happiness as well as strict resource regeneration requirements. Addressed in the standard are elements such as community engagement, universal access to community services, limiting single purpose spaces, and required density of art installations. The SEED Evaluator self described as “Guided by Ethics, Framed by Common Values” administered by the SEED Network measures achievements against goals set by community constituencies framed by social, environmental economic and design objectives.

Arguably the first participatory place-based evaluation metric for community development Success Measures, initially conceived in the late 1980s/ early 1990s at the Development Leadership Network¹ and now affiliated with Neighborworks America, provides both data sets and tools for compiling community input in order to measure neighborhood level progress as described on its website. Neighborworks Blackstone River Valley developer of the Millrace District Placemaking Project employs this tool and has employed the rich data on community conditions and resident skills and opinions in planning and implementation of their Placemaking initiative.

Case Study: Millrace District Placemaking Project

In Woonsocket, RI, USA a weak market community, Neighborworks Blackstone Valley is undertaking a Placemaking initiative, following an extensive asset-based community engagement process. Abandoned mill buildings are being transformed into affordable housing, a commercial kitchen business incubator, live-work spaces and a shared patio that will anchor

¹ Author Kathleen Dorgan was a member of the Board of Directors at the Development Leadership Network during the conceptualization of this tool.

a Main Street with a vacancy rate exceeding 50%. A summer concert series, youth training, museum outreach programs and more are in progress.²

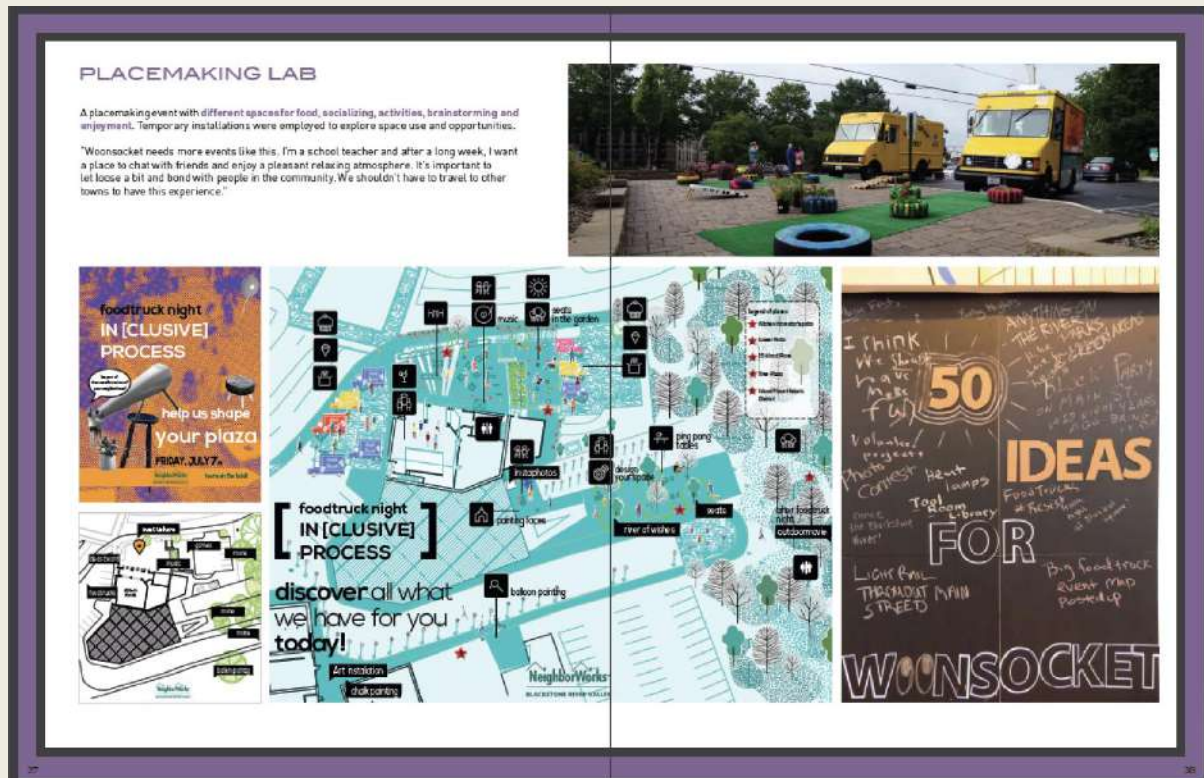


Figure 7.

² Authors Kathleen Dorgan and Elizabeth Debs are engaged in the Millrace Placemaking Project



Figure 8.

Figure 9.

There are also initiatives to measure cultural vitality. A framework developed by the Urban Institute's Arts and Culture Indicators Project (2006) includes opportunities for participation, participation and support for arts and cultural activities using a broad and inclusive definition of art and culture. This effort has identified data that may be useful in accessing Placemaking and identified the gaps in this data.

The Project for Public Spaces developed the Power of 10+ tool specifically for placemaking initiatives. It is built around a framework of the reasons someone has to be in a public place. It considers a range of users over time. It considers elements such as art, places to sit, food, play areas, and culture. PPS theorizes that places need at least 10 of these elements to give people 'a reason to be there' and that destinations need 10 of these places for people to want to go there and that cities or regions need 10 destination places to thrive. PPS emphasises on its website that this is a framework and that it should not be rigidly applied but instead respond to local conditions.

The US National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) developed a set of candidate indicators selected to assist practitioners, especially grant recipients, measure the impact of Creative Placemaking on community livability. As described in *Measuring Creative Placemaking* (2015), the metrics selected include residential attachment to community, quality of life, arts and cultural activity and economic conditions. Each indicator was associated with available quantitative measures such as length of residence, household outflow, violent crime rates, commute time, median earnings, proportion of employees working in arts-and-entertainment-related establishments and unemployment rate. There are significant limitations on being able to tie the causality of changes in these indicators to creative placemaking activities. For example the impact of the closing of a large local employer might far outweigh progress in employment achieved by a Placemaking initiative or an increase in regional activity rather than local work might increase employment. As a result, this type of analysis misleading. A study by the Urban Institute (2014) looked at validating the indicators based on grantee comments and data availability. This study did not compare alternative metrics or consider issues related to gentrification. An evaluation of the success of ten projects as well as the capacity of these indicators to effectively measure success was conducted by the Urban Institute and described in the *The Validating Arts & Livability Indicators Study* (2014). This study along with *Measuring Creative Placemaking* (2015) demonstrate the difficulties of using the metrics to measure change due to other community impacts, establishing study periods and research design.

Findings

In reviewing the literature and reflecting on our own experience the authors identified trends in Community Economic Development and Placemaking and the way in which success is being measured that suggest new focuses within the methods of practice and defining successful practice as community designers.

Placemaking has moved from an alternative practice to a mainstream strategy embraced by governments, the civic sector, educators and professional organizations to improve local and regional conditions. As a subset of Community Economic Development some of Placemaking's greatest contributions to the field are the recognition of the importance of including programming the use of spaces, collaborating with arts and cultural organizations, and the application of defensible design to physical placemaking.

Although Placemaking was originally applied to primarily to activating public spaces the field is increasingly addressing broader needs in communities. Issues of equity and justice as well as community issues beyond public spaces are increasingly included in Placemaking initiatives as are strategies and contributions from an increasing number of disciplines. In Creative Placemaking, the contribution of artists is particularly valued in all aspects of planning and implementation. At the same time practices from Creative Placemaking are migrating to the broader development field. For example, ArtPlace America's Community Investments Program that is identified as one of their Placemaking programs has the goal of infusing art and culture in the full range of practices of existing community development corporations. In addition, the Enterprise Rose Architectural Fellowship recently added artists to their program, which places fellows in community development corporations

The international development community is making significant progress in meeting ambitious goals. For example, extreme poverty has been reduced by over 50% since 1990. As represented in UN goals and standards, developers are advocating a more holistic approach to defining the metrics for successful development. For example, there is recognition that women and children need to feel safe in the homes and on the street. As a result, many of the elements of Placemaking and its predecessors movements are being incorporated in Development practices. The UN metrics for Development have evolved from the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) that focused on a eight numeric goals for eliminating deficits such as poverty and the aids virus to a the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals

(SDGs) that include a focus on community participation as well as livability, equity and justice.

As the understanding of both what makes Community Economic Development successful and that of what makes Placemaking successful is expanding and coming closer together for each to be more participatory, more multidisciplinary, more inclusive and more holistic it is worth taking deliberate steps to consider adopting measures of success from each as tools for community designers. Specifically, it makes sense to review the entire list of SDG's at several times during the planning and implementation of a development project in order to ascertain if there are ways to shape the project to more directly respond to these important objectives. Likewise it makes sense for Community Economic Development to continue to adopt more incremental community informed measures such as the UN recommendation under Climate Action described in *About the Sustainable Development Goals* to create action steps such as "Educate young people on climate change to put them on a sustainable path early on".

The NEA exploration of tying Placemaking initiatives to specific Development goals is promising. Unfortunately, few Placemaking initiatives are large enough or underway long enough to substantially impact the selected measures. As research design for Placemaking cannot allow for random selection of interventions and sites and there is not an effective way to measure externalities, therefore the results of such studies can be misleading.

Allowing communities to select the metrics from the U. N. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that are more applicable to their objectives might be more appropriate than setting standard goals that may not reflect local objectives. This is one example of a way to address the inherent conflict, which can be successfully managed as a healthy tension, between participatory local decision making and achieving broader scale Development objectives. Another could be a deliberative process of reviewing the SDGs at several points in the Placemaking process, which might inspire Placemakers to develop strategies more directly related to accomplishing the SDGs.

One of the limitations on measuring the direct impact of Placemaking projects is, as experienced in employing Success Measures and other quantitative metrics, is the high cost of measuring the immediate objectives of Placemaking such as number of users, user comfort

and user diversity. There is great potential to use social sensing applications as a resource for identifying aspects of success as described in *Towards social-aware interesting place finding in social sensing applications* (2017).

Conclusion

Many small community-informed Placemaking projects have the potential to play a major role in addressing the necessarily ambitious goals of the the New Urban Agenda including lifting a billion people out of poverty. For these initiatives to achieve this impact they need to be both ‘good enough’ and ‘large enough’ to matter. This means that the work has to be high quality in its artistic achievement, community engagement, and persistence in creating and maintaining incremental change. In addition, it needs to touch the lives of all those in need requiring an unprecedentedly large scope of programs. Measuring efficacy is a necessarily critical yet challenging for placemaking initiatives intended to play a role in meeting development objectives. There is an opportunity to employ the UN Sustainable Development Goals in Placemaking planning and evaluation in order to assist these projects to be more deliberative in thier contributions to achieving the SDGs.

One of the appeals of Placemaking, and especially of initiatives undertaken under the rubric of Creative Placemaking is that the process relies on innovative and unique approaches that respond to both the strengths and needs of each community. It focuses on making places attractive to users as a step towards improving all aspects of quality of life including equity. As a result many Placemaking strategies rely on the ongoing participation of both visual and performing artists. Other characteristics of this asset based incremental approach to development include supporting and protecting local resources including people, culture, history and architecture. Due to the uniqueness of the interventions in each location, the metrics for measuring success in the both the short and the long term should be tailored to the project, yet in order to meet the needs of funders and policy makers it is also important that there be quantifiable measures of progress toward larger social goals such as elimination of poverty and enhanced safety.

We recommend a portfolio approach to presenting and measuring the success of Placemaking projects. This would include recording changes in physical appearance (before and after images), demonstrating activation of space (images of use, business volume, housing

occupancy rates, and inclusiveness (affordable housing, job training, youth education) as well as more standard metrics such as crime rate. A possible example of this type of process is that ArtPlace America's research partner PolicyLink is employing as they build case studies of funded projects working with a collaborating artist or the evaluation of the Rudy Bruner Awards. This portfolio process would require professional and/or popular review of portfolios and accomplishments.

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**Development of a Community Design House by Collaboration
between the University and Residents**

A Case Study on Tsukishima Nagaya School

Abstract ID # pCP4

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Abstract

Community design is definitely spreading and collaboration between universities and residents is increasing. There are cases to establish a community design house and start up activities utilizing vacant facilities.

In 2013, the Center of Community program supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology started and cooperation between universities and residents has been increasing. However, there are few analytical reports about how community design houses develop by collaboration between universities and residents.

Shibaura Institute of Technology was chosen one of the Center of Community programs and opened the Tsukishima Nagaya School as a community design house in Tsukishima, Chuo-Ward, Tokyo, where the university and local residents started collaborative activities.

When Chuo-Ward Community College was held in 2014, some participants of the *nagaya* (row-house) course remained and became resident members of Tsukishima Nagaya School. Resident members include volunteer town guides, translator, community newspaper editor, university professor, web designer etc.

Nagaya School has been operating for several years, and we pick up its activities in three years from January 2014 until December 2017, and classify them into nine categories such as Shibaura Institute of Technology Class, Public Lecture, Chat, Exchange, Project, English Class etc. In 2014, Nagaya School activities were mainly Shibaura Institute of Technology Class, Public Lecture, Chat and Research by a Student. In 2015, its activities developed to Project that were led to specific achievement, such as Alley Map, of which creation resulted in Exchange programs. In 2016, the Project program, such as the creation of the Guidebook triggered voluntary program of English Class by resident members. In 2017, its activities developed to Event as social experiment such as “Open Nagaya”, “Load Painting for Children”.

This paper analyzed activities in three years of Nagaya School and specified the following four points. 1) The Chuo-Ward Community college triggers residents to join in Nagaya School. 2) Each of the resident members of Nagaya School has some peculiar skills such as translation, editing a community newspaper, administration of websites etc. 3) Nagaya School’s activities develop from casual chats to specific projects with achievements such as Alley Map, led by suggestion and initiative of the Shibaura

Institute of Technology professor and students. 4) Projects with achievement cause residents to voluntary activities, such as English Class. From these four points, we showed how to build and operate a community design house utilizing a historical dwelling, by collaboration between residents and universities.

Keywords: Community Design House, Collaborative activities, Resident members, Renovation, University

Tables and Figures



Figure1. Tsukishima



Figure2. Tsukishima Nagaya School
(Exterior and Plan)

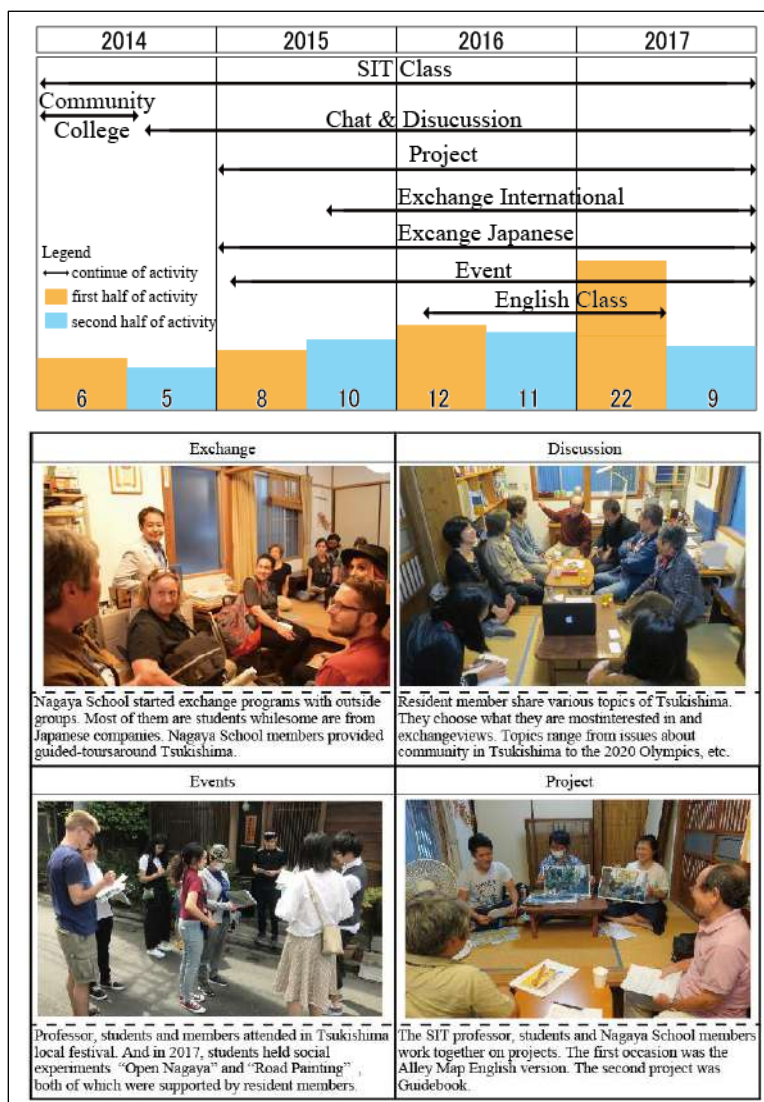


Figure3. Activity in Nagaya School

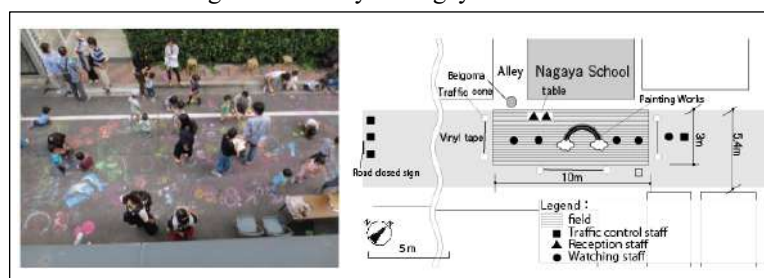


Figure4. Road Painting for Children

Social Space as The Place Making in Kampung Keling, Medan, Indonesia

Abstract ID # pCP6

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Abstract

This poster presents the social space that created by the interaction of groups within society in the center area of a city that is growing towards the modern one maintains the identity of space of local community.

The local Tamil community who first came from South India as the Dutch colonial plantation worker in the year 1873 lived in the area, named Kampung Keling (Figure 1), which was established as the Tamil settlement according to the concept of Quarter System (1917). Today, however, 81.06% of this area is owned by newcomer China community who bought Tamil land gradually since the Independent Year (1945). They are bringing globality with exchange value to the area which are developing to be a commercial district (abstract space). At the same time the remain Tamil people are living with their locality ways with use value on the periphery area (perceived space) in the uneven development behind shophouses (Figure 2).

To get an overview of the relationship between the two groups, the research was conducted with qualitative methodology via in-depth interviews with the informants from various layers of groups focused on the phenomenon of space according to each.

Social interaction between those both groups which have different values as well as different goals and daily lives produces social space in where they can build relationship (Lefebvre, 1991). The space in the form of non-permanent firework selling stalls appears along the sidewalk in front of the Chinese-owned shophouses at the main street. The stalls that are emerged 3 times in a year, each a month before Idul Fitri, Christmas, and Gong Xi Fa Cai New Year days become places for the minority Tamil return to the center area (Figure 3). By bringing the daily lives from their living space in the periphery into the modern profit oriented commercial space precisely make the social space as the place for identifying the locality in the area (Figure 4).

Keywords: Identity, Place Making, Social Space

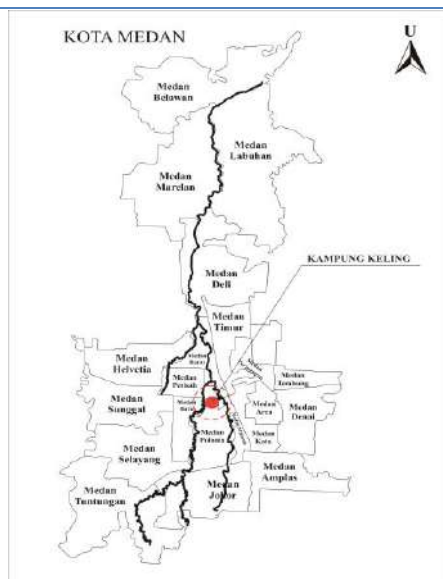


Figure 1. Location of Kampung Keling in Medan



Figure 2. Ethnic Map of Kampung Keling

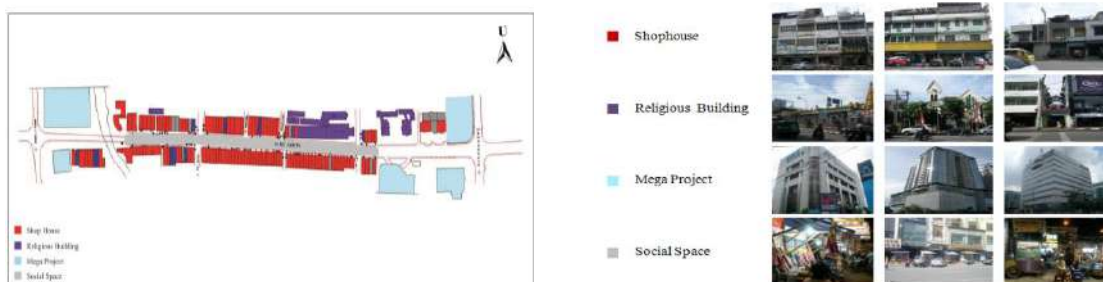


Figure 3. Social Space in the Main Street

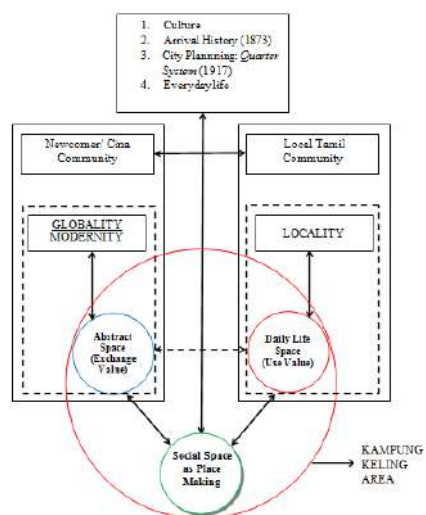


Figure 4. The Emergence of Social Space in Kampung Keling

Aridagawa Meets Portland | Engaging the Community in Japan

Abstract ID # pCP39

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Abstract

A team of designers from Portland, Oregon traveled to Aridagawa, Japan, a small rural town south of Osaka, to help with a community engagement process focused on sustainable town revitalization. This town is facing a common challenge across Japan, of steep population decline. Younger residents, particularly women, are leaving for opportunities in the larger cities. This leaves a declining and rapidly aging population, and prevents successful and sustainable economies in these towns.

Aridagawa invited the group from Portland to lead a series of workshops to engage the community and see what their ideas were to create a vibrant town to attract and retain the younger population. The goal was to utilize government assets in the community - a series of nursery school buildings that were being closed - and to build a grassroots approach to community redevelopment.

The workshops took place over the course of two years, and asked the participants to brainstorm ideas, work on town master planning concepts, and develop a concept design for one of the nursery school buildings. The charrettes included looking at the town as a whole, identifying assets and challenges, and discussing master planning concepts. We then narrowed the focus on a city owned nursery school building with the goal of converting it into a community asset that focused on young women entrepreneurs. These workshops engaged local community members, business leaders, government officials, invited experts, and local architects, and challenged them to think outside the box, and look at this problem from new perspectives.

Using a "Kitto" we developed a series of activities and games that got the locals brainstorming ideas, sketching out plans, and thinking about the opportunities in a new creative way. The goal was to break down social barriers and empower everyone to express their ideas. Using role playing games, inspiration images, and lots of discussions, we gathered as much information and ideas as possible, and then worked with the residents to narrow in on the best ideas for their needs. The information and community vision was then converted into architectural and landscape designs and renderings to visualize what the end result could look like.

The result included creating a group of inspired residents who are taking ownership of this project and moving it towards implementation, but also showing the government officials to use resident feedback as a way to make decisions rather than a top down decision making process.

Keywords: Community Engagement Design Workshops Sustainable development Town
Revitalization Architectural design

From Houses to Hillsides: Support for Adaptive Housing on Hong Kong's Slopes

Abstract ID #pCP57

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Abstract

Hong Kong's urban development is governed by the mountainous terrain of the city. The city is growing, and easily developable low-lying flat land is becoming increasingly scarce. As a result, Hong Kong's development is conflicted between the hillsides of the landscape and the urban built environment. On one hand, the avoidance of hillsides, characterized as liabilities, has created a hyper-dense environment where real estate economics and speculation separate public and private housing sectors with little opportunity for alternative affordable housing options. On the other hand, as urban expansion encroaches ever closer to the man-made slopes of the city, new strategies for slope stabilization infrastructure are required for improved safety and resiliency. Within this spatial struggle, informal settlements arise to create affordability through the absence of formal regulation, but these structures often pose health and safety risks to their inhabitants. Rather than attempting to provide housing in an all-or-nothing manner, we can think of housing as an incremental process where citizens foster their social and economic capital. By acknowledging informality as a process that functions within the market, we break down the legal apartheid between formal and informal, and begin to design with, rather than against, bottom-up approaches to high-density urban living.

Through the redesign of slope infrastructure with architectural foundations, and the integration of services and amenities, we plant the seeds for building to occur on a site that would otherwise be avoided by conventional development. Expanding on existing geotechnical and slope landscaping methods, the man-made slope in the Mei Tung Estate in Kowloon is transformed into a support framework acting as both the stabilization for the slope and the foundation for transformative infill housing. It provides the basic services for occupation where homes can grow with participatory design and collective action. This foundation is not only a spot on which residents can build, but as a component of the three-dimensional public realm of the city, it also offers opportunities to foster social capital within the larger Hong Kong society to improve social cohesion and integration. The focus is on providing the architectural framework in which healthy, safe, and economical inhabitant-driven building can occur. Housing is not a product for the inhabitant, but a process in which families can make a place to call home.

Keywords: Housing affordability, participatory design, slope infrastructure, incremental building, social capital

Figures

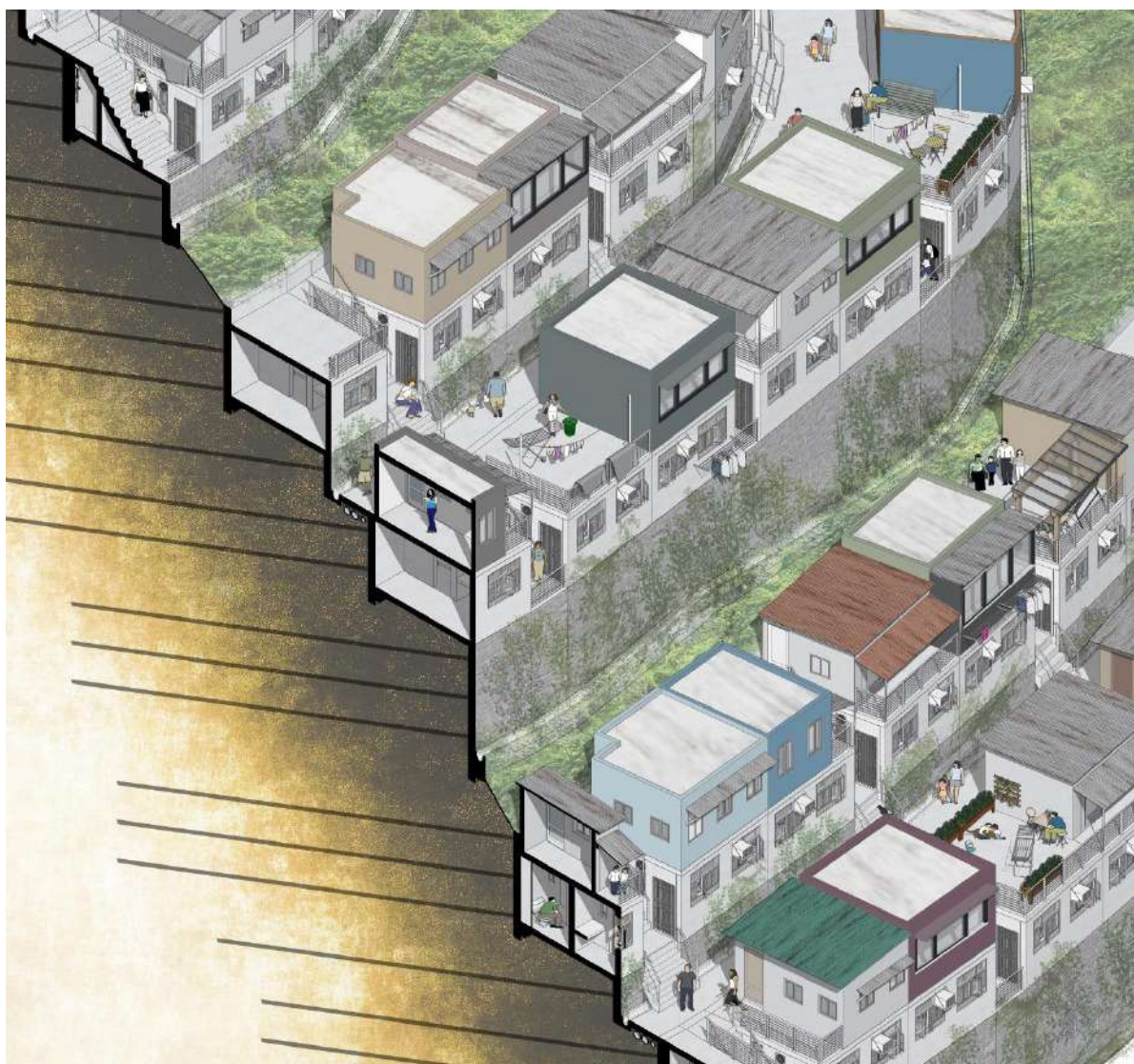


Figure 1. Hillside settlements on the Mei Tung Slope

A Study on the Method of Community Design Events for Foreign Participants

Abstract ID # pCP63

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Abstract

Shibaura Institute of Technology has been chosen as one of the Center of Community programs and opened the Tsukishima Nagaya School as a community design house in Tsukishima, Chuo-Ward, Tokyo in October 2013 managed by the Regional Design Laboratory of the architecture department. In the community design house many collaborative activities have been started by the university and local residents. The facility is a renovated two-unit nagaya rowhouse built in 1926 of which the first floor is the Tsukishima Nagaya School and the second floor is a living quarter.

Some participants of the nagaya (row-house) course have become resident members of Tsukishima Nagaya School since the Chuo-Ward Community College opened in 2014. The 15 resident members play the role in helping students and developing projects that led to concrete results in Tsukishima. Resident members come from many fields including volunteer of town guide, translator , community newspaper editor , university professor, web designer etc. From January 2014 Nagaya School has been operating for several years and has been visited by 34 international students from Michigan University, California University and Utah University since 2015. In 2016, it has been visited by 10 international students from Washington University and 20 from Yuta University in 2017. Totally , Nagaya School has got 66 students from 5 universities participated in Exchange international We program aim to promote foreigners participations for improving community design method, so we has hold the series of community events for foreigners, participation “Sense of Places game”, “Photo Contest” and “Photo Exhibition” from February to June in 2018. With international communication activities started in Nagaya School since 2013 we have the following Three achievements 1) Foreigners will easily be able to know good points in the town. 2) The photography exhibitions by eyes of foreigners get good points in Japanese town. 3) Through exchanges with foreigners, local people make changes to the way they understand their town.

Keywords: Community Design House, Foreigners Participation, Community Design Events

Making Community Renewable Energy Utilization Plan through the Workshop with Residents - Practice in Omishima Island in the Seto Inland Sea, Japan

Abstract ID # pCP65

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Abstract

Renewable energy use is one of measures for mitigating various global environmental problems. Also, introducing the renewable energy in community levels is expected to lead to local vitalization, such as revitalization of local economy and industries, and effective utilization of local resources. In rural areas in Japan, there are problems such as decline in local economy and industries due to depopulation and aging population, while there is high potential of renewable energy caused by mild climate, forest resources, and vast orchard. Therefore, it is thought that community planning for rural area using renewable energy is effective. However, there are few cases in which local organizations operate the projects. The reasons are lack of knowledge on renewable energy projects and difficulty of consensus building with local residents. So, it is necessary to design the process of introducing the renewable energy project rooted in the local community.

Consequently, this study aims to propose the making method of renewable energy utilization plan through the workshop with residents, and to verify the effectiveness.

The target area is Omishima island located in the Seto Inland Sea in Japan. This study is conducted with the following flow steps.

- 1) Potential evaluation of renewable energy in Omishima: Authors estimate energy consumption using simulation tools and estimate the supply potential of renewable energy using GIS. As a result of comparing them, it is found that energy self-sufficiency rate exceeds 100% by combining woody biomass energy, solar energy and wind power generation.
- 2) Preparation of “planning support information tool kit” for workshop: Authors create the toolkit as information providing tool for residents to consider the community plan using renewable energy. The contents are as follows: (1) Examples of actual cases of renewable energy uses, (2) Results of questionnaire survey for local residents, (3) The current energy potential of Omishima, (4) Renewable energy utilization menu.
- 3) Creation of renewable energy utilization plan through workshop with residents: Authors hold a workshop with residents using the tool kit. Taking into consideration the local conditions, residents consider the method and business type of renewable energy and select some utilization menu to create

a renewable energy utilization plan.

4) Evaluation of created utilization plan: Authors evaluate the utilization plan made in 3) from economic and environmental perspectives. Furthermore, questionnaire survey is performed to workshop participants and the effectiveness of the making method of the utilization plan through the workshop using toolkit is verified.

Keywords: Renewable energy, Community planning, Workshop

Thematic Working Group Session

Creative Ageing Cities

Organizer:

Dr Chong, Keng Hua

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Singapore University of Technology and Design (SUTD)

Proposed Sub-Theme

Collaborative / Citizen-driven Place-making

Abstract

Ageing population and rapid urbanisation are the two major demographic shifts in today's world. Architectural designs and urban policies have to deal with issues of an ever larger elderly population living in the cities, especially in old urban neighbourhoods, while also taking into consideration the evolving lifestyles and wellbeing of the diverse elderly demographics. Being able to continue living in these existing urban neighbourhoods would thus require necessary interventions, both to adapt the changing needs of the ageing population and to improve the deteriorating environment for better liveability. *Creative Ageing Cities* is a research project and the title of the book edited by Chong Keng Hua and Mihye Cho. The *Creative Ageing Cities* work group session will continue the discussion as set out in the book, on the participation and contribution of the ageing population as a positive and creative force towards urban design and place-making, particularly in high-density urban contexts. This session will bring together scholars from multidisciplinary backgrounds who are researching on ageing and urban issues in top six ageing cities in Asia: Singapore, Seoul, Tokyo, Taipei, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. It aims to give an overview of the diverse challenges and opportunities in the various Asian urban contexts, as well as to discuss and explore an emerging urban design framework that emphasises multi-stakeholder collaboration, inter-generational relations and the collective wisdom of older people as a source of creativity towards place-making.

Participants

Michael M.J. Fischer, Professor of Anthropology and Science and Technology Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); Lecturer in the Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School.

Title: Silver tsunami – paradigm shift – new urban creativity

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Title: Reclamation of urban voids and the return of the “kampong spirit” in Singapore’s public housing

Sweet Fun Wong, Deputy Chairman, Medical Board of Yishun Community Hospital; Senior Consultant, Geriatric Medicine at Khoo Teck Puat Hospital.

Title: A case study in re-imagining healthy communities

Min Jay Kang, Associate Professor, Graduate Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University.

Title: Regenerating public life for ageing communities through the choreography of place-ballets and the weaving of memory tapestries

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Jiyoun Kim, Research Fellow, Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, Singapore University of Technology and Design.

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Title: Participatory action research: public space design by older people

Robert Kin Ming Wong, Project Development Director, Development Department, Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council.

Title: A participatory design experience with older people: case study of participatory design in the HKSKH Tseung Kwan O Aged Care Complex project

Dong Yao, Associate Professor of Architecture; Assistant Head, Architecture Department; Vice Director, Academic Development, Institute of College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University.

Title: New prototype for ageing-in-place in megacities: an empirical study of Shanghai

Toshio Otsuki, Professor, Department of Architecture; management committee, Institute of Gerontology, University of Tokyo.

Title: Community design to prevent solitary death in super-aged Japan

Thematic Working Group Session

Networking and Empowering Community Design in the Pacific

Rim: Strategizing for the Future

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Abstract

In countries and regions across the Pacific Rim, participatory community design has become an increasingly important component of the local planning and design process. From advocacy planning and citizen participation developed in North America, different models of participatory community design now can also be found in Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong. The Pacific Rim Community Design Network was launched following a working conference at University of California, Berkeley in 1998. Titled "Coastal Echoes: Democratic Design in the Pacific Rim," the conference brought together leading community design scholars and practitioners in the Pacific Rim. The purpose of the conference was to provide the practitioners and scholars working in the field of participatory design and planning across the Pacific Rim region with an opportunity to share and learn from each other's experiences and advance their practice and research. Over the last twenty years, through conferences and joint projects, the network has provided a vehicle for collaboration and mutual support, as well as a forum for comparative understanding of community design in the fast changing political and social context of the Pacific Rim. Network members now span from Asia to North America, in countries including Canada, China, Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and New Zealand. The 20th anniversary conference in Singapore provides an important opportunity to examine our collective achievements and ways to best move forward. The purpose of this working session is to engage interested participants in a strategic planning session for plan for the network's future operation. Specifically, participants will engage in brainstorming ideas for how the network can best function in the future and in developing possible strategies and structures for its long-term resilience.

Interested participants currently include:

Abramson, Dan
Aiba, Shin,
Chang, Shenglin
Cho, Im Sik
Chong, Keng Hua
Pena, David de la,
Huang, Shumei
Jing, Jin,
Kim, Yun-Geum
Kinoshita, Isami
Luansang, Chawanad
Maly, Liz
Maruya, Kota
Roberts, Jayde
Shen, Yao
Tan, Beng Kiang
Tieben, Hendrik
Uchida, Naomi and
Zoh, Kyung Jin

Additional participants will be invited to the session to ensure a broad representation.

Keywords: Community design, participatory design, networking, Pacific Rim

Thematic Working Group Session

**Placemaking in Displacement: Networking for Collaboration on a
Book Proposal**

Organizers:

Huang, Shu-Mei (*Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute of Building and Planning*)

Maly, Elizabeth (*Assistant Professor, International Research Institute of
Disaster Science (IRIDeS)Tohoku University*)

Proposed Sub-Theme

Collaborative / Citizen-driven Place-making

Background and Goal of the Working Group

In April 2014, the thematic workshop “Placemaking in Displacement” was co-organized by Liz Maly, Shu-Mei Huang and Chingfen Yang under the umbrella of the 2014 Pacific Rim Community Design Meeting in Taiwan. The workshop brought together a number of great presentations, which we thought were of potential for future publication. The purpose of this working group session is to continue the conversation started with the Rinari workshop and share with one another how our research/practice has been evolving over the past four years given that research into disasters oftentimes require long-term effort. Through this opportunity to revisit our exchange we hope to advance it to the next stage – an edited volume that can present to a broader readership the role of community design and planning in disaster recovery.

Theme of the edited book

In between different modalities of representing time and space, place-based indigenous communities often struggle to maintain their inhabitation and collective use of the natural resource base, which is integral to cultural identity, in times when talks of climate change and disaster mitigation/prevention dominates knowledge and practices of land use and managing territories. Relocation, in the name of modernization and safety, has been forced on indigenous communities over the past century. The degree to which loss and displacement have been normalized, nevertheless, found echoes in cases of post-disaster reconstruction when relocation is seen as a necessary measure to improve people’s livelihood. How to cope with displacement becomes a lasting issue challenging indigenous communities in general and the victims of disasters in particular. Searching for ways to nurture sense of ownership

collectively, in that light, becomes a key for the displaced communities to come to terms with the threatening connection between indigenous communities and places. Meanwhile, approaching placemaking in displacement can often turn crisis into critical opportunities for the impacted communities to recover the disappearing commons in coping with issues of ecological democracy, food autonomy, cultural diversity, alternative economics, cross-culture communication, etc. Creative practices can often bring together people across ethnicities to reclaim their ownership to the new places, which are what we expect to learn from the participants of this workshop. We invite those who delivered presentations in the 2014 meeting to join us, especially those who explored alternative ways to cope with displacement through placemaking. We also welcome new submissions from those who missed the 2014 Rinari workshop but have relevant research projects to share with the group.

Possible sub-themes for the book:

Storytelling in displacement

Reassembling Culture in displacement

Planning in displacement

Learning in displacement

Creative Initiatives in displacement

Transcultural Placemaking: Living and Rebuilding with others

Confirmed Participants include:

Nobuyuki ARAI, Tohoku Institute of Technology

Shumei HUANG, National Taiwan University

Eiko ISHIKAWA, Yokohama City University

Miwako KITAMURA, Tohoku University

Ikuo KOBAYASHI, Co-Plan

Hideki KOIZUMI, University of Tokyo

Izumi KUROISHI, Aoyama Gakuin University

Elizabeth MALY, Tohoku University

Akira MIYASADA, Machi Communication

Jayde Lin ROBERTS, University of New South Wales

Ching-fen YANG National Taiwan University

Additional participants are welcome to join.

Keywords: Placemaking, Community, Displacement, Resilience

Doing this working group meeting, we will hear two special presentations about cases from Japan and Myanmar:

- 1) “Psychological factors and sense of community in disaster refugee’s relocation of housing after the Great Northern Japan Earthquake;” by Prof. Izumi Kuroishi,
- 2) “Displacement, Encroachment and Settlement: Interrogating kyukyaw (slums) in periurban Yangon” by Prof. Jayde Lin Roberts

The abstracts for those presentations are as follows:

1. “Psychological and spatial factors in disaster refugee’s relocation of housing after the Great Northern Japan Earthquake”

Izumi Kuroishi, Aoyama Gakuin University

In the Great Northern Japan Earthquake in 2011, the Ministry of National Land and Infrastructure decided a model recovery process of housing as follow: relocate refugees to shelters, then to temporary houses, and finally prepare two types of housing support; one is developing hinterland area for reconstruction of detached houses, and another is mass concrete public housing. Even though the government proposed resident-oriented methodologies, relocation process varied in each municipality and caused problems. Particularly in Kesennuma and Rikuzen Takada, there are still many remaining population in temporary houses, difficulties in managing recovery public housings, and suggesting further problems in their welfare system after the governmental support ends. Even though this disaster recovery project has been governmentally funded and controlled, these cases clearly show the need to reframe its ideas and methodologies. Since 2011, significant volume of scholarly and practical studies dealt with the issues of disaster recovery urban planning, architectural and civil engineering, cultural preservation, economic and social revitalization, but were not enough discussion about the refugees’ difficulties in adapting to the relocation systems.

Thus, this study aims to examine spatial qualitative and psychological issues of relocation: how the changes of housing condition impact on people’s sense of identity and how their relationship with the community are essential to feel a sense of belonging. This study emphasizes the role of temporary housing design as the transition from disaster to normal, and of the public recovery house as the final settlement, and examines the mass prefabricated shelters in Kesennuma and locally constructed wooden houses in Sumita town of Rikuzen Takada for the former comparative examination, and the public concrete mass housings in both cities for the latter examination, by referring to the interviews of residents to examine their psychological aspects. Even though the material is limited, it exemplifies qualitative and critical issues about the relationship between the refugees’ psychological recoveries, housing conditions and community planning, and about their process of adaptation to different

environment. Then, it explains how sustaining historical lifestyle is important for the refugees to recover their sense of everyday life, how the spatial transitions between the private and public space helps them to communicate with new neighbors, how remaking their living condition helps them to feel a sense of dwelling, and how building a neighborhood community helps them to feel a sense of settlement and belonging.

2. “Displacement, Encroachment and Settlement: Interrogating *kyukyaw* (slums) in periurban Yangon”

Jayde Lin Roberts, University of New South Wales

Although Myanmar’s present ruling party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), had campaigned for years to support victims of forced eviction, a practice that was endemic under the previous military regime, soon after coming to power in 2016, NLD announced grandiose plans to move hundreds of thousands of squatters off the land they had lived on, sometimes for decades. The focus in this paper will be on Hlaingtharya Township, a periurban area on the west side of the Yangon River that had no bridge connection to Yangon until 1995. This township is home to the largest unplanned settler population in Myanmar. These residents settled in Hlaingtharya for three main reasons: 1) compulsory relocation by the military government after the August 8, 1988 popular uprising, 2) job opportunities that developed in the industrial zone after 1995, and 3) refuge after Cyclone Nargis flooded out their hometowns in the Irrawaddy Delta in 2008. Since 1989, when residents in Kamaryut, Hlaing and Insein Townships (north of downtown Yangon) were summarily relocated to Hlaingtharya, this large and poorly serviced township has undergone cycles of displacement – squatting (often with implicit government permission) followed by eviction.

Through the personal narratives of residents in the numerous informal settlements in Hlaingtharya and select interviews with residents in FMI City, an exclusive gated estate that is adjacent to several informal settlements, this paper interrogates the meaning of *kyukyaw*, a Burmese word that is both the verb, to encroach or occupy, and the noun, squatter or slum.

Thematic Working Group Session

Emergent Practices in Creating Thriving Places: Approaches & Techniques

Organizer:

Mateo-Babiano, Iderlina

Senior Lecturer,

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Proposed Sub-Theme

Collaborative / Citizen-driven Place-making

Abstract

Places shape us and we shape place. As place-shapers, we associate meaning in the spaces we live, work and recreate. In an increasingly urbanised, diverse and increasingly migratory world, different groups and communities attach different meanings and values to urban space. The values and meanings that we associate with these urban spaces (e.g. streets, parks, playgrounds, squares, plazas, etc) may be contradictory, incompatible and sometimes mismatched, sometimes resulting in tension, conflict and disagreement. Moreover, the social values and meaning associated with these urban spaces are often what differentiate the good, livable and vibrant cities from those that are not. The socio-cultural aspects of urban spaces are often predicated on encountering ‘difference’ as people move through and linger in local spaces, meeting and learning about difference and transforming and reinventing themselves and their spaces through such encounter. The contacts with difference that urban spaces offer, however, can be complicated by xenophobia, stigma, fear, ‘othering’, displacement and exclusion.

As such, designing and planning for diversity has become an important imperative for cities around the globe yet these cities often lack the tools and approaches to help shape more inclusive urban spaces. The built environment profession is in an important position to better understand the competing needs of an increasingly diverse populations (in economic, cultural and social terms) and well-placed to identify effective ways and methods to better engage communities to accommodate diversity and inclusion, which is the focus of this session.

Key words: Diversity, placemaking, methodology, green space, governance & regeneration

Program

A collaboration of seven academics/practitioners, the aim of this thematic workshop session is to introduce and engage participants in different approaches and techniques, to create and shape urban spaces. Through this process, participants will be able to wrestle with the complex conditions generated by “difference” and “place” by taking a hands-on and experimental look at emergent practices, pedagogies and methods in placemaking across different contexts, to create thriving places. Papers presented by each participant at this thematic working group will outline the research and practice behind each of the placemaking approaches presented, highlighting (using panels and/or individual presenters) some key methodological themes; breaking out into discussion groups to further interrogate, develop and/or practice with these different methodological approaches/techniques; and returning to the large group for plenary learning and reflection.

Outcomes

The participants in the workshop will engage in two-way learning and problem-solving in response to the key complex problems associated with socially-oriented placemaking. Participants can expect to leave the workshop with:

- learnings from a cross section of international case study examples of emergent placemaking practices;
- new techniques and approaches to working at the (sometimes contested) nexus of “difference” and “place”;
- opportunity to share their own experiences in placemaking with a collaborative group, and;
- new networks of contacts with whom to share their place-based planning and design work.

Thematic Working Group Session

Design as Democracy Techniques Market

Organizer:

McNally, Marcia

Professor Emeritus

University of California, Berkeley, United States 27541

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Proposed Sub-Theme

Collaborative / Citizen-driven Place-making

Abstract

The recently released book, *Design as Democracy: techniques for collective creativity* (2017), offers a fresh look at the approaches and tools designers use to create places with the people who inhabit them. It is co-edited by six academics in landscape architecture, architecture, and planning who research and practice place-making through participation; but the book's strength—like participatory design itself—comes from contributions made by over 50 leaders and emerging voices in the field. The book introduces its framework with a call for designers to act transactively, transformatively, and tenaciously. It complicates discourses of participatory design by confronting the inherent contradictions between design professionalism and radically democratic collaboration. It confronts the challenges facing democratic design head on.

The book is at once about collaboration and also a product of collaboration. Already it has generated a series of events across the US and Pacific Rim in which audiences are introduced to the book's techniques and cases where they have been employed. This workshop proposes to go several steps further, allowing participants to try several of the book's techniques, reflect on them, and propose new ones.

Proposed workshop agenda (2 hours total):

- Introduce the book, its key ideas, how it is organized. (10 minutes)
- Up to 5 contributors would briefly introduce their techniques. (15 minutes)
- Offer up to 5 stations for participants to try techniques from the book. (60 minutes)
- Participants would also be asked to fill out some form to set up a Techniques Discussion at the end. Questions might include: What is your best technique and why, what do you

think are the most important issues not addressed by the book, and what are the techniques to address them in community projects, and so on. (15 minutes)

- Techniques discussion, facilitated and recorded, and wrap up. (20 minutes)

Technique presentations/stations confirmed to date:

- Suiting up to Shed
- Going to the People's Coming
- Designing Life
- Power Mapping

Core Participants:

Shin Aiba, Tokyo Metropolitan University

David de la Peña, University of California, Davis

Randy Hester, University of California, Berkeley

Jing Jin, Tokyo Metropolitan University

Kota Maruya, Kanazawa University

Keywords: democratic design techniques, community participation

The Last Island Standing: An Amphibious Landscape Planning of

Tanza, Navotas

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Abstract

According to NASA (2015), the rise of sea levels is inevitable in the coming years. Due to climate change & global warming, the rate of rise is increasing. Philippines being an archipelagic country is heavily affected by this. According to research by the University of the Philippines (2015), more than 167,000 hectares of coastland will submerge. Tanza, Navotas is one of the first areas to sink. The concept of transhumanism was used to understand the needs of the people in the face of sea level rise. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs was used to be the model for identifying the needs to improve the living conditions of the community. Projection maps were generated through Project NOAH and a focus group discussion and fuzzy cognitive mapping were conducted with the community. A planning framework, which included projecting scenarios, was then formulated. A 2040 Environmental Restoration + Barrier Landscape Plan was the chosen scenario in which there will be an off-land development of the community at a maximum rate of the sea level rise. The plan aims to develop Tanza into an ecological, tourism, and technological hub that will benefit the community. It also serves also as a barrier island and regenerative zone to surrounding communities. In conclusion, Tanza community, through transhumanism goals, achieved an extended memory by improving the environment of their landscape. At the same time, the plan addresses the issue of the surrounding communities on coastal threats and unproductive fishponds generating the term "community actualization" for the community of Tanza.

Keywords: Transhumanism, Coastal sea level rise, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping, Community Actualization

Introduction

Today, there are a growing number of environmental migrants due to global warming. According to International Organization for Migration (2007), “Environmental migrants are persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad.”¹ The problem with these migrants is that they have little or no standing when it comes to international law (Byravan et. al, 2015)². If they are forced to flee from their areas due to climate change impacts, there is no assurance that they will have a residing home after. As a way to adapt, one of the affected countries, Kiribati, proposed a strategy for its future climate migrants. In order to help its citizens, relocate, the government is trying to train them to become more skilled and desirable workers to potential overseas employers (Byravan et. al, 2015).

In a study by Cornell University (2017), it is projected that by year 2100, two billion people, could become climate refugees due to the rising of sea levels.³ People can adapt to these by either staying in place through mitigation or leaving and migrating the areas depending on their capabilities. In Maldives for example, in order to adapt to the projected migration their government is expressing its interest in buying land for its people to move in to (Byravan et. al, 2015). On the contrary, people in lesser developed countries are also opting for migration but usually are limited to their options. Unlike developed countries, realistically, these countries cannot build dikes, seawalls or floating cities (Byravan et. al, 2015). Lastly, as a proposal, Byravan et. al, (2015) suggested another way to handle migration. They recommended to have the countries that have been historically been large emitters of carbon gases set a land for climate migrants. Overall, the problem in migration lies to the receiving area and the capability of a country in terms of economy and technology.

On average, global sea level is expected to rise by 3.1 cm every 10 years. In comparison, the Philippines expects a water level rise of 10.2 cm every 10 years. Coastal communities are said to be affected by this increase and about 167,000 hectares of coast-land in 171 towns are projected to go underwater in the coming years. In a study conducted by Quiambao & Taguian

¹- Reuveny, R. (2007). Climate change-induced migration and violent conflict. *Political Geography*, 26(6), 656-673. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2007.05.001

²- Byravan, S., & Rajan, S. C. (2015). Sea level rise and climate change exiles: A possible solution. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 71(2), 21-28. doi:10.1177/0096340215571904

³ Rising seas could result in 2 billion refugees by 2100 | Cornell Chronicle. (2017). Retrieved from <http://news.cornell.edu/stories/2017/06/rising-seas-could-result-2-billion-refugees-2100>

(2017), they have discovered that residents of coastal areas of Zambales affirm the sea level rise in their province.⁴ Although they have affirmed, it was said that they need better understanding of the sea level rise happening. According to Hallegatte (2012) sea level rise will be affecting the coastal regions of developing Asian countries economically through the following: “(i) the loss of land, (ii) the loss of infrastructure and physical capital, (iii) the loss of social capital and the additional cost from extreme events and coastal floods, and (iv) an increase in expenditure for coastal protection.”⁵ Today, the Philippines is currently under the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 in order to combat climate-related problems.

According to Adam Switzer (2017), “Climate change is having its largest impact on the poorest communities⁶.” Informal settlements are often located in areas with high hazard exposure and the most vulnerable to disasters (Ahamed, et al., 2014)⁷. According to Ballesteros (2010), “The Philippines is a coastal country with 82 percent of the provinces and 65 percent of the municipalities bordering the coast”⁸. In her study on Linking Poverty and the Environment: Evidence from Slums in Philippine Cities (2010), there are four main types of slums which include, “slums along coastal (shoreline) or seashores which are affected by seasonal rains, sea surges and erosion.” Due to sea level rise, high tide, runoff from rivers, and other non-climate related factors including siltation and garbage, flooding worsens. To adapt, residents either “construct barriers against water and garbage entry at doorsteps by surrounding the house with stones, blocks or even slippers or land fill their areas by using scrap building materials which they get from construction sites (Ballesteros, 2010).” The other solution of residents is to opt for migration. The feasibility of sustainable livelihood along these coastal areas with people having to go or not to go under migration should be studied. Exploring the idea of the people developing their known skillset combined with technology as a way of their survival in the place is something to look at. As said by Willie Uy (2015), it is important to keep in mind that relocating informal settlers in far areas is not always the best solution since economic opportunities are normally concentrated in the city. He also said that, “Towards providing long-term solution to the problem of urban slum settlements is to integrate them in the urban

⁴ Quiambao, C. B., & Taguiam, C. G. (2017, January 12). RURAL COASTAL HOUSEHOLDS' COGNITION OF SEA LEVEL RISE. Retrieved January 29, 2018, from <https://psa.gov.ph/content/rural-coastal-households-cognition-sea-level-rise-slr-case-zambales>

⁵ Hallegatte, S. (2012, January 17). *A framework to investigate the economic growth impact of sea level rise*[PDF]. IOP Publishing LTD.

⁶ Switzer, A. (2017, May 28). How Singapore is responding to the threat of rising sea levels. Interview by The Strait Times. Retrieved from <https://graphics.straitstimes.com/STI/STIMEDIA/Interactives/2017/rising-seas/long-form/index.html>

⁷ Ahamed, A., Hoque, I., & Ishaque, F. (2014). Design and Estimation of Low Cost Floating House. *International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies*, 7(1).

⁸ Ballesteros, M. M., & Philippine Institute for Development Studies. (2010). *Linking poverty and the environment: Evidence from slums in Philippine cities*. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

landscape with provision of clean water, livelihood, as well as a safe environment. By doing this we provide them access to a better, well-dignified life.”⁹

Maslow (1943) created a five-tier model of human needs known as the hierarchy of needs. The model composes of the following: physiological, safety, belongings and love, self- esteem, and self-actualization¹⁰. In a study made by Khalid et. Al (2014), they saw a highly significant resemblance between Maslow’s theory and the emergence of street children¹¹. The study suggested that economic, social and psychological affect one’s situation within the family. If the physiological needs are not met, they dominate other needs in the latter. The process of human development is seriously paired is Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (Khalid et. al, 2014).

According to Bostrom et al. (1999), transhumanism is enhancing human life through the advancement of technology¹². The enhancement includes prolonging the human life in terms of physical, emotional, and mental health. But, it is not limited only to these since it also encompasses economic, social, institutional designs, cultural development, and psychological skills and techniques. This goes hand in hand with Maslow’s psychological model on the theory of needs. According to Maslow (1943), self- actualization is the highest form of need that a person can achieve in order to be fulfilled as a human. A high sense of self-actualization is often associated with high creativity and psychologically robust individuals. This means that individuals who experience self-actualization are more flexible in solving problems that they encounter. In relation to this, transhumanism proposes that in order to enhance people’s lives, one must include the expansion of their intellectual, physical and emotional capacities (Bostrom et al., 1999). Through the development of the needs and more importantly creativity, there is more room for growth of the human’s intellectual capacity to innovate and work. Finally, it is also important to also take note that transhumanism is considered to have a wide range and is inclusive to everyone. This suggests that people living in extreme conditions such as the ones affected by poverty and climate change should not be of exception to transcend to healthier and productive lives.

According to the report *Projections of mean sea level change for the Philippines* (2016), “Sea level rise is already a threat for coastal regions and communities in the Philippines and it will become a stronger force contributing to coastal flooding, shoreline erosion and salinization of freshwater aquifers. The destructive force of sea level rise manifests itself mainly during

⁹ Buban, C. (2015, September 5). Informal settlements as new growth areas. *Business Inquirer*.

¹⁰ Maslow, A. H. (1943). *A Theory of Human Motivation*. Lanham: Dancing Unicorn Books.

¹¹ Khalid, A., Nasir, M., & Shoukat, A. (2014). Maslow Theory of Human Development and Emergence of Street Children. *Pakistan Vision*, 15(2). Retrieved from http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FILES/Artical-5_v15_no2_14.pdf

¹² Bostrom, N. (1999). *The transhumanist FAQ*. Nick Bostrom.

extreme events.¹³” It is important for us to study sea level rise and its effects on the community because there is need to be ready in the future. Addressing this now and planning with sea level rise in mind, mitigates and lessens the effects of disasters. The Philippines is a vulnerable country when it comes to climate change. In the report *Urban informal settlers displaced by disasters: challenges to housing responses*, more than 7.2 million Filipinos were displaced in 2013, and from 2008 up to 2013, 19 million people have been already displaced due to environmental disasters (Duyne, 2015)¹⁴. The increasing rate of climate migrants in the Philippines is alarming. It is important to look into the future projections of sea level rise and, solutions aside from mitigation, because the Philippines is considered a coastal country (Ballesteros, 2010)¹⁵. This means that a community must be able to adapt with their given environment to be able to survive. We want to make landscape architecture help the people in need when it comes to these kinds of environmental issues. Helping environmental refugees not only helps the community but our country as well. Introducing a form of an adapting landscape transforms the capability of our country in battling climate change specifically sea level rise. Lastly, the topic needs to be dwelled and raised awareness on not just only for us in the field of the environment and landscape architecture but also for the people deprived of knowledge and information on this. As mentioned earlier, transhumanism is inclusive thus it is the idea of sea level rise must as well be crafted and developed in a developing and striving community.

Problem Setting

This study wants to produce an adapting landscape planning and management along coastal areas that will help communities in the future. With this the main problem of the research is, **“How does landscape planning help the people and the environment transcend with respect to sea level rise in the next years?”**

The goal of the study is to provide a better built environment that will help Tanza and its surrounding communities adapt to the needs of the future.

The result of this study will enable different sectors of the society to understand the issue of global warming and sea level rise here in the Philippines. Also, the study will help people to recognize the importance of participatory planning and design to have a more cohesive output.

¹³ Met Office. (2016). *Projections of mean sea level change for the Philippines*. Retrieved from http://www.precisrcm.com/DFID_Philippines_Reporting/Philippines_Sea_Level_Report_Oct_2016.pdf

¹⁴ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. (2015). *Urban informal settlers displaced by disasters: Challenges to housing responses*. Retrieved from Internal Displacement

¹⁵ Ballesteros, M. M., & Philippine Institute for Development Studies. (2010). *Linking poverty and the environment: Evidence from slums in Philippine cities*. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

Particularly, through this study, governments local and national, non-government organizations, private sector, the planning and architectural community, and other people who will be having further studies on sea level rise will benefit in the study.

However, the study does not focus on other water-related hazards such as flooding, storm surge and tsunami levels. Analysis was made only on the general risk map of the area. Although it is already evident that rising sea level waters already means much destructive forces from these hazards thus focusing on sea level rise also means reducing future effects of disasters.

Instead of using a constant level for the water, the study used a computed average high and low tide levels for the year of 2017 with a datum at mean lower low water. There is no available data on stagnant current water levels. The communities surrounding Tanza with fishponds in the area were included in the study. These communities were not described and analysed in detail but rather focused on the system of Tanza's environment. This includes the concept of enhancing the surrounding fishponds and the effect of the barrier island for the surrounding communities.

The hypothesis of the study is that landscape planning will help the people and environment of the Tanza through the means of adapting the people in the site through floating technology and through restoration of the natural environment.

Theoretical Framework

Sea level rise affects both the environment and the people. The conceptual theoretical framework of the study focuses on four landscape and community related theories and concepts of sea level rise, adaptive strategies, and needs of the community. The relationship with the theories aims to achieve an amphibious community landscape through adapting with sea level rise (Figure 1).

Form follows function theory is by architect Louis Sullivan in which it says that an architectural matter should be based on its intended function our use. In the study, the researcher aims to adapt with the given environment and follow nature. Water elements should be embraced instead of being threats.

Ecological Resilience is defined as, “the amount of disturbance that an ecosystem could withstand without changing self-organized processes and structures” (Gunderson, 2000)¹⁶. In

¹⁶- Gunderson, L. (2000, November). Ecological Resilience—In Theory and Application. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ecolsys.31.1.425>

this study, sea level rise is a threat as well to the existing natural environment. Ecological Resilience must be applied to sustain and regenerate the environment. According to the study of Ofuoku (2012), urban-rural migration involved return migrants or people who were in rural in the first place¹⁷.

Urban-rural migrations is said to be permanent unlike rural-urban movement. According to Adewale (2005), “movement of people tend be a selective process affecting individuals or families with certain economic, social, educational and demographic characteristics.¹⁸” In this study, the situation of the community in the next 100 years will be looked at with this theory.

Lastly, the Hierarchy of Maslow’s Need is a theory proposed by Abraham Maslow (1943). It is composed of five needs and growth needs namely: psychological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love need, esteem needs, and self-actualization¹⁹. The first four are considered as deficiency or basic needs while the top level is known as growth or being needs. Once the growth needs are satisfied, self-actualization is easily achievable.

On the conceptual framework, the independent variable in the study is sea level rise in which its profile suggests its existing coastal landscape and through the theories, assessment t of needs of the community and the adaptive strategies we then move to a proposed coastal landscape which is the amphibious community landscape.

¹⁷ Ofuoku, A. (2012, April). Urban-Rural Migration in Delta State, Nigeria : Implications for Agricultural Extension Service. Retrieved from https://globaljournals.org/GJSFR_Volume12/1-Urban-Rural-Migration-in-Delta-State-Nigeria.pdf

¹⁸- Adewale, J. G. (2005). Socio-Economic Factors Associated with Urban-Rural Migration in Nigeria: A Case Study of Oyo State, Nigeria. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 17(1), 13-16. doi:10.1080/09709274.2005.11905752

¹⁹ Maslow, A. H. (1943). *A Theory of Human Motivation*. Lanham: Dancing Unicorn Books.

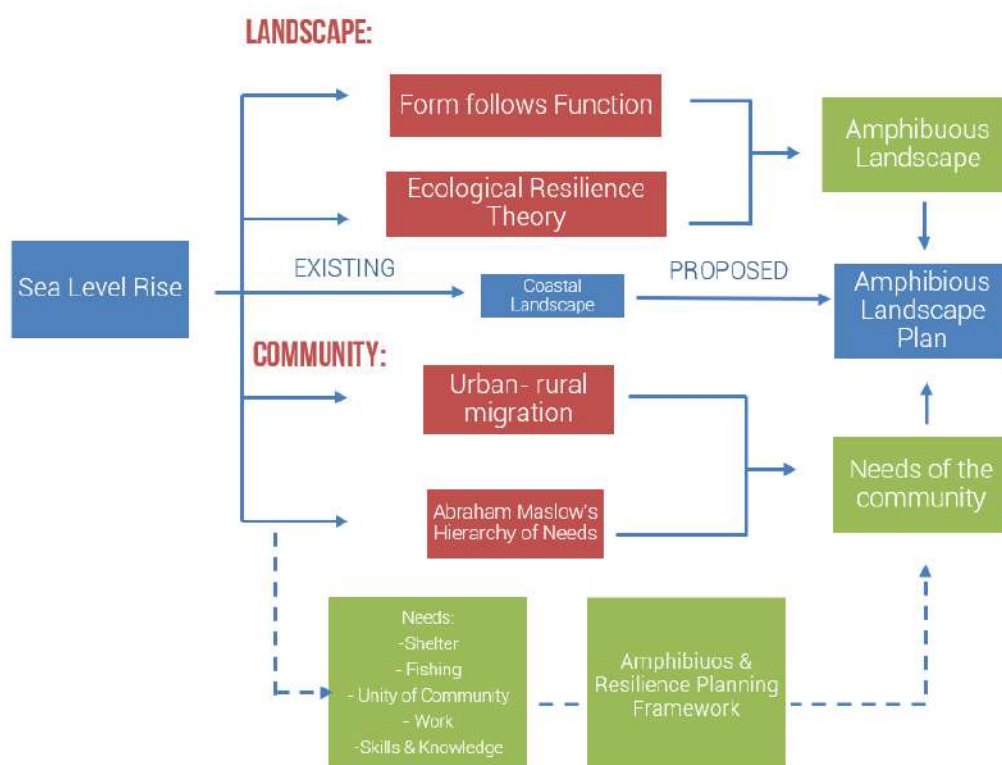


Figure 1. Theoretical-Conceptual Framework of an Amphibious Landscape Plan

Research Methodology

The study used quantitative and qualitative data. The major quantitative data focused on the sea level profile into which the research generated sea level rise maps through Project NOAH. On the other hand, qualitative data focused on the community profile incorporating Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. The researched conducted a focus group discussion and held a fuzzy cognitive mapping with the participants. Supporting qualitative data were also gathered from additional interviews from Tanza residents and the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (BFAR).

For the quantitative data, primary data and secondary data were collected through the help of Project NOAH. Sea Level Rise Maps were generated through bathymetric data and PAG-ASA's data on the projection of sea level rise using ArcMap. The collected maps were analyzed through knowing the most vulnerable areas throughout the years. The researcher computed for the total land area affected throughout the years.

As for the qualitative data, primary data was gathered through the means of a focus group discussion and fuzzy cognitive mapping of participants. Through the help of the barangay,

seven (7) participants were gathered and asked to participate in the focus group discussion. A representative from the housing sector, barangay, teachers, cleaners, fishermen, mothers and high school students were selected by the researcher. Through the focus group discussion, participants discussed their thoughts and ideas on sea level rise and space planning. The researcher also conducted a fuzzy cognitive mapping; a psychology-based mapping in order to understand the relationship of sea level rise to the barangay. The nodes in the maps are the needs based on the Hierarchy of Maslow. They are the following: sea level rise, safe environment, security, fishing and fishponds, relationship with family and friends, work, skills and knowledge, stress, adaptability and happiness with one's self. Participants will identify the relationship of the following nodes using different arrows to identify if the relationship is neutral, strong positive, medium positive, weak positive, strong negative, medium negative, or weak negative.

The fuzzy cognitive maps were then analyzed using CCTool. CCTool is an online software that analyses fuzzy cognitive maps through calculating the factors which could most effectively be used to influence the rest of the system. These factors provide you with starting points for designing the most effective management interventions for the whole system and indicate where the system is vulnerable to external change. To use this, the researcher must produce fuzzy cognitive maps from the focus group discussion. These maps will be manually input in the CCTool and the following nodes will be then identified with regards to their function (linear), controllability (easy, medium hard) and importance (natural, low, high). The researcher based the controllability and importance using the Hierarchy of Maslow (Figure 2).

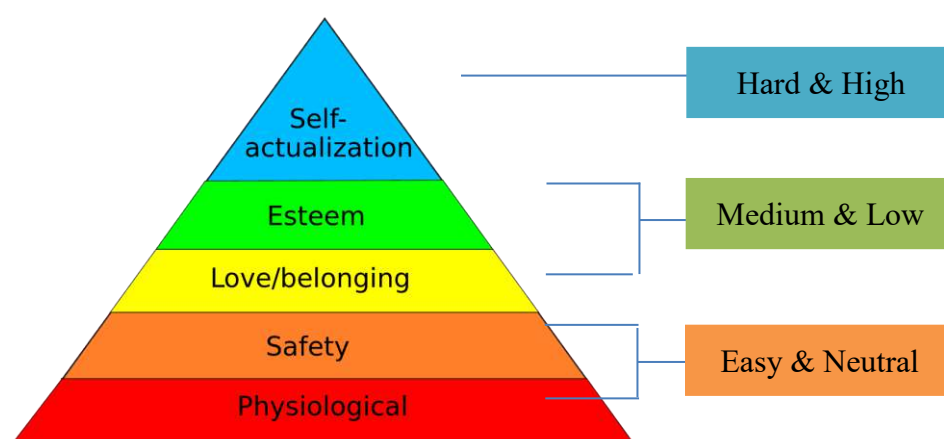


Figure 2. Hierarchy of Maslow with corresponding controllability and importance in using to CC Tool

Results

Tanza, Navotas Sea Level Rise Maps (2016)

The researcher, through the aid of Project NOAH generated sea level rise projection maps through the different years of barangay Tanza, Navotas. According to PAGASA's *Projection on the Mean Sea level of the Philippines* (2016), the sea level change for Manila under RCP 8.5 or the high end scenario in where greenhouse gases concentrations continue to rise throughout the 21st century are as follows :

Table 1. Sea Level Rise Increase

Source: Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration

Year	Sea Level Rise Increase (in meters)
2020	0.1 m
2040	0.2 m
2060	0.4 m
2080	0.8 m
2100	1.1 m

Here are the projection maps for the following years:

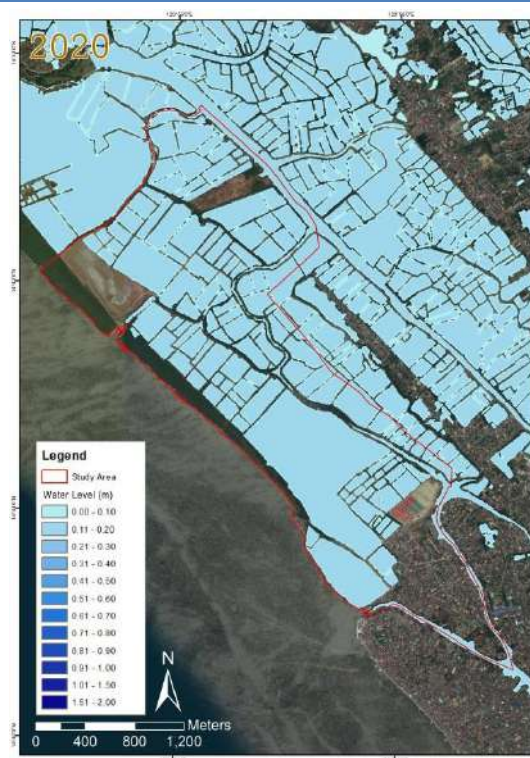


Figure 3. Year 2020 (+0.1m)
Source: Project NOAH

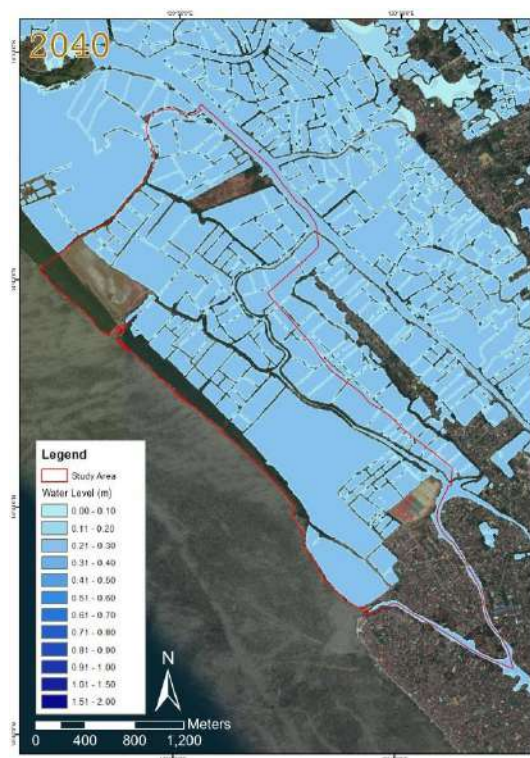


Figure 4. Year 2040 (+0.2m)
Source: Project NOAH

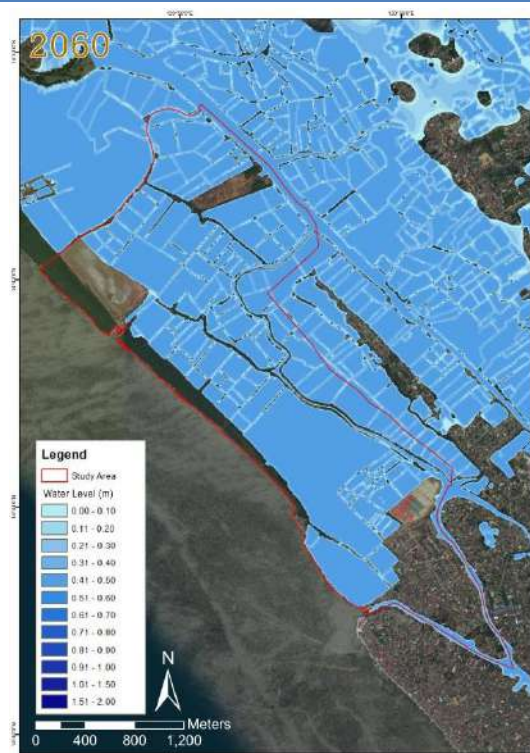


Figure 5. Year 2060 (+0.4m)
Source: Project NOAH

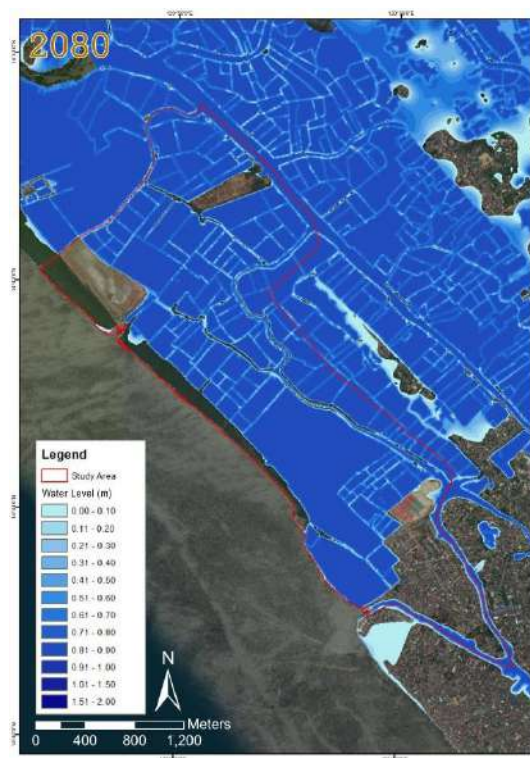


Figure 6. Year 2080 (+0.8m)
Source: Project NOAH

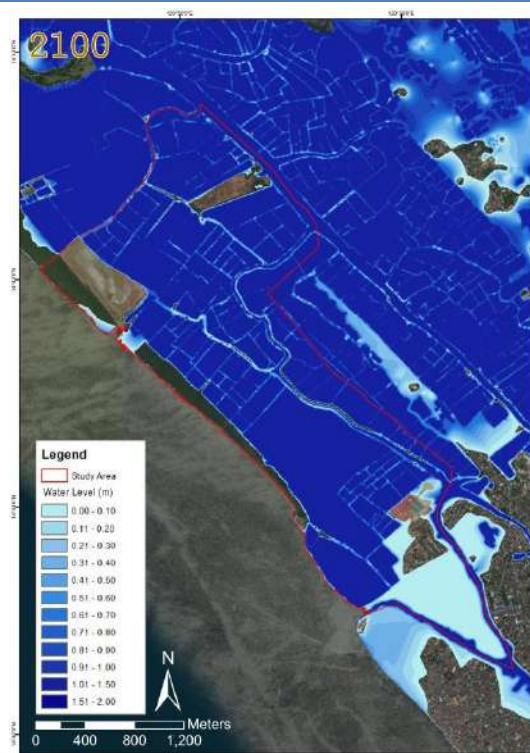


Figure 7. Year 2100 (+1.1m)

Source: Project NOAH

According to Project NOAH, the data on water level is bathymetric data or the data on the measurement of depth of water in the seas. This means that their data on water level is stagnant and is unaffected by tides.

Barangay Tanza Focus Group Discussion

The researcher held a focus group discussion at Tanza barangay hall. The researcher titled the research as “Assessing the Perceptions of Barangay Tanza Residents on Their Needs and Relationship to Sea Level Rise”. It involved eight (8) people from different sectors to represent barangay (Table 2).

Table 2. Participants' Name and Background

Name	Background
Ernesto Martin	Fisherman
Noel John Martin	Highschool student
Arnaiz	Admin assistant of Barangay Tanza

Evangelista	
Rosenda Cruz	Barangay EX-O
Sicendina Tangian	Member of Habitat for Humanity leaders(housing community), Senior Citizen
Stella Mariz Tiglao	Teacher
Fe Reyes	Mother
Walter De Joya	Barangay canal cleaner

The focus group discussion lasted for two (2) hours and it involved series of questions with regards to their needs as a community. The FGD involved a past-present-future flow wherein where problems and current solutions or projects were done (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Researcher with focus group discussion participants at the barangay hall

The researcher also conducted a fuzzy cognitive mapping, a psychology-based mapping in order to understand the relationship of sea level rise to the barangay (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Participants answering the Fuzzy Cognitive Map

When it comes to sea level rise, barangay Tanza is still not aware of it but they do know about climate change and feeling its effects through flooding. According to the residents, the flood in Barangay Tanza has improved ever since typhoon Pedring. Projects involving the reduction of vulnerability of Tanza involved: in-land migration through housing, building of dikes and flood gates and 11 pumping stations in the area. But a participant contested that during high tides and rains, water rises gutter deep. Also, if dikes are broken it becomes a problem of flooding to the residents. The barangay explained that in order to counter and solve this, residents should as well in keeping the canals clean to avoid clogging of water. With regards to dikes, it was said the before rainy season, they must check it already in order to avoid extreme flooding. The only problem of the barangay is that the spare parts of these engineering solutions are only available in Japan thus it is hard for them to maintain it. But throughout the discussion, everyone agreed that their lives have improved since the engineering solutions came in.

When it comes to their physiological needs, generally they do not see any problem. As long as they work hard and do something for their everyday living, they see no problem. The residents of Tanza are very flexible and are resourceful. Although one of the participants mentioned that ever since they have transferred to the housing area she felt more restricted and limited, but she still saw the benefits of moving in there (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Participants sharing their thoughts with the researcher

Residents see the water in the area as both threat and advantage. Advantage because they can fish anytime they want, threat because of their safety. They have been improving since they were located from informal edges to the housing in the area. On the other hand, according to the residents some of the disadvantages during typhoon season include: suspension of classes and work, higher price of rides and no pay. For the peace officers, it is very hard for them to rescue people especially if the water is high. Looking on a brighter side, some people see flooding as a business and have devised floating rides such as the “floating styro” for the residents. In terms of health, they discussed that compared to Malabon, Tanza’s water is clean because it comes from the waters on their edges and go in and out of their vicinity.

Generally, residents feel safe when it comes to peace and order in the area. In terms of sea level and flooding they have still their doubts and fear when it comes to safety. Right now, in order to address this and be prepared the barangay hall has some warning devices in order to detect the time for evacuation. They also have different evacuation center buildings for their residents.

Relationships with their neighbors, family and self are harmonious. They mentioned that “gossip culture” is still prevalent in the barangay most especially in the housing area in which people there are agreeably diverse. The begging culture is as well still present especially with kids having to ask for food to their neighbors.

All Tanza residents want to learn and wants to improve their livelihood. In terms of expanding their livelihood, they don’t see agriculture feasible in the area since they have salty water but nevertheless, they are still open for it. They said that they cannot properly utilize their fishponds because there is no proper plan for it. Incentives are also mentioned and people in consensus

wanted more when it comes to livelihood. Not only in livelihood, but participants are interested in knowing and learning more in mitigating disasters. Everyone agreed that awareness and sharing each other's information will help the community in the future.

When it comes to the future of sea level rising, older participants especially the senior citizens feel that they have done what they can, and it is up to the next generations on how to handle the future. Government benefits such as SSS were mentioned. Also, in the next years, they are seeing Navotas to have boats for transport. As for the younger participants such as the teacher and the high school student, they mentioned they have dreams for their future families. They have mentioned a stable type of housing for them. Everyone agreed that there will be heavier needs in the years to come.

Tanza residents have dreams for their barangay. At present, happiness in Tanza is celebrated in the forms of feasts, birthdays and their famous "Picnic sa Pulo" during the Lenten season. They also have boat racing as one of their events. They wished more businesses in terms of livelihood with respect to the sea. They want to make use and utilize what they really have. They wanted to have recreational parks and spaces for younger residents and even suggested if it is possible an open field. They have dreams to have Tanza be a city someday and be more commercialized or industrialized. It is hard for them to sail with boats and cross bridges just to get to malls and hospitals.

Focus Group Discussion and the Vision & Mission of Navotas

According to the Comprehensive Land Use Planning of Navotas, the vision of Navotas is to be "a Marina City in a well-ordered urban landscape serving as a regional fishing hub with a healthy and empowered community in a sustainable environment governed by a transparent, dedicated, responsive and financially self-sufficient local Government."

On the other hand, the mission of Navotas Local Government is "to harness all resources to serve the needs of its constituency towards industrialization and urbanization through the dedicated and accountable public official and empowered citizenry." One of the objectives of the mission is develop Navotas as the Fishing Capital of Greater Manila.

In relation to the held focus group discussion and fuzzy cognitive mapping, there are five needs which were cited: shelter, fishing and fishponds, unity of the community, work, and skills & knowledge. These factors were also supported by the focus group discussion. It can be seen that the vision and mission are aligned with regards to the fishing and fishpond needs of the community since, overall it wants to be a "marina city" and the "fishing capital of greater Manila." Urbanization and industrialization were also present in both with the needs of

community for shelter and work and how it was mentioned in the mission. On the other hand, this is problematic when it comes to the line in the mission stating “harness all resources to serve the needs of its constituency since it can possibly also sacrifice the environment of Navotas and affect all the community needs in the end. For example, reclaiming their lands will result to issues with regards to safety of the shelter and the flourishing of the fishpond industry.

Table 3. Summarized Tabulation of the Focus Group Discussion

	Rosenda Cruz <i>Barangay Ex-O</i>	Sicienda Tangia <i>Habitat for humanity resident's officer</i>	Stella Mariz Tiglao <i>Representative of the teachers</i>	Fe Reyes <i>Mother, Senior Citizen</i>	Walter De Joya <i>Barangay Canal Cleaner</i>	Ernesto Martin <i>Fisherman</i>	Noel John Martin <i>Highschool student</i>
Knows the term, climate change	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Knows the term, sea level rise	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Deeply affected by flooding	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>From Maslow Hierarchy of Needs</i> Problems according to needs :							
1. Food	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
2. Access to drinking & bath water	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
3. Shelter	None, Own house	Gutter-deep floods, Pabahay	None, Pabahay	Too many rules, Pabahay	Not Applicable	Future flooding, Pabahay	Future flooding, Pabahay
4. Security	Petty Crimes	None	None	None	None	None	None
5. Safety	Flooding	Flooding	Flooding	Flooding	Flooding	Flooding	Flooding
6. Neighborhood	None	Chismis culture	None	Chismis Culture	None	Chismis Culture	None
7. Family	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
8. Self	None, Old enough to sustain self	None, Old enough to sustain self	Future family and shelter	Livelihood, as a person who stays home	Livelihood	Livelihood as fisherman	Future family and job
Agrees or disagrees that sea level changed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Agrees or disagrees that in the next 10 years, needs will be different	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Preparation for the coming sea level rise	Awareness	Awareness	Awareness	Awareness	Awareness	Awareness	Awareness

Participants' Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping and Analysis

After the focus group discussion, the researcher instructed the participants to draw individual

fuzzy cognitive maps. Needs and factors included in the fuzzy cognitive map are: sea level rise, safe environment, security, fishing and fishponds, relationship with family and friends, work, skills and knowledge, stress, adaptability and happiness with one's self. These factors are derived from the Hierarchy of Maslow.

According to the FCM analysis of the citizens of Tanza, the whole system of the hierarchy of Maslow is greatly affected by the following: Shelter, Fishing & fishing ponds, Unity of Community, Work & Skills and Knowledge (Table 4). These following factors are also supported by the information gathered from the focus group discussion. Addressing and focusing on these will affect in developing the people in the area.

Table 4. Summarized Analysis of the Fuzzy Cognitive Mapping

<i>From the analysis of Fuzzy Cognitive Maps (FCM) using Complex Control Tool(CCTool)</i> Factors that have control over the development of the community with consideration of sea level rise & the hierarchy of Maslow (frequency percentage) :	Rosenda Cruz Barangay Ex-O	Sicienda Tangian Pabahay officer	Stella Mariz Tiglao Representative of the teachers	Fe Reyes Mother, Senior Citizen	Walter De Joya Barangay Canal Cleaner	Ernesto Martin Fisherman, Father	Noel John Martin Highschool student	TOTAL
1. Shelter	100	67	25	50			100	342
2. Fishing and fishponds	33	67			100			200
3. Safe Environment	33	67				50		150
4. Security		67				50		117
5. Unity of Community	100			100				200
6. Relationship with family and friends				100				100
7. Work		67					100	167
8. Skills and knowledge	50	67	25	100				242
9. Stress	50		25	50				125
10. Adaptability			25	100				125
11. Happiness with one's self	33							33

Community and Landscape Planning Assessment

A scenario matrix was derived from the study *Scenario Planning: A Planning Tool for an Uncertain Future* (2017) which describes and tabulates different scenarios with distinct futures,

all of which are probable. The scope of planning is the whole boundary of Tanza and the time frame comprises of years 2040-2100. The common departure point of each scenario is the master plan for the year 2040. Two major variables that are certain present and are driving forces are : 1) sea level rise and 2) the community. The possible outcomes assigned for each variable range between extremes and highly probable values. Vulnerability of the people through SWOT Analysis in each scenario were also analyzed (Figure 11).

		SEA LEVEL RISE	
		OUTCOME 1A MINIMUM RATE	OUTCOME 1B MAXIMUM RATE
C O M M U N I T Y	OUTCOME 2A INLAND DEVELOPMENT	scenario 1: RECLAMATION PLAN	scenario 2: HARD ENGINEERING + ADAPTIVE ARCHITECTURE PLAN
	OUTCOME 2B OFFLAND DEVELOPMENT	scenario 3: "MARINA CITY" PLAN	scenario 4: ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION + DEFENSE PLAN

Figure 11. Scenario Matrix

Adapted from : Planning : A Planning Tool for an Uncertain Future

In evaluating the SWOT analysis, **scenario 4 Environmental Restoration + Barrier Island Plan**, is the chosen scenario since it has more strengths and opportunities for Tanza and has low risk and vulnerability. Also, through this scenario, surrounding communities will benefit with regards to an improved environment.

The general description for the environmental restoration + barrier island plan is for ecological and tourism use. There are floating structures, but reclamation will not happen. The scenario is an off-land development of the community at a maximum rate of the sea level rise (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Environmental Restoration + Barrier Island Plan

The proposed master plan was then developed in accordance with the Environmental Restoration + Barrier Island Plan and the needs of the community (Figure 13). It is recommended to have areas for environmental biodiversity and protection. The area also regenerates and wants to revive the back the natural potential of the place (Table 5).

The Central Island will serve as an area for “ECommunity” Area (economic-ecological-community) for the public and the community of Tanza. In order to address the needs of the community identified through the research, areas for fishing, education and work are provided. Fishing and green infrastructure related jobs will be generated for the community. The area will provide the first coastal management centered educational institution and lab in the Philippines. In order to address the needs for electricity and water of the island, the island is provided its own potable water through its own filtration system.



Figure 13. Master Site Development Plan

Table 5. Proposed Areas for Tanza Master Site Development Plan

AREA	PROPOSED SPACES
1 AQUAPONICS AREA (47.5 Ha)	Fishponds Area Plant Floaters Mangrove Trail Osmotic Power (Salt Water Energy)
2 AQUASILVICULTURE AREA (9.5 Ha)	Mangrove Trail Fishponds Area Mangrove Area
3 LAGOON (30.7 Ha)	Swimming Area Kayak Area Recreational Fishing
4 CENTRAL ISLAND (33.6 Ha)	See next page
5 MANGROVE FOREST AREA (145.4 Ha)	Viewing Deck Mangrove Trail
6 WETLAND AND LIVING SHORELINE (22 Ha)	Tanza Wetland Center & Lab Constructed Wetland Zone Natural Wetland Zone

	Organic Revetment Resting Platforms Contemporary Sculpture Bird Viewing Corridor Timber Boardwalks, Decks & Viewing Platforms
7 PROTECTED REGENERATIVE MARINE AREA (114.8 Ha)	Artificial Reefs from Old Ships & Structures Floating Reefs from recycled bottles Breeding Area Connection to Lagoon, Aquaponics and Aquasilviculture Area
8 BIODIVERSITY ISLAND (64.3 Ha)	Tanza Memorial Area Glass Walk Mangrove Trail Bird View Decks Bamboo Observation Area Floodable parks Forests <u>Sea-side Beach Forest:</u> Agoho, Banalo, Bani, Dapdap, Dangkalan, Malubago, Talisay, Tuble <u>Inland Beach Forest:</u> Botong, Caballero, Madre De Cacao <u>Inland Mangrove Forest:</u> Bakawan Lalake, Busain, Malatangal, Nipa, Pipisik, Tagasa <u>Mangrove Fringe Forest:</u> Buli, Dungon, Nigi, Piagau oyster farms
9 WATER EXIT FILTRATION (24.2 Ha)	Floating Filtration Islands

Conclusions

The main problem, “How does landscape planning help people and the environment transcend respect to sea level rise in the next years?” was answered through the following :

1. People & Transhumanism

- The 2040 Environmental Restoration + Barrier Plan addresses the issue of the surrounding communities when it comes to flooding, sea level rise and unproductive fishponds.
- Although the Tanza Community is relocated, surrounding communities from Obando and Malabon will benefit the land in the coming years. The researcher concluded that although self-actualization in terms the hierarchy of needs is not directly met, “Community Actualization” took place. Community Actualization can be defined as the positive development of the community environment which uplifts the conditions of surrounding communities.
- Tanza Community, although is recommended for off land development, will always have its extended memory on the Memorial area at the Biodiversity Island.

2. Environment & Transhumanism

- An Amphibious Landscape Management Strategy helped the environment shift from 2020 to 2040.
- The 2040 Environmental Restoration + Barrier Plan greatly benefits the environment with regards to biodiversity

The hypothesis of the study, “landscape planning will help the people and environment of the Tanza through the means of adapting the people in the site through floating technology and through restoration of the natural environment” is considered semi-valid. Invalid because through the analysis and planning framework, we see that an off-land development for the community of Tanza will help them with regards to safe shelter and unity of community. But other needs such as work, skills & knowledge and fishing ponds were met in the landscape place. These answered needs will always remind them of what capacity Tanza really has. On the other hand, the hypothesis is valid due to the environmental restoration that greatly benefited the communities.

Since Tanza community will be relocated, the recommended site for relocation will be subjected to the following : 1) access to Tanza & 2) safe shelter. Suggested areas will be in the higher areas of Bulacan and or Valenzuela which are 30 minutes to one hour away from Tanza. It takes time for them to go to Tanza & work, thus a cohesive transportation network that will connect Manila to Bulacan or Valenzuela through major roads and water transportation network is then recommended. This thoroughfare then will decentralize the urban as well since coastal communities subjected to migration can easily opt to one.

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How Older People's Everyday Neighbourhood Experiences Affect Their Psychosocial Health

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Abstract

Urban design and community development are increasingly seen as interrelated disciplines especially at the local level. While the debate on whether primarily the physical affect the social or vice versa remains partially resolved, the spatial turn in public policy requires both the physical and social aspects of localities as sites for achieving public goals. At the neighbourhood level, policies to support ageing in place requires that the physical and social aspects of a neighbourhood promote older people's health. To facilitate the creation of health-promoting settings in the neighbourhood, this paper examines holistically urban design and community development aspects of neighbourhoods as experienced by older people for correlations with their psychosocial health. A survey of 151 older adults at three public housing areas in Singapore shows that older people's everyday Neighbourhood Experiences, measured using an 18-item scale, are strongly correlated with their psychosocial health when adjusted for various sociodemographic factors. This paper further examines relationships between factors in the Neighbourhood Experience and Positive Mental Health scales. Mediating factors are identified and discussed to facilitate more targeted place-based interventions to promote older people's health.

Keywords: Everyday space, Neighbourhood, Psychosocial health, Pathways, Older adults

Participatory Public Space Design Strategies for Water Sensitive Cities: Experiences in Bogor, Indonesia

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Abstract

Rapid urbanization and water scarcity in Indonesian cities are fuelling the demand for more diversified water sources to meet demand (ADB, 2016). The sustainable use and appropriation of public spaces in Indonesia is one of the lowest in the world (Althoff et al, 2017). This is partly because of the lack of connected and enjoyable walking tracks and open spaces, and lack of a more sustainable and integrated urban design approach including water and vegetation that can interact as active agents for the filtering, cleaning and reduction of stormwater runoff and greywater into the main urban streams or for re-use purposes (Tanan & Darmoyono, 2017). This paper presents the experience of a participatory approach applying a Water Sensitive Design Framework (Wong et al, 2012) to the design of public open spaces in the city of Bogor in Indonesia, with a focus on the active transformation of public space with Green-Blue Infrastructure as a catalyst for community integration, environmental recovery and resilience to the recurrent floods affecting most Indonesian cities and other environmental stresses. The Water Sensitive Framework aims to build more water sensitive cities and neighbourhoods, working alongside communities towards these goals. Community Visioning, Benchmarking and Scenario planning strategies have been used to understand local issues, determine the potential for change and explore the actions and roadmap needed to achieve the desired future in their communities to ultimately leapfrog to a more water sensitive future.

Keywords: Water Sensitive Urban Design, Public Space Design, Participatory Design, Water Management, Green Technology

Introduction

Introduction: Urbanization, Water systems and Case Study context

The relationship between human activities and water also indicates the impact of urbanization on the environment (Atlhoff, 2007), and the way that cities manage their water sources (including potable water, wastewater and stormwater runoff) shows the degree of sensitivity of a certain population or city towards the use of the natural resources. Many cities around the world who are affected by water shortage and water pollution are looking for ways to become more water resilient as well as improve their ability to adapt and mitigate the impacts of flooding or drought in their territories. Public spaces play a very important role in urban areas as a vital part for the interaction between people and communities, and their design can be a powerful tool to achieve vital and thriving cities, where communities interact in a more sustainable way with their natural resources such as water (Whyte, 1980; Dovey, 2005).

The Australian-Indonesian Centre - Urban Water Cluster (AIC UWC) project aims to support the transition of cities in developing countries to becoming more Water Sensitive. In such a city, water management is closely related to ecosystem services provision, environmental recovery and sustainable urban design. The area of intervention is Bogor City, a city of approx. 1 million inhabitants located on the island of Java, Indonesia. The city was selected because of its differing spatial, social and economic characteristics. Four case study areas were thus selected, two in Bogor City (Pulo Geulis and Griya Katulampa) and two in Bogor Regency (Cibinong and Sentul City), each depicting different spatial and socio-economic characteristics. This paper will focus in the participatory process for engagement of the community of *Pulo Geulis* in the revitalization strategy which uses Water Sensitive Urban Design, which includes Green Infrastructure strategies to improve the social, economic and environmental conditions in this informal area where water management is concerned.

Pulo Geulis is an informal settlement in the central area of the City of Bogor, Indonesia, located in the middle of the Ciliwung River, with a population of approx. 2600 people and an area of 3.6 Ha. The island is extremely dense and has virtually no public spaces, only narrow alleys to access to the houses. The community is well organized and have a strong sense of belonging to the place and their multicultural values. Some parts of the island have access to potable water infrastructure provided by PDAM (local water service). Water from the river is used by some members of the community for washing and bathing, despite the high level of pollution of the affluent. Most houses in the island have a septic tank for wastewater management, however, some houses located at the river edge throw their waste water (black water and grey water) directly to the river using long pipes (see Figure 1, right). Alternative sources of water supply such as rainwater harvesting are currently not used. Figure 1 illustrates the island location and

systems.



Figure 1: Pulo Geulis location, systems (left), and household wastewater discharge to the Ciliwung River (Right) Credit: Raul Marino

The following sections will present the framework behind the social and physical analytical tools used in this research and the Green Technology and the Water Sensitive Urban design solutions co-designed with the Pulo Geulis community to support their transition to a more water sensitive community. The key sections of the paper are:

- Literature Review: Water Sensitive City (WSC) and Leapfrogging framework
- Participatory urban Design review
- Green Technologies Review
- WSC Benchmarking Review
- Visioning Workshop methodology
- Urban Design Workshop methodology
- Main findings and recommendations for participatory informal settlements upgrading with WSUD.

Literature: Water sensitive city and leapfrogging

The Water Sensitive Cities (WSCs) framework is comprised of three pillars that promote resilient and sustainable urban water systems that positively engage the community (Wong et al, 2012). The first pillar considers a city as a water supply catchment in which access to a variety of water supply sources at multiple scales is readily available. The second pillar considers urban water systems that provide ecosystem services which enhance and support the natural environment. The third and last pillar considers communities that have water sensitive key decision makers and in which water has socio-economic capital (Wong et al, 2013). The WSC framework promotes diverse solutions that incorporate a blend of centralized and decentralized technology. WSCs display thriving and liveable green and blue spaces which are both enjoyed by the community and an integral part of the water catchment (Brown et al, 2014).

Unfortunately, there are many cities that are not considered water sensitive and many cities which have not always been. For many WSCs the path to becoming water sensitive commonly included pollution intensive and/or unsustainable stages. The concept of leapfrogging describes the potential for a city to jump over undesirable development stages on their path to becoming water sensitive (Binz et al. 2012; Sauter & Watson, 2008). It is common for authors to frame the concept of leapfrogging in the context of a developing country, e.g. Binz et al. (2012) define leapfrogging as “a situation in which a newly industrialised country learns from the mistakes of developed countries and directly implements more sustainable systems of production and consumption, based on innovative and ecologically more efficient technology”. However, the leapfrogging concept is more broadly applicable and may be conceptualized as “*the idea that there are new paths to higher standards of living which bypass the mistakes that other communities made*” Jefferies and Duffy (2011). Of particular relevance to the WSC framework, Wong (2016) states that leapfrogging is about “*capturing and building on advancements and innovations in policies and technologies achieved in other places and avoiding the traditional evolutionary approach to infrastructure development and management.*”

Literature: Participatory urban design and water

An important advance in urban planning in recent years is the understanding of the importance of community involvement and understanding of social structures in the process of urban planning and design (Fisher, 2007). Many urban theorists from Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961) to Gehl (Gehl, 2010) have highlighted the value of analysing urban social networks, people based urbanism to provide cities with more vibrant, and community based planning. The top-down ideas of early planners to address the problems and growth of cities (Le Corbusier, 1942; Moses, 1955), may not be the best approach as these have led to communities in many cities around the world affected by segregation, gentrification and lack of access to inclusive public spaces vital for social interaction and wellbeing.

One of the main aims of this research was to provide a better and more connected urban design framework to promote the sustainable use of the public space in Bogor. One of the main indicators of the successful design of public spaces is the Walkability Index (Giles-Corti, 2003), which measures how amenable a certain area is to walking. Factors influencing walkability include the presence or absence and quality of footpaths, sidewalks or other pedestrian rights-of-way, traffic and road conditions, land use patterns, building accessibility, and safety, among others. Walkability is therefore an important concept in sustainable urban design. The design of urban spaces can be done in several ways, from more top-down planning frameworks to more bottom up approaches that involve the community in the conceptualization, design, construction and management of public spaces and pedestrian ways. This approach has proven

to be a more successful way to provide cities with public spaces that are more suitable and adaptable to the specific needs and cultural identity of their communities (Gehl, 2010; Dovey, 2014). This concept was explored with the Pulo Geulis community to obtain their feedback on how to improve the current and future public space of the area. Solutions also include the use of Green Technologies to provide water treatment (so as to reduce its environmental impact) and to increase community amenity.

The manner in which the community can be engaged and thus become an active participant in the design and transformation of urban areas has also progressed in recent years. It has evolved to include better ways to achieve an effective community participation that goes beyond that of a mere consultation process, which is what happened in many governmental campaigns of community outreach (Chambers, 2008). Sociologist and social workers have explored community interactions and the ways that the built environment affect people's lives and the functioning of streets, neighborhoods and cities (Sennett, 2006; DeCerteau, 2007). Another interesting contribution to the debate in recent years has been the inclusion of environmental psychology studies that improve our understanding of the psychological processes behind the way that communities engage with the environment. The leapfrogging (to water sensitive cities) strategy focuses on the use and engagement of water bodies within urban areas, creating cities that act as catchments and foster environmental and social transformation (Gifford, 2014; Low, 2016).

Green Technologies

Greenery has long been a feature of public spaces, typically in the form of trees, garden beds, lawns or potted plants. Green water treatment technologies can serve the same aesthetic purpose, whilst also providing multiple additional benefits. These vegetated systems include biofiltration systems (also known as biofilters, raingardens), green walls, green rooves, wetlands, ponds, detention basins and swales. Systems harness the chemical, biological and physical processes associated with plants, the microbial community and substrate (such as sand) to provide water retention and/or treatment. Stormwater runoff and in some cases 'light' domestic greywater (from the bathroom sink and shower or bath) are directed into the system where pollutant removal and flow attenuation occur, acting to mitigate the impacts of pollutants, excess flow and flooding on downstream environments (Hatt, Fletcher, & Deletic, 2009; Ladson, Walsh, & Fletcher, 2006).

Other benefits of green infrastructure include cooling of the urban microclimate (Coutts, Beringer, & Tapper, 2007), enhancing air quality, biodiversity (Kazemi, Beecham, & Gibbs, 2009), providing community education and, if present as a vertical system on a building façade or as a green roof, thermal insulation of the building (thereby reducing cooling costs) and in

some cases noise mitigation (Horoshenkov, Khan, & Benkreira, 2013). Treated effluent can be reused for suitable purposes, such as toilet flushing or the irrigation of public green spaces such as ovals or parks (Fletcher, Mitchell, Deletic, Ladson, & Seven, 2007). In some cases biofiltration systems or green walls can be planted with vegetables, providing opportunities for urban agriculture and community gardens (*Cities Farming for the Future, Urban Agriculture for Green and Productive Cities*, 2006). The amenity value of greenery in public spaces is associated with documented benefits to human health and well-being of both the individual and community (Jackson, 2003; Swanwick, Dunnett, & Woolley, 2003). For example, attractive public open spaces and green environments promote walking, positive emotions and psychological well-being (Chiesura, 2004; Giles-Corti et al., 2005). The amenity benefits of green technologies also increase property values (Polyakov, 2015). Finally, at the very least, these passive systems can be self-watering gardens. Hence, green water treatment technologies provide multiple economic, human health and environmental benefits.

For optimal function, it is critical that the application and design of green water treatment technologies is adapted to suit the local context (Loh, 2012; Payne et al., 2015; Shaw & Schmidt, 2003; The Prince George's Country Maryland, 2007). Before technology selection, the objectives must be clearly defined. Understanding community needs and preferences, water use, management and the quality of water sources discharged to the environment is important. Space availability, maintenance requirements and cost are also key factors. In addition, technology selection and design must suit the local climate (including the intensity, volume and frequency of rainfall, temperature fluctuations, evapotranspiration and seasonal variation in these parameters) (Wang et al., 2017); vegetation (including availability at local nurseries); local site characteristics (such as slope, soils, groundwater proximity) and the availability of materials, including the media (see Figure 2).

In the context of Indonesian cities such as Bogor, there are both opportunities and challenges for green technology selection and design. For example, the tropical climate provides warm growing conditions for high plant growth and productivity year-round. Relatively regular rainfall minimises the likelihood of drought-stress, benefitting system functioning. However, the intense and high volume rainfall will require systems sized for a high treatment capacity and careful consideration of clogging potential and pollutant accumulation (Kok et al., 2016; Sidek, Muha, Noor, & Basri, 2013). Other challenges include the high density urban environment, with limited space for systems, the direct discharge of untreated wastewater into rivers and a high litter load, requiring pre-treatment systems (Mosyafitiani et al, 2017). On the other hand, the ornamental value of greenery is highly valued in Bogor, suggesting the local skills, community support and nurseries are available to support green technologies implementation. In addition, in the Indonesian context higher economic benefits may be

associated with plants grown in green water treatment systems, relative to more developed countries. The scope for plant harvesting for consumption (if vegetables or fruit), fiber or fish food may contribute to significant economic benefits. Thus if green technologies are carefully selected and adapted to maximise their functioning in Indonesian cities, their multiple environmental, economic and social benefits can be realised.

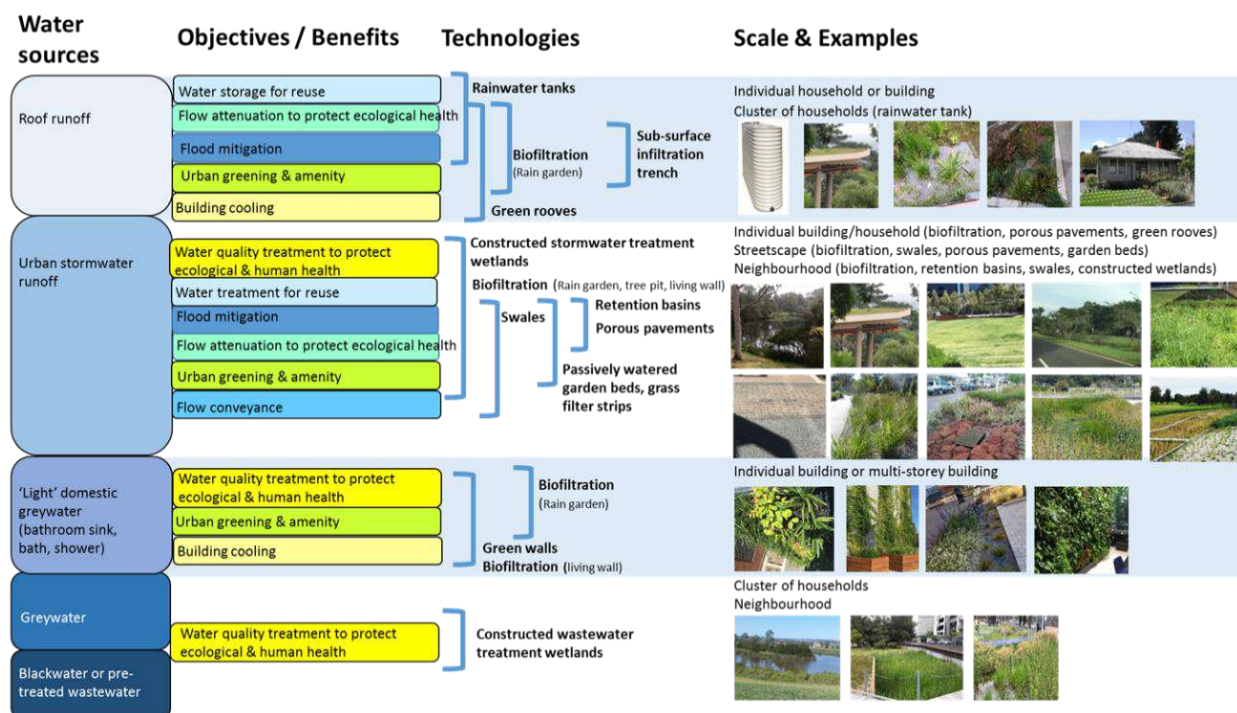


Figure 2: Matching the treatment of various water sources with the different objectives or benefits that can be achieved, and with technologies to achieve these targets (Credit: Payne & Fowdar, 2018)

From a water management perspective, green technologies provide a wide range of functions such as water quality improvement, waterway protection, flow conveyance, runoff reduction and flood control. In a water sensitive city, green technologies integrated with strategies for public open space will provide the best ecological and amenity benefits. This can be achieved by successfully combining landscape design and urban planning. For example, green technologies can be designed to effectively blend with the surrounding landscape through their choice of vegetation. Ideally, the choice of plants to use in these systems will not only consider their local availability, adaptability and pollutant removal capabilities but also their potential to contribute to the character and amenity of the surrounding landscape. For instance, the stormwater biofiltration guidelines in Australia recommend that 50% of plants be selected according to their nutrient removal performance while the remaining 50% can be selected based on their other amenity functions (Payne et al., 2015).

Green technologies can be incorporated across a range of landscape scales from residential gardens, local parks to road strips and highway verges. For instance, street trees (tree pits) can be used to infiltrate runoff during a storm event whilst providing other amenity benefits such as shade for the local community; bioretention swales can be incorporated along road strips to convey storm runoff and provide greenery; biofiltration systems (or raingardens) can be implemented into public parks for treatment of runoff from nearby roads and footpaths and the treated water re-used for irrigation of the surrounding open space. Indeed, in a city such as Bogor where access to clean water at an affordable price is often problematic, incorporation of treatment measures with a water harvesting function can help supplement water for urban farming and fish farming practices. Retention ponds used to control peak storm flows can also serve as public recreational areas at other times.

Finally, communities have a vital role to play in the success of green technologies, so consultation and discussion is vital in every stage of planning. Increasing awareness of the benefits of green technologies through community education and by developing on-ground examples will, undoubtedly, drive uptake of these water sensitive strategies in Bogor.

Benchmarking as a tool to assess WSC index

The purpose of the benchmarking methodology is to assess a city or a metropolitan area against a range of urban water indicators with the water sensitive city index. The water sensitive city index provides stakeholders with a tool that allows them to assess, monitor and ultimately improve their urban water management practices by identifying and prioritizing strategic management responses (Chesterfield, Urich, Beck, 2016). - To this end, the next section will elaborate on a selection of preliminary findings that are most relevant for understanding public urban space design in Bogor, Indonesia.

The Water Sensitive City Index is a benchmarking tool that is developed by the Cooperative Research Centre for Water Sensitive Cities (CRCWSC). While the development of the Water Sensitive City Index is ongoing, it has already been applied in a range of pilot sites in developed and developing country contexts (Chesterfield et al., 2016). The Water Sensitive City Index comprises 7 thematic goals and 34 indicators which represent important elements of a Water Sensitive City across social, technical and ecological domains (see Figure 1). Scoring for each indicator was conducted in a stakeholder workshop that involved participants from government agencies, utility companies, planning departments and community representatives. The workshop was set up as a facilitated dialogue in which all participants share their views on water management issues and qualitatively score each indicator as a group from 1 to 5.

Important insights emerge when participants discuss the ratings in the context of their city,

share different and sometimes diverging perceptions and elaborate on why they have given a particular score. It is this type of information that provides the rich contextual insights on strengths, weaknesses and priorities around Water Sensitive City attributes.

Regarding the indicator “connected urban blue & green spaces” workshop participants highlighted that the many public parks of Bogor are an iconic feature of the city. In particular, the botanical garden in the city center was seen as a key element of Bogor’s urban footprint. Different workshop participants highlighted its cultural (e.g. identity of Bogor) and ecologic (e.g. high biodiversity) significance. More generally, however, participants noted that many parks do not provide a lot of access and engagement opportunities. They are often fenced and designed to be ‘looked at’ rather than to facilitate a more engaging experience. Participants described them as “ornamental” with limited access or recreational opportunities.

Regarding the indicator “connection with water” the benchmarking workshops revealed the strong connection that citizens of Bogor have with their urban lakes (‘situs’ in Indonesian Language) and rivers. The situs fulfill a dual function of flood retention and irrigation purposes as well as providing recreational and amenity benefits to the general public. In particular, workshop participants highlighted their importance for fishing, which can help to support their livelihoods, as well as community interaction.

Finally, for the indicator “Public engagement, participation & transparency” participants pointed out that citizens are generally informed about certain outcomes in urban and water system planning if these decisions directly impact their livelihoods. However, meaningful participation opportunities in the decision-making process were perceived as weak and community engagement only done when certain decision-making outcomes need to be negotiated or discussed (e.g. compensation payments or resettlements). Participants pointed out that in most cases, community NGOs or local community leaders are the ones involved in public engagement and participation processes rather than the general public or the community at large.

Visioning, Scenario and Urban Design Workshops

The island of Pulo Geulis in the Ciliwung River in Bogor was selected as one of the demonstration sites for the AIC Urban Water Cluster project. The area was selected following a set of criteria comprising level of water management, location, socioeconomic level and others, as explained in the first section of this paper. The area is an old informal settlement located in a small island close the Botanical Garden at Bogor, upstream of the Ciliwung River. The participation process selected for our interventions design consisted of three main steps: Visioning, Scenario Workshop and Urban Design Workshop. In addition, the learnings from

the benchmarking FGD described in section 5 provided important information for the evaluation of the area's environmental performance related to water issues. The Visioning workshops consisted of three steps: the Community mapping, the Problem/solution tree and the Transect Walk. Each of these tools will be described in detail in the next paragraphs, and figure 3 shows the social and spatial analysis tools used in the project (see Figure 3).

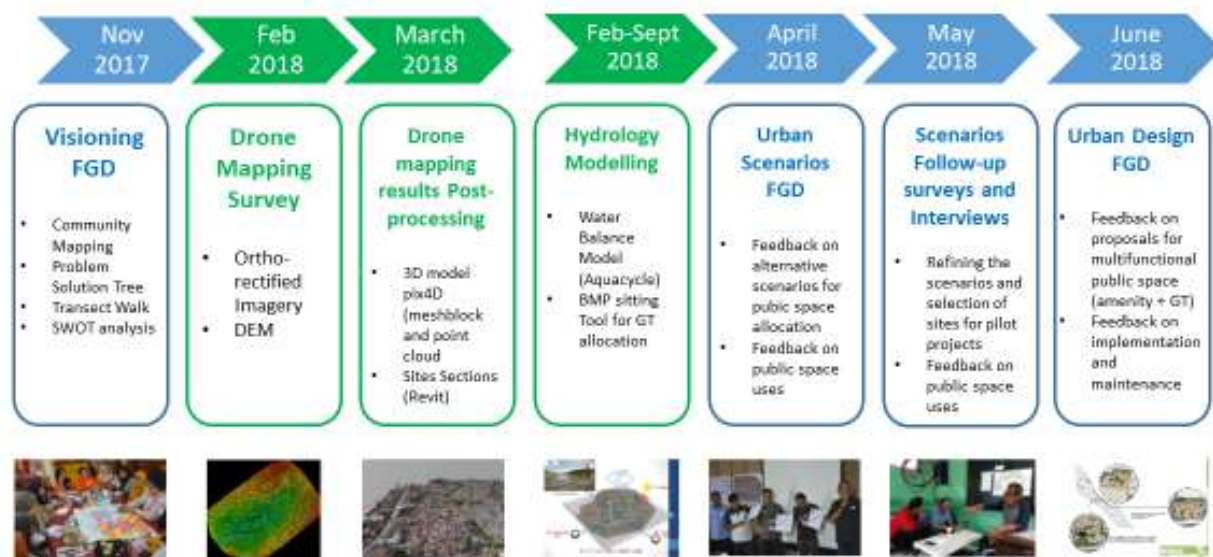


Figure 3: Spatial (in Green) and Social (in Blue) analysis tools and methodologies AIC UWC in Bogor

Understanding the community needs and aspirations: Community Mappings and Problem-Solution Trees

Community mapping is a valuable tool to visualize and locate geographically the main problematic and potential areas for intervention within the community land areas (Panek & Sobotoba). It allows the community to engage in the recognition of their territory and correlate certain aspects of their daily life with larger impacts on the natural environment. The activity used a big format satellite photo of the area as a tool for discussion and mapping of issues and opportunities in Pulo Geulis. In order to get a wider variety of inputs from different perspectives and daily life experiences in our areas of intervention, the community participants were divided into 3 main groups: Women, Men and Youth (a sample of the Community mapping outputs can be seen in Figure 4 and 5).



Figures 4 and 5: Samples of the Community Mapping and Problem/solution tree from Pulo Geulis Community FGD

The next step in the workshop was to identify the opportunities and challenges for urban design and sustainable water management. A problem/solution tree tool was used to achieve this. The actions needed to address the identified issues in the most feasible manner were also determined (see figure 5). Among other factors, the success of the activity is reliant on the role of the facilitators in engaging with all members of the group so that they are able to express their opinions, identify the links between problems' roots and causes, and put forward possible solutions to address the problems. The facilitators moderated the activities in the local language (Bahasa) and employed their experience in the field of social work and environmental studies to ensure the successful conduction of the activities.

Finally, the focus groups were asked to participate in the Transect Walk exercise. During this exercise, each focus group conducts a site visit to again identify potential places for intervention, -building upon the information gathered from the Community mapping exercise. Conflicting situations or possible transformation sites in their neighborhood are thus identified. The Transect walk route was decided with the participants of each focus group, and ideally covered most of the pre-identified places where the community have special interest in improvement or positive transformation with the use of Water Sensitive Urban Design and Green Technologies.

Engaging the transformation actors: Scenarios and Urban Design Workshops

One of the most important factors for the success of the leapfrogging strategy is to understand the rolls and organizational structures of all stakeholders involved in the process, from public to private sectors and also community leaders. A series of interviews were held with key stakeholders within the local and regional government sectors (Kota and Kabupaten Bogor) including the departments of planning (BAPEDA), Environment, and Water, Sanitation, Infrastructure and other departments relevant to the research. Also, interviews with private stakeholders involved in the process such as private developers (Sentul City Management) and

decentralized agencies in charge of water management such as PDAM were held. The interviews were designed as semi-structured interviews with open questions to allow the interviewees to express their opinions and comments freely. Most of the interviews were held in the local language (Bahasa Indonesia) with the help of local translators and facilitators from the academic institutions associated to the research project (University of Indonesia, and IPB). The information collected at the interviews informed the structure and content of the leapfrogging strategy and gave a more solid and locally adapted framework to the overall approach.

The next step of the community engagement program involved the use of Scenarios as a tool to explore different intervention solutions to create the new open space currently lacking in the community. Scenario planning with communities have been used effectively in many cities and neighborhoods to inform community upgrading plans and decision making in urban areas faced with a high degree of uncertainty due to changes in land use and/or climate change (Star et al, 2016; Butler et al, 2016). The next step in the development of the revitalization plan was a Scenario workshop; this workshop involved consultation with the same Focus Groups from the previous FGD, in order to obtain a greater level of response from the different community members. This workshop used a Scenario Evaluation matrix to collect feedback from the participants regarding the impact of the different scenarios in their daily life activities as well as the factors that could drive the positive transformation of their environments. Figures 6 and 7 show the material used in the Scenario Workshop and the Women's Group roundtable discussion.

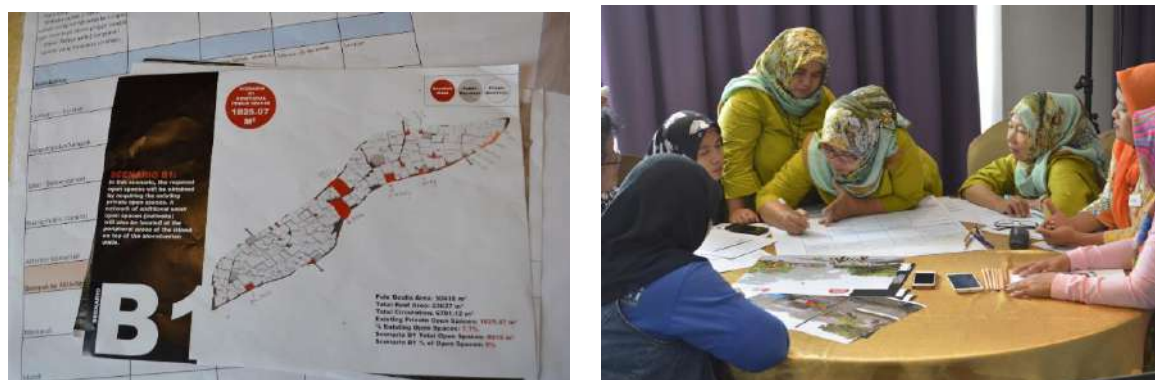


Figure 6 and 7: Scenarios workshop materials and participants in the workshop roundtables.

Urban Design Workshop: Collaborative public space design

The results of the Scenario Workshop for the selection and mix of activities in the new public space were translated into a series of urban designs for the selected 3 demonstration sites in the island, chosen by the community as the more feasible and strategic locations for the start of the revitalization plan (see Figure 9). The selected sites are presented in figure 8. Each site was

designed following the multifunctionality approach, looking to obtain the full potential of places to provide amenity for the community, allocate the Green Technology (GT) solutions to reduce water pollution and provide a platform for the economic uplifting of the community. An urban design workshop was held with the community to present to them possible transformations of the selected sites, and to collect their feedback in order to refine the different uses, elements and GT allocation. Finally, the participants in the FGD provided their feedback for the revitalization roadmap for short, medium and long term (2023, 2038 and 2045 respectively) goals and possible implementation and management alternatives for the better adoption and use of the new public space and GT systems. Figure 8 and 9 show visualizations of some of the proposed new public spaces combining the green technologies.



Figures 8 and 9: Pilot Sites urban design demonstration and Urban Design Workshop participants

Discussion and conclusions

Engagement of communities and stakeholders early in the process of the design of public spaces is one the main factors behind their success and active use. The challenges faced by developing cities in relation to poor water management can be addressed with the use of a more Water Sensitive approach that helps to leapfrog cities and communities to a more friendly relationship with water, whilst simultaneously improving community life and public health by the promotion of active mobility options such as walking or bicycling, and helping to reduce the dependency on motorized transport options fueled by pollutants sources.

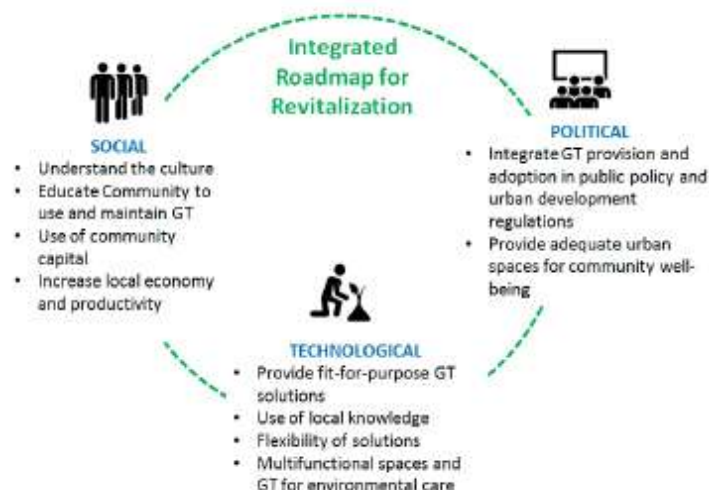


Figure 10: Integrated Roadmap for Pulo Geulis Revitalization

The proposed roadmap to achieve the revitalization of Pulo Geulis (see Figure 10) was based on understanding the social and cultural values of the community as main agents in the management and maintenance of the fit-for-purpose proposed GT infrastructure, looking to simultaneously increase their productivity and local economy in the different implementation phases of the roadmap (short, medium, long-term). It is also important to consider the need of local and national institutions to integrate the provision and adoption of GT into the regulations for the upgrading and development of new public spaces for the growing urban population in Indonesia. Initial public policy steps have been taken towards decentralizing water management agenda at the national level, and the AIC Urban Water Cluster project aims to support the process of adoption in policy and regulation (AIC UWC Report, 2016).

The process of community participation described in this paper will be a valuable source of information and experience for other cities and communities looking to improve their relationship with water. Additionally, it can help in the provision of thriving public community spaces and walkable pathways that could include Green Technology to process water flows and reduce or mitigate risks associated with urban floods, landslides and other environmental risks facing urban areas. Possible next steps to support the Leapfrogging process are the adoption of Green Infrastructure into urban design guidelines and promote the creation of local business providing the support for the delivery, maintenance and upscaling of Green Infrastructure. Cost-benefit analysis of GT is needed in order to support the economic adoption of decentralized water management systems, however the experience of other countries indicate that this approach can provide a feasible and also cost-effective solution vis-à-vis other engineered methods using grey infrastructure (Hoboken GI Report, 2015). Also, it is important to recognize the value of communities as main actors in the reduction in environmental pollution, enhancement of water supply security, and reduced risk associated

with water-related natural disasters such as floods and landslides (Jones et al, 2015, UNEP-DHI, 2014)

The Planning Department of Bogor City is looking to improve the quality and quantity of their public spaces and improve walkability. Pilot projects such as the outer pedestrian and bicycle ring road around the Bogor Botanical Gardens have been well received and actively used by the community. Also, the city has establish a pilot program for vertical gardens (Taman Vertikal in Bahasa) in the most congested streets in Bogor, aiming to provide more greenery, reduce urban heat island effect and reduce CO2 concentration in public spaces and streets (Muhammad and Arifin, 2017). The set of recommendations for the transformation of public spaces and streets with WSUD provided in this paper can be a valuable support for these ongoing processes, taking the next step in the positive transformation of public spaces and neighborhoods towards a more water friendly city.

The roadmap for the transformation requires a constant monitoring and evaluation of results, for that a Learning Alliance was started between Australian and Indonesian public, private and academic partners to provide together a viable way forward towards Water Sensitive Cities. The learnings from the proposed community participatory process have been incorporated into reports and other recommendations for public and private stakeholders in charge of the urban development of Indonesian urban areas and water bodies. This constitutes a positive step in the development of the leapfrogging strategy aimed at making communities, neighborhoods and cities more water sensitive.

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What makes streets places for living?

-2 Transforming the Streets into Social Spaces for better life -

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Abstract

How should streets be used, and what are they for? The Manual for Street (2007), published by the Department of Transport, the UK, describes streets as places for movement, access, parking, drainage, and utilities and street lighting. The UK did not introduce “woonerf” (Home Zones) as a traffic rule until 2000, whereas Japan and many other Asian countries have not yet introduced “Woonerf” as a traffic controlling rule. Japan has many streets with traffic calming devices, but there is no legal statement regarding street use as a “place”. Yet, we can find some flexible use of streets as a “place” in residential areas. This paper compares how street use in residential areas is changing in Japan and the UK.

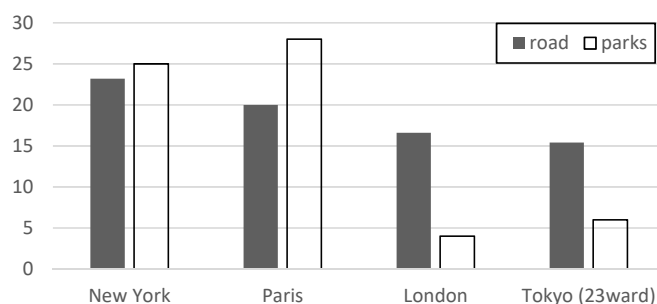
Home Zones, the British “Woonerf”, are often considered costly if designed as per its guidelines. Therefore, there are not as many streets designated as Home Zones as expected. However, there are some other schemes available for traffic calming or for creating living spaces. The simplest way in the UK is to paint streets. This can calm traffic and allow people to walk in the middle of the street. Japan recently introduced a national guideline for traffic calming devices so that more streets shall be living spaces in the near future.

Public realms can change people's mind/attitude and, in turn, people's activities. Street parties are becoming common in the UK to motivate community activities. Street paintings, and placing furniture are costless schemes being led by residents. It gives people a chance to think how streets can be used other than for traffic flow.

Keywords: Woonerf, Shared Space, play street, street furniture, healthy town

Introduction

Streets are the largest and the nearest public space from each house, and they occupy around 10 to 20% of the area in major cities around the world. This is not a small ratio if we consider the other public open spaces such as parks (fig 1). Effective use of streets may change our quality of life drastically.



(Arranged from PwC (2016) and Social Infrastructure Council (2001))

Figure 1. Comparison of Road Ratio amongst Major Cities

In the long history of human existence, streets did not have many vehicles passing through. Major movement was that of pedestrians, with very limited vehicles. However, Jane Jacobs has explained streets as places to communicate (Jacobs, J. 1993), while Donald Appleyard states streets as the first place for children to learn about the world (Appleyard, D. 1981). Moreover, an aging society is one of the major issues in Japan and many other countries. Helping aging people live in their own homes, and not in facilities, is an important factor in minimizing social welfare cost, and for allowing them to achieve an active life in their own community. Walking on streets to access various places, to be more active, to meet and talk with others, are important to help elderly people enjoy a good quality of life. However, the scene in Japan and many other towns is as depicted in Figure 2. The picture shows an old lady walking with a stick on a vehicle way because the sidewalk is too difficult to walk. We also see many wheel chairs in a similar situation. How can we cope with this problem?



Figure 2. Typical Street Scene in a Residential Area of Japan

This paper focuses on Woonerf (Home Zone) style streets. Woonerf is a Dutch word meaning “Life Garden”, and is defined as a shared space among pedestrians and vehicles, to create a better life in residential areas.

This paper compares how street use in residential areas is changing in Japan and the UK. The analysis is based on aspects of public realm, traffic rules, and residents’ attitude toward street use.

BACKGROUND ISSUES REGARDING STREET USE TODAY

Environmentally friendly and Healthy City

Sustainable development is one of the keywords for the development of a town, especially after the agreement between countries at the UN Sustainable Development Summit 2015. There has always been a discussion about how cities should develop while keeping the environment in mind. Most developed countries started using the terms such as “eco city”, and “environmentally friendly city”, since the 20th Century. Economic development often takes priority over ecology. However, it is well known that the citizens’ voice is so powerful that it can remove a waterfront freeway in San Francisco after the 1989 earthquake. Citizens’ agreement and behaviour is a powerful tool for improving our living environment beyond economical judgement. For minimizing CO₂, improving transportation is one of the key factors in society. For this, it is important to minimize people’s dependence on personal vehicles, and encourage walking, biking, and the use of mass transit.

Recently, “health” became a priority index for measuring the wellness of the society. Social issues such as how to maintain the good health of elderly people so that they live an independent life at home, how to minimize suicide incidents, and how to bring up healthy children are gaining significance. Pedestrian-friendly streets again can be the best way to deal with these issues. A place to walk comfortably can motivate elderly people to walk, which will help them maintain their walkability as well as meet with neighbours and live a mentally sound life.

It is also interesting to note that local authorities have also been encouraging street parties recently. Historically, it started after the First World War to celebrate the peace and children’s freedom to play. In today’s times, the national government is also advising people to hold street parties to form an active community. Jo Cox, a British politician who was assassinated in 2016, was one of the leaders who encouraged street parties, and her spirit influenced the government to create the Ministry of Loneliness in 2017 to build a stronger community. These modern-day issues are not easy to solve, but change in the way streets are used may contribute to the solution.

METHODOLOGY

The legal status and traffic rules vary from country to country; however, this paper tries to identify the differences between Japan (an Asian country) and the UK (a European country). The paper discusses the difference in the streets in the two countries, including the legal status, and sheds light on Woonerf in the UK, which was introduced recently (20 years after some other EU countries). The paper also discusses other schemes for traffic calming to convert a street into a residential street. It further tries to identify the common point in street use as a living space in Japan and the UK to find out a way to actualize “real” Woonerf (Home Zone) in Japan and in other countries where it has not yet been introduced.

The study is based on observation of different streets in the UK, Japan and other EU countries. Observation of areas was mostly done in June and July 2017 by visiting those places. Street visits to various towns were conducted from 2017 to 2018. It was found that there are different types of traffic calming schemes being implemented to create space for Woonerf or for street space to be used as a “place”. At the same time, various trials are being conducted in these countries to study street use.

BIRTH OF WOONERF (HOME ZONE) AS A TRAFFIC RULE: FROM PUBLIC REALM TO SPIRIT OF PEOPLE

In 1963, a planner in Netherlands, Niek de Boer, started planning housing estate in Emmen, and created a new street design called Woonerf, in this residential area. This arrangement become very popular, and many other housing areas introduced similar arrangement for traffic calming.

A retrofit type of Woonerf arrangement came later, and Weskwatier in Delft, Netherlands, is considered to be the first case. This is an arrangement to renovate the street for the existing residential area, and calm the traffic. Retrofit type of arrangement is generally introduced in areas which need to be improved. Roads are rearranged and designed in a way that vehicular speed is reduced, and people feel safe and comfortable walking.

a strong movement in Netherlands to legalize the Woonerf traffic sign started by a citizen’s campaign "Stop de Kindermoord" ("Stop the Child Murder") that started in 1973 . It started from an article by a journalist, after a child death by an traffic accident on the way to school. The 3 major groups which worked to legalize and advertise the necessity of a new signage were: Kindern Voorang (Priority for children), Voetgangers Vereniging (an organization for pedestrians), Veilig Verker Nederland (an organization of transport safety).

These organizations are not directly controlling speed and the use of space on the street, but are gradually contributing to create awareness about Woonerf.

The idea spread out to many other countries and has become common to arrange streets to be traffic calm. Many other countries followed Netherlands. Fig 3 shows when other countries introduced Woonerf (Home Zones) as official traffic sign after Netherlands' trial. Most countries introduced Woonerf traffic sign in 1970's to 1980s. This movement did not end by just brining this public realm into the existing town, but it became a symbol of people's right to spend "life" on streets. However, the UK and Japan could not legalize Woonerf in the 1970s or 1980s. The UK legalized it in the Transport Act 2000, and gave a chance for streets use to be changed.
























	Neder land	Den mark	Bel gium	France	Ger many	Switzer land	Austria	The U.K.	Japan
1970s	1976 	1976 	1977 	1978 	1979 	1979 	1979 		
1980s	1984 	1989 	1988 	1990 	1989 	1989 			
1990s								1991 	
2000s								2000 	1995 

Figure 3. Chronology of Woonerf and Zone 30



Woonerf in Westkwatier, Delft Woonerf in Amsterdam

Figure 4. Woonerfs in Netherlands

HOW DO STREETS LOOK DIFFERENT?

Residential streets in the UK cities are well planned and most streets are wide enough for cars to pass. There are some mews and alleys, and most streets have sidewalks (footpath) for people to walk safely. This means only the sidewalks are a place for people. It is very common to see cars parked on both sides of the vehicle way, and thus, the view of the lovely old houses is usually hidden by the cars. People tend to think it is their right to be able to park

their car in front of their house. It is prohibited to park without permission or payment on most streets in the city. However, residents usually have to pay very little amount annually for parking on streets. We can say that vehicles are dominant in the UK's residential streets. This situation is accelerated because car navigation system (GPS) also encourages drivers to take a shortcut via the residential areas, so we see more vehicles even on narrow residential streets. Online shopping also cannot be ignored as the number of delivery vehicles on the streets add to the traffic. Nevertheless, a poll shows that people feel it is better if children are able to play on streets near their houses.

In Japan, streets in residential areas vary from place to place. Some areas are well planned with sidewalks and kerbs to protect pedestrians, while some streets are flat and has a shared surface with a line marked to loosely segregate pedestrians and vehicles. There are also many narrow streets that should be widened in the future for safety purposes. According to the Act on Assurance of Car Parking Spaces and Other Matters, people are not supposed to park their own car in front of their houses, except for temporary use. In some streets, this gives people the freedom to walk in the middle of the street, especially when they are very narrow, so that not many cars come in.

However, by its looks, most of the streets in both UK and Japan have lost the sense of life even in residential areas, although a few Japanese streets still have a good atmosphere. Both countries did not introduce Woonerf officially in the 70s or the 80s.



It is very difficult to take nice photos of lovely houses without cars parked in front in the UK.

Figure 5. Typical Residential Streets in the UK (Oxford)



Narrow streets are comfortable places to walk and to be uses as a “place”

Figure 6. Residential Streets in Japan

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF STREETS IN THE UK? – AN OFFICIAL EXPLANATION

Invention of cars and increase in the number of cars changed life on streets. Children lost places to play in their house front, where parents could easily keep an eye on them. In 1938, parents' strong wish to allow children to play led to the "1938 Street Playgrounds Act". This act allowed children to play in the middle of the street, and banned traffic flow through it. It worked for a while and there is a record of 750 streets being registered as Play Street by 1963. However, 1970's was a critical year for streets in developed countries. Car ownership increased, and more people started to drive in residential areas. The invention of small cars, such as MINI (invented in 1959), further contributed to support car ownership to make people's life easy. This meant we had more cars in residential streets. In most countries, increase in car ownership means increase in parked cars on residential streets and alleys. It also led to more through traffic and more space designated for cars, making streets the "kingdom of vehicles".

As a result, parents with small children in the UK were unhappy, as children lost a place to play. The law for Play Streets did not have a strong authority to ban through traffic, and avoid parking of cars on streets.

The scheme to allow children to play on streets was repealed by the Road Traffic Act, 1960, which was then replaced by the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984, which remains active today. It is interesting to note that children actually cannot play on the streets even though quite many streets are still designated as Play Streets. An NPO "London Play" is bringing together communities to use streets as a playground again in a modern way. Some streets are putting up a Play Street sign again and allowing children to play. It is now required to close streets for children's safety. Thus, the situation is not exactly the same as it was in the old days, as people's attitude toward street use is changing.



Play Street under Street Playgrounds Act Play Street today (Wood Street)
(Pedestrian Liberation, 2012)

Figure 7. Play Streets in the UK

The Dutch Woonerf was introduced in the UK, during the housing development in Brown in Runcorn in 1969, which became the first case to use traffic calming schemes to create a Woonerf space. This gained popularity in the UK, and several housing schemes implemented a similar design. The first explanation for making Woonerf as a place for people can be seen in the Design Bulletin 32, published in 1977. This bulletin was prepared for professionals such as architects and urban designers to encourage the planning of a better living environment. Table 1 shows how the Design Bulletin 32 explained the function of streets. It was produced by the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Transport. It means that the government allowed streets to be used as a place for “children to play, and neighbours to meet”. Following this, CABI— Commission for Architecture and Built Environment—also implemented this design in the design guidebook; “Paving the way: How we achieve clean, safe and attractive streets” . It gave a strong message focusing on street itself. The Manual for Street, published in 2007, is a very important and remarkable document for street life in the UK. It lists streets’ use as a “place” on the top of the function list of streets. This change was brought about after the introduction of British Woonerf (Home Zone). Its description about street function is illustrated in Figure 8. Residential streets are mentioned as having more priority as a “place” rather than for movement of vehicles and people.

Table 1 Official Explanation of Streets functions in the UK

	Design Bulletin 32	Paving the way: how we achieve clean, safe and attractive streets	Manual for Streets
Year	1977	2002	2007
	Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Transport	CABI	Ministry of Transport
Function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Movement; - Affect daylight sunlight and privacy for the- dwellings and gardens; - Provide routes for statutory, etc. - Children to play neighbours to meet. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Circulation - Access to buildings provision of light and ventilation for buildings - A route for utilities - Storage space, especially for vehicles, - Public space for human interaction and sociability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Place; - Movement; - Access; - Parking; - Drainage, utilities and street lighting.

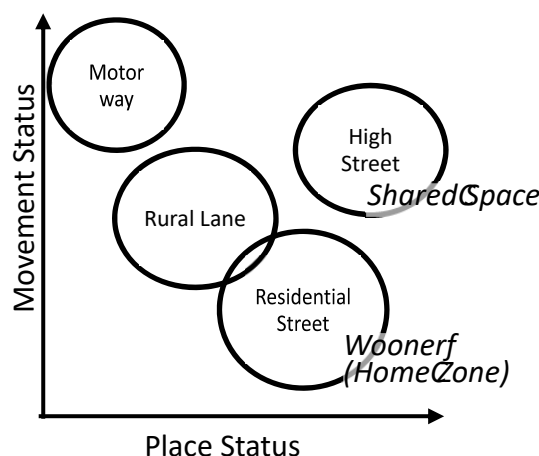


Figure8. Difference of Expected Street Functions in the UK

WOONERF (HOME ZONE) IN THE UK

This change in the UK streets was brought about by people's effort of lobbying so that children have the right to play on streets. The Blair regime, a Labour Party regime after 2 decades of Conservative Party, gave Home Zone (Woonerf) a legal status. "Woonerf" finally became a traffic rule in the UK. The citizen group which encouraged the use of streets at children's play area was one of the opinion leaders in this movement.

The Home Zone Pilot scheme was introduced in 1999 and applied in 14 areas. Before the pilot schemes were completed, the Home Zone Challenge scheme took off, and 61 areas were chosen for its implementation. The scheme was funded by the central government. Home zones are mostly constructed as a shared surface, equipped with plants, play spots and so on. Designing of Home Zone was suggested to follow the guideline published by the Institute of Highway Incorporated Engineers. This made professionals think that it is a costly scheme. Legally talking, it does not require any change in the public realm to designate a street as Home Zone, and there is a designated Home Zone in Bristol which did not cost much (Fig. 9, left). There is no legal requirement or regulations for designing Home Zone.



Home Zones in Bristol, Porchester, Morrice Town,
Figure 9. Home Zones in the UK

“Home Zone” was legally introduced in the Transport Act 2000, which explained the procedure. The actual use of the rule was explained in the “Know your Traffic Sign” as follows:

Home Zones are residential areas with streets designed to be places for people as well as for motor traffic. The road space is shared among drivers and other road users. People could be using the whole of the space for a range of activities. You should drive slowly and carefully and be prepared to stop to allow people extra time to make room for you to pass them in safety. (Know your Traffic Sign)

Its spirit of sharing idea and making residents a priority has not been fully achieved, as it did not clearly state pedestrians’ priority on the road. However, it gave chance to the UK society to make the street officially not only a traffic function, but also to be used as a place, and not only by public realm design, but also by traffic rule.

Unfortunately, Home Zone is still not very well known in the UK, and there are very few designated streets. This is basically because of difficulty in acquiring agreement from residents and because it is regarded as a costly scheme.

HOW JAPANESE STREETS FUNCTION: AN OFFICIAL EXPLANATION

In Japanese legal documents, we cannot find any words to allow people to use streets as a place, but at the same time, there is no regulation to ban any play on streets. It simply states that it is not allowed to play;

Road Traffic Act

Article 76 (1) It is prohibited for any person to install a traffic light, a road sign or marking, or any similar structure or object on any road without due cause.

(4) It is prohibited for any person to:

- (ii) lie down, sit down, crouch, or stand on a road in a manner that obstructs traffic;*
- (iii) play with a ball or roller-skates or engage in any similar activity on a road with a large amount of traffic;*

The law does not mention that playing on streets is prohibited even on a road with less traffic, but many people consider that children should not play on streets. In road safety education in Japan, children are commonly taught to not play on streets. It started in the 1960s, when a higher number of people lost their lives to traffic accidents than the Sino-Japanese war. It was called as “traffic war”, and children were taught not to walk in the middle of streets and not to play on a street. Traffic safety education at school was very active, not only because children

would play on streets around their house, but also due to children's independent commuting culture in Japan. Schools are responsible for children's commuting route to school, and from the 1st year of primary school, most children are expected to go to school by themselves or using the "walking bus" (a group commuting to school). When these children became adults, they started driving vehicles feeling that people should not be in the middle of street, and they are raising their children by teaching them that children should not play on streets.

There sprung a culture of "not to stay or play on street, even if it is residential", but it was only for a short period. It is still common to see children playing on streets if it is narrow and has very little traffic flow, and if their neighbours or parents do not forbid them from playing. Nevertheless, Japan is still struggling to use streets as a place. Shared space has been implemented in many places, especially in shopping areas or in transit malls, but not in residential areas. Shared space allows people to relax, and use streets as a place, but it is not yet treated as ordinary traffic sign and is an exceptional treatment.

Japanese professionals showing interest in introducing traffic calming devices in residential streets. There are also many new developed housing complex with traffic calming devices, and there are also several trials being run where the traffic calming devices have been installed. Many professionals consider "Woonerf" traffic calming device as a costly scheme. Many people talk about the "good old days" when they played on streets, but had to give up to change residential streets.

The Ministry of Transport in Japan has announced "Technical Standard for Chicanes and Humps" (circular of Urban Director / Road Bureau Director, (2016)). This may encourage streets to be used as Woonerf, but, again, it does not mean that Woonerf has been legally introduced in Japan.

TRIAL BY RESIDENTS: PAINTING ON STREETS

Costly schemes for traffic calming cannot be a common solution for residential streets all across the globe. There are several schemes that do not require large funding. There are quite many streets that have been painted and transformed into a place for people.

SUSTRANs, which is an organization located in the UK to promote alternative transportation for vehicles, encouraged communities to change their street environment. One of the schools in Bristol started to think about redesigning the streets in front of the school with the support of SUSTRANs. The school members and the nearby community agreed to plant some pots on the street and to paint the street. It did not require a huge budget but effectively changed the habit of children and encouraged them to walk on streets. According to residents, children used to walk both sides of the streets while cars passed by through the middle of the street, but after implementation, cars tend to avoid coming in to the street, and children walk in the

middle of the street. The change is not due to a change in traffic rules on this street, but on account of a change in the public realm.

Painting on streets is a relatively costless scheme, and also easy to change if the community does not find it appropriate. It was also seen in Beech Croft Road in Oxford City, where a DIY scheme supported by Sustrans was implemented.

There is another unique case in Austria. Many streets in Austria are designated as Woonerf (Wohnstrasse), but not many streets are actually used as living places as they are occupied by cars. In a street near a primary school in Vienna, parents decided to make it look very different. Because this was an important street for children who had to often cross it for commuting and for going to nearby facilities during school time, parents wished it to be actually used as a place for people. A blue paint with many dots changed children's and others' perspective toward this street. This is another case where street paint changed the behaviour of the people.

Fig. 11 shows a street situation in Tokamachi, Niigata, Japan. An artist painted the street with unique drawing, and it made people think that this was something different, and drivers reduced their speed. Street painting does not include any special treatment for traffic calming, but it changes the atmosphere of the street.

Paints on street is one of the costless schemes, and when the street is painted with a nice, visible design, it changes the behaviour of people. It achieves to make the street a "place for living".



Street "Carpet" calmed down the traffic, and residents happily walk in the middle of the street.



After painting it, children started to walk in the middle of the street, and traffic calmed.

Figure 9. Painting on streets in Bristol



Staglegasse with Woonerf painted in blue



In front of the school with street furniture and vehicles are not allowed

Figure 10. Street Paint and Furniture near Friedrichsplatz school



Figure 11. Painting on a Street in Tokamachi, Japan

TRIAL BY RESIDENTS: STREET FURNITURE

Placing street furniture is an even easier scheme. We do see many streets with street furniture such as flowerpots, benches, basketball goalposts, etc. in narrow alleys all over the world. However, as traffic on the street grows, the police/neighbours start to control those “occupiers” or “squatters” of streets. Designating streets as “Woonerf” and allowing the placing of some street furniture is one of the ways to transform streets into a living space. Many Woonerf streets are equipped with trees and benches or have Chicanes to reduce traffic speed.

Beechcroft Road, mentioned in the previous section, also used street furniture effectively (Fig 12). The residents even tried to put their sofa out of their house, and had tea on the street as an experiment. Sofas and tea sets were not suitable for permanent allocation, but flowerpots and bike racks were their idea of traffic calming devices.

Fig. 13 is the most unique and an effective case of street transformation using street furniture. This part of the street is not officially a public road, but it is designated as Danish Woonerf, and any car can pass with careful driving. This arrangement started in 1970’s, and it is still functioning. The layout of the Toy house (Wendy house) and picnic benches can be discussed and decided through community meeting. Again, understanding and agreement amongst the residents is key to the success of this scheme.

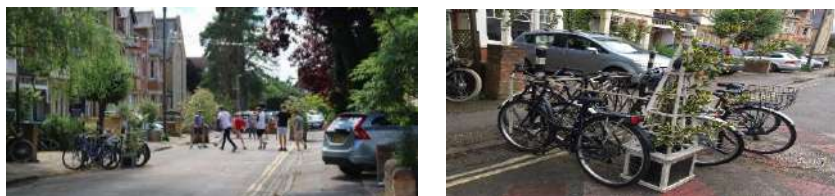


Figure 12. Street Furniture in Beech Croft Road

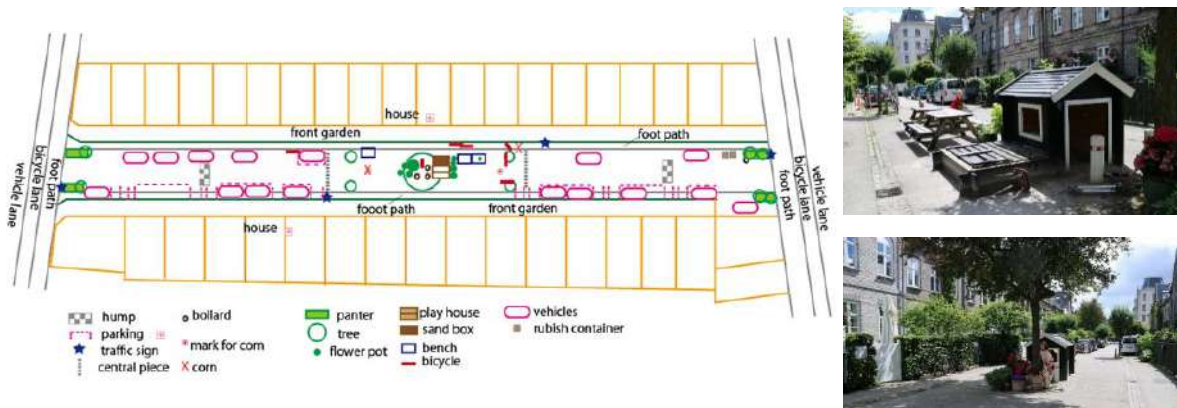


Figure 13. Streets in Kartoffel Rækkerne, Copenhagen

Results

This paper reviewed how residential streets are changing. A comparison was made between the streets in the UK and Japan, with additional case studies of other countries in Europe. The major findings of this study are as follows:

- 2 Residential streets in the UK are occupied by cars, and pedestrians can walk only on the sidewalks.
- 2 Residential streets in Japan often have different sidewalks for elderly people, although they have mews and alleys in some areas, which create a walkable atmosphere.
- 2 Regarding the use of streets, the UK officially admits that streets are a place for living.
- 2 The Transport Act 2000 made legalised the concept of Home Zone in the UK and changed the meaning of this term from just public realm to traffic control. However, it came to be recognized as a costly scheme because of the guidelines for its design, and not could not be implemented on many streets.
- 2 The Japanese have a legal statement which bans playing on heavy traffic road, but other streets are not mentioned. Nevertheless, traffic safety education in Japan is making people feel that playing on streets is prohibited.
- 2 Painting on streets effectively changes people's behaviour, and calms the traffic.
- 2 Placing street furniture such as flower pots, tree planters, and toy house (Wendy house) can change pedestrians' behaviour, and effectively calm the traffic.

Conclusions

Streets in residential areas can be the best place for community activity, such as meeting neighbours, for children's play, improving elderly people's mental and physical health, etc. In most residential areas, it was common to use streets as living spaces, but this has changed after motorization. Woonerf, invented in the Netherlands, is a very effective and well known

scheme that can change the attitude and traditional rule regarding street use wherein vehicles are given priority. The term “Woonerf” does not only represent traffic calming in the public realm, but is a traffic rule to prioritize use of streets as a living place.

The UK and Japan have different street scape because of their different histories of town development and parking rules, but people’s attitude that vehicles have the right to use streets is quite similar in both countries. There is a necessity to make residential streets to be legally regarded as living places. When many other developed countries introduced Woonerf as a traffic rule, the UK and Japan could not legalize it, even though urban designers actively used the public realm of Woonerf when developing new housing areas.

However, in 1977, the UK officially explained that residential streets should play the function of a “place”. This encouraged urban designers, but it took more than 20 years to legally designate Woonerf (Home Zone) as a traffic rule. In Japan, on the other hand, there is no positive explanation for residential street use as “place”, but it also does not ban its use.

However, the traffic safety education, actively being provided since 1970, is making people hesitate to use residential streets. There is a strong culture of actual using streets as a “place”, but this is officially difficult to admit. Japan needs to create “Woonerf” as legal traffic rule so that people do not need to change their existing behaviour, and also to bring back the street culture.

Home Zone Challenge and Pilot schemes in the UK were effective schemes within budget that changed the use and atmosphere of existing streets, and the guidelines for the Home Zone provided by IHIE explained well the ideal public realm. However, it contributed to creating a prejudice that Woonerf (Home Zone) has to have a shared surface, with planting, play space, etc., thus making it a costly scheme.

Nevertheless, citizens’ movements have us clues about how to create a Woonerf atmosphere without making much change in the public realm. Schemes such as painting the streets, placing street furniture were effectively implemented in several streets. These can also be easily removed if residents wish to do so. However, Kartoffel Rækkerne, a Danish community residential, kept their street furniture for more than 3 decades, and they still happily and effectively use it to enrich their life.

Communicating in front of our houses and using the nearest public space as part of a place for living is a culture in any country. Both the UK and Japan have a common attitude, but development of the town and change in attitudes with regard to safety, and vehicle use can transform people’s behaviour. Implementation of Home Zone (Woonerf) in the UK as traffic control rule gave power to people to be able to use the streets and insist on their right to use them. However, the prejudice that Woonerf needs an appropriate public realm made designation of Home Zone difficult, but there are some public realms which do not have a costly design. Painting of streets or placing street furniture are good examples. People have not lost the spirit of using streets as their “place”. We just need to effectively use/ bring in

official traffic control rules, and reach an agreement with regard to painting / placing furniture on street with our neighbours to bring about a transformation in our streets.

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Green Vertical Campus: Formulation of Guidelines thru Mixed Method Analysis for a Sustainable Vertical Learning Facilities for Higher Education

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Abstract

Globalization, population growth, and economic development in Asia led to the rise of tall, vertical structures as a solution to the resulting high-density urbanization and rapid densification. The continued influx towards urban centers necessitated employment and educational opportunities, apart from housing provisions. In particular, common trends in recruitment dictate that applicants attain higher education and graduate from colleges or universities. Vertical campuses have then been developed in densified urban centers and university belts, aiming to accommodate increasing numbers of students and to address the need for additional educational facilities. However, these structures, like other high-rises, are designed as multiple stacks of homogenous floor plates, lacking the layers and elements present in horizontal campus development that promote conducive learning environments, wellness, and wellbeing. The study focused on an Arts and Design vertical campus located in a university belt within Metro Manila. A comparative analysis and mixed-method approach were implemented in order to gain insights from students who have experienced horizontal school campuses and vertical school campuses, to observe how the vertical campus spaces are used, and to document and assess the built campus environment. Results aided the formulation of design guidelines that aim to integrate elements of wellness - such as connectivity with outdoors, visual access to weather and natural light, and green/open spaces - into vertical learning facilities. Components of horizontal campuses that incorporate sustainable design were categorized into landscape design, spatial design, and green design, all of which advocate sustainability through the principle of wellness.

Keywords: Vertical learning facility, horizontal campus, conducive learning environment, spatial design

Introduction

Today, globalization, densification, and the growing population and economic development in Asia, especially in the urban areas saw the rise of tall and vertical buildings to accommodate urban growth. Majority of the world's population will live in urban centers by 2015, according to the United Nations study in 2002, The United Nations projected that by 2030, about sixty percent of the world's population will be in urban centers and will reach over eighty percent by 2050 with a projected world population of 9 billion. By this time all major cities in the world, especially those in Asia, Latin America, Africa will reach staggering population growths of 30 million to more than 50 million.

According to the United Nations Human Settlement Program, Asia's urban population has increased by 37 million each year since 2005 exceeding 100,000 a day, and by 2010, Asia had seven of the ten most populous city in the world. It is predicted that by 2050, sixty-four percent of Asia's population will be living in cities.

To build up using vertical structures became an answer to accommodate the need for floor space in the limited lands of urban areas. These structures vary in use and can be residential, commercial, and institutional such as schools and universities. With the continuous rise and the unprecedented global population in urban centers, the future of cities will see high-rise and tall buildings dominating the skyline.

The vertical city concept could be a solution to the problem of our densified urban cities. By 2050, seventy-five per cent of the world's population is projected to live in urban centers. Accommodations for these millions of people will see the need for these cities to invest for commercial, residential, educational spaces through solutions that are both innovative and sustainable to manage the rapid urban densification of these cities.

The concept used in the Mirador Building (Figure 1) is an intelligent way of addressing the problem of densification but without the necessary negation of the other elements such as open spaces, plazas, and public spaces which are present in a horizontal development.

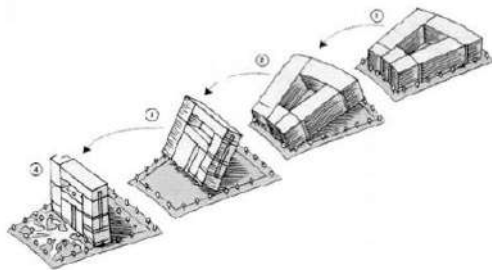


Figure 1. The Mirador Building Concept by MVRDV

It was earlier stated that the future of cities has seen and will see more vertical developments of high-rise structures which is very evident and seen in the changing skyline of the metropolis. These developments have included an array of vertical building typologies for residential, commercial, business, mixed-used and institutional buildings. This also saw the developments of high-rise educational facilities such as colleges and universities that followed the trend referred to as vertical campuses. These vertical campuses rose in densified urban centers and university belts to accommodate the need for the increasing number of students and address the need for additional educational facilities. However, these vertical learning facilities of steel and concrete mimic the same high-rise typologies of what we see in the cityscape, and somehow lacking the layers and the elements present in a horizontal campus development that gives it a sense of place and helps make these campuses a more conducive learning environments that promote wellness among its users and stakeholders.

Higher education facilities such as universities are very important because it is where innovative ideas, creative thinking and active research and a deep source of knowledge are acquired and developed. But according to research, many students in the university are exposed to high levels of stress (Abouserie, 1994; Felsten & Wilcox, 1992). Stress due to an imbalance to cope with human response and environmental demands resulted to physical ill health and deteriorated mental health (Chida & Hamer, 2008). The stressful university life also threatens the academic performance of students (Hamaideh, 2011). Earning high grades is not the only source of stress for college students, academic factors such as excessive assignments and homeworks are potential factors, but school environment such as classrooms is also a factor (Kohn & Frazer, 1986). Campus design in this sense should go beyond than just designing a place to study but also create an environment and place of well-being that is conducive for learning.

Horizontal campuses that have green and open spaces are located between buildings and connecting the surrounding environments by incorporating and designing different places and elements for interaction and social spaces. They also give a sense of beauty and aesthetics by incorporating nature and attractive environments that pleases its users visually.

Payne said, that the relaxing atmosphere of nature seen in open spaces is an open invitation for spontaneous discussions and meetings and provides fresh air for students who are stressed (Payne, 2009). Green building assessment tools such as Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), assesses sustainable environments that makes for a healthy place or community where open spaces act as small ecology systems where plants, nature, natural light, ventilation and thermal comfort among others all results to a healthy environment or eco-system conducive for the users.

Frederick Law Olmsted, a well-known landscape architect during the second half of the 19th century said, that visual contact with nature is important and has restorative and health benefits to the psychological and emotional health of those living in the city. These natural elements which are important according to Olmsted are normally present in the planning and designing of horizontal campuses but are lacking and almost absent in vertical learning environments (Olmsted, 1928).

Background

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the Philippines as indicated in the Official Website of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) shows that the private sector has a total number of 1,708 institutions and the public sector has a total of 680 only for the Academic Year 2014-2015; and it is also good to note that the biggest number of these institutions in terms of regional distribution are found in the National Capital Region, where the densest urban cities are located (Figure 2).

The data coming from CHED translates that 88% of the Higher Education Institutions are private institutions with a student enrollment population of 2,127,630 for AY 2014-2015 an increased to 2,264,331 in the next academic year and again the bulk of which comes from the National Capital Region (Figure 3) where the urban city centers are located, especially in Manila where a number of vertical campuses are cited in this study. The data and indicators coming from the CHED indicates the continuous rise of student enrollees from Academic Year 2010-2011 to Academic Year 2015-2016 (Figure 4).

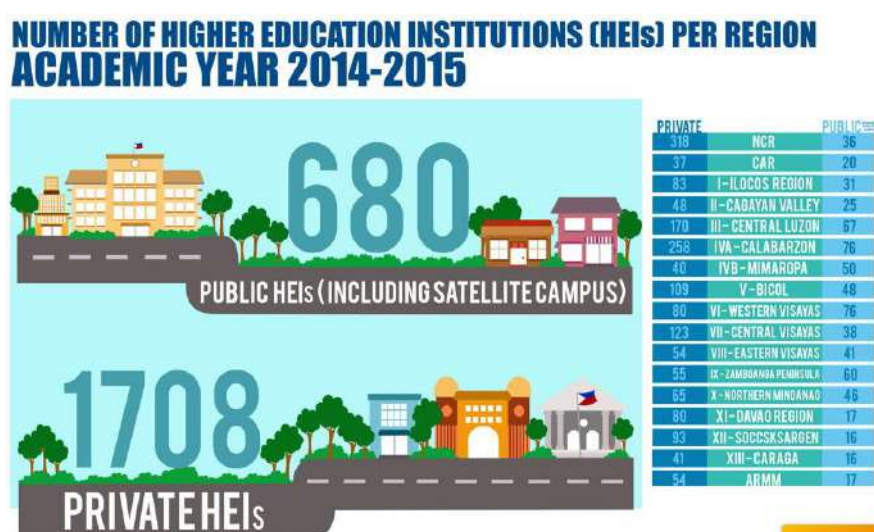


Figure 2. Number of Higher Education Institutions per Region for AY 2014-2015.

Source: Commission on Higher Education Data, 2016

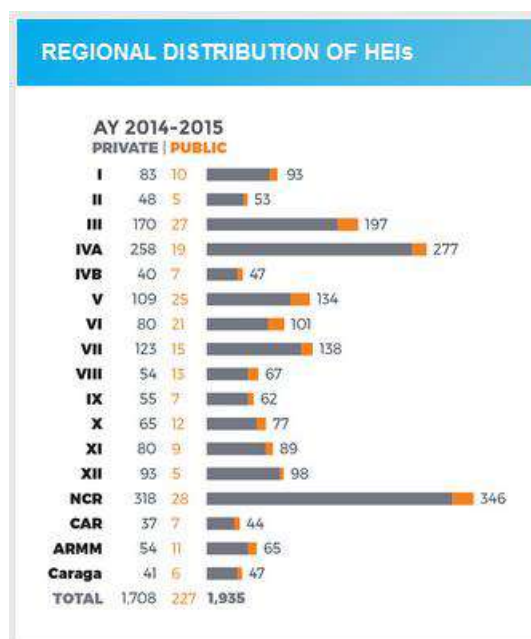


Figure 3. HEIs Statistics and Information for Academic year 2014-2015

Source: Commission on Higher Education Data, 2016

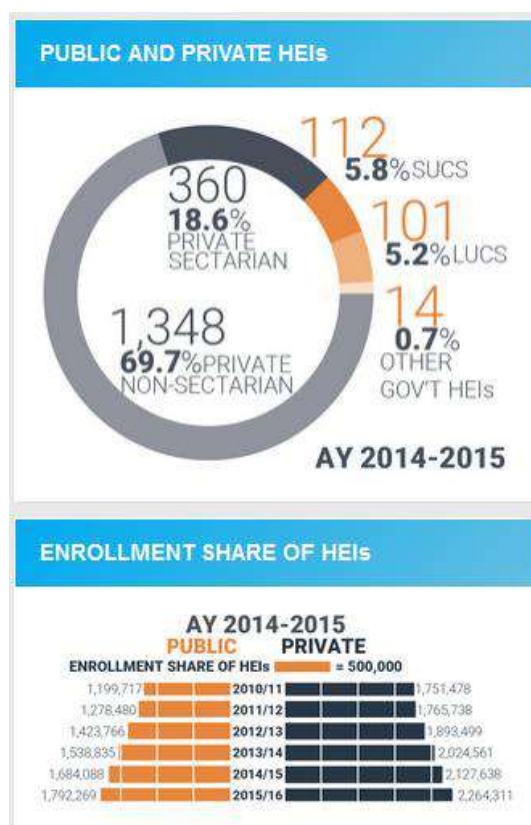


Figure 4. HEIs Enrollment Share for Academic years 2010-2016

Source: Commission on Higher Education Data, 2016

The Philippines boasts of the first university in Asia which is Colegio de Nuestra Senora del Santisimo Rosario now known as the University of Santo Tomas (UST) that was formerly located in the Walled City of Intramuros but was transferred after it was destroyed during World War II to Espana, Manila, where it is now located. UST is about 23 hectares and a horizontally planned campus with green open spaces (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Campus Map of The University of Santo Tomas

Source: <http://www.ust.edu.ph/campus-life/campus-map/>

There are also other universities with big open and green spaces such as The University of the Philippines, Ateneo De Manila University and Miriam College, all located in Quezon City. Other university campuses in Manila worth mentioning are De La Salle University (DSLU), Far Eastern University (FEU), Mapua Institute of Technology (MIT), which are typical designed horizontally planned campuses.

Rapid population growth in the city urban centers and the limited land area affected the urbanization of cities, communities, and the evolution of building. In the urban setting, tall and vertical structures became the answer to the need for limited land and space. As a result, a number of university developments in the Philippines, particularly in Metro Manila saw the need to build high and gave birth to a number of vertical campuses. In the much-urbanized Metro Manila, where the bulk of Higher Education Institutions are located, the number of student enrollments are in constant rise according to CHED, Campuses and universities had to augment and add educational facilities to meet and accommodate these growing demands and requirements.

The De La Salle College of Saint Benilde (DLS-CSB) which originally had only one campus now referred to as CSB Main is located almost across the De La Salle University in Taft Avenue., Manila City. Two more campuses were added later within two to three blocks from the main campus' proximity but were sited in a dense urban city neighborhood. The Angelo King International Center (AKIC) located between Arellano Avenue and Estrada Street is the second campus to be added to CSB, and the third campus to be inaugurated is the School of Design and Arts (SDA) with its address at Pablo Ocampo Street formerly known as Vito Cruz Street. Both of these two CSB vertical campuses are more than 14-storey high and both are intentionally designed to be a vertical facility due to limited land area (Figure 6).



Figure 6. The De La Salle College of Saint Benilde, School of Design and Arts
Source: <https://cristina2710.wordpress.com/2011/06/29/sda-school-of-design-and-arts-building-dls-csb/>

A number of schools in the university belt in Manila also expanded vertically to supplement their educational facilities inside their campus site. The Bro. Andrew Gonzalez Hall is a 20 storey academic complex, and the 14 storey Henry Sy Sr. Hall that are both inside the DSLU campus. FEU also added to its campus the Institute of Technology Building, a 17-storey vertical learning facility to its list of buildings which houses the Institute of Architecture and Fine Arts.

The vertical learning facilities stated above adopted the traditional vertical building form seen in the usual vertical structures and do not include the different components and elements

present in a horizontal campus. It is the opinion of the author that these vertical learning facilities should also reflect and incorporate the green open spaces, landscapes, hardscapes, and other amenities present in a horizontal campus or learning facility because of its sustainability features that make them conducive learning environments.

The Commission on Higher Education of the Philippines published in 2008 the Manual of Regulations for Private Higher Education (MORPHE) for the proper, effective and reasonable implementation of the laws, rules and regulations affecting private higher education in the country. Section 26 of MORPHE under Article VI enumerates the requirements for Institutional Sites and Buildings, and these are very general requirements and nowhere is the list of the 13 items in Section 26 that talks about the subject or features of sustainability, the nearest mention of sustainability is about adequate lighting and ventilation and the provision of sufficient spaces and furniture (Appendix A). The MORPHE lacks specific guidelines or the needed framework about sustainability features that is very important in today's urban context.

Goals and Objectives

New Urbanism Principles advocates are that urban places espouse the importance of natural landscape as necessary to the metropolis because of its environmental, economic, cultural contribution, and its fragile relationship to the city or community where parks and greens should be integrated and distributed in the community to promote wellbeing (Duaney, 2010). A vertical learning facility or a vertical campus for that matter is a community in itself and should also have these elements and components. According to Kishnani (2012), there are six emerging principles for sustainable architecture in Asia, and these addresses the subject of wellness that includes social, ecological and psychological dimensions (Kishnani, 2012). These principles are important elements that should be incorporated in the design and architecture of vertical learning facilities. The benefits of having a conducive healthy campus environment is the impact on students' well-being, with the incorporation and the presence of green and open spaces can reduce levels of stress and give better cognitive functions.

With this context in mind, the vertical campuses or vertical learning facilities being built in the dense urban City of Manila as stated in the previous discussions, sustainability features are being negated probably to a lack of framework for a sustainable vertical learning facility. Due to its vertical design and these vertical campuses just adopted the usual vertical building typology in terms of form and spaces and forgot the other elements, components and features that a horizontal campus can provide that is responsive and conducive for a sustainable

healthy learning environment and campus life for students.

Based on the literature reviews, the study will check and analyze design approaches, theories and principles on sustainability, healthy campus environment, together with green vertical urbanism concepts such as skycourts and skygardens (Pomeroy 2014). These will serve as the basis of the conceptual framework for the study wherein landscape design intervention, spatial design intervention, green design intervention will form the framework and set the guidelines. There will be two steps in the research method of the case study. The first study is an examination of green and open space design of a well-planned campus and to find possible design elements found in this campus and act as basis to formulate new guidelines; the second study focuses on two vertical campuses representing the urban contexts to look for design interventions and opportunities where these elements can be applied to the structure/campus. Finally, a formulated design guideline is developed as a tool and a helpful guide for the planning and designing of a sustainable vertical learning facility for higher education.

The research framework intended for this study is through field research, survey and analysis done via interviews, participant interaction or observations.

The goal of the research is to examine and analyze the architectural and landscape design strategies in a horizontal campus that promotes well-being like greenscape, open spaces, and other facilities that is suitable to a conducive learning environment. To find what elements and components in a horizontal campus can be applied to a vertical learning facility or campus, and to study the health and academic benefits of integrating green/open spaces and other elements and components that make for a sustainable vertical campus that promote students' wellness and well-being.

The objectives of the research are to study and analyze which of the elements and components of a sustainable healthy campus can be incorporated to a vertical learning facility or campus what are these elements and which of them are relevant and important based on student preferences; to address the importance of incorporating the elements found in a horizontal campus like green open spaces, social and activity spaces in vertical campuses and to impart knowledge on how these make for a conducive learning environment; and finally, to suggest and formulate a design and create a design guideline for a sustainable vertical learning facility or campus that can be a source of reference for designing sustainable vertical learning facilities.

The guidelines incorporated landscape design interventions, spatial design interventions and

green design interventions. Green/open space design interventions like sky courts and sky gardens for example make for environments that have restorative and health benefits (Pomeroy 2014) gotten from natural elements both visually and experientially. Spatial design elements and interventions that provide outdoor responsive environments, positive spaces to different schools and student activities. Ken Yeang, a proponent of green vertical urbanism says that tall buildings should be designed as 'vertical urban design', requiring the creation of 'public' places in the sky (Yeang 2002). Green design intervention looks at building a campus environment eco-system incorporating green design features like tropical design, microclimate, and other features for a sustainable vertical learning facility or campus (Kishnani 2012).

These strategies, design components and intervention combined will help achieve a design of a vertical learning environment or campus that have restorative and positive effects and benefits for its users especially to the students. These sustainable design interventions will make for a comfortable campus environment where students will experience physical and visual enjoyment, mental and psychological relief from stress and providing conducive learning spaces, social and activity areas that further promote wellness and well-being in a vertical learning facility or campus.

Methodology

The researcher decided to conduct this study in two existing vertical school campus together with an existing horizontal campus that were both familiar to the author because of the affinity on both school campus. It would grant the researcher a better opportunity to document the facility as well as observe a greater number of students to allow for more data collection. This research was conducted through interviews with students, teachers, and the school staff, site tours and observational studies. The preliminary study of the two school campuses included case studies of both facilities utilizing site visits, documenting and photographs of the facilities.

The secondary aspect of the case studies included observational studies in each campus to observe student interaction with the built environment and the perceived reactions and perceptions. These case studies focused on two vertical campuses and a horizontal campus in Manila. The two vertical campuses and the horizontal campus were carefully selected based on the incorporation of different elements discussed in the theoretical framework for a sustainable campus environment present in the design of the built environment. The two campuses in Manila are similar in the background of student population they serve including age range, gender and the kind of campus they attended.

Throughout this study, site visits were scheduled in each campus to document and to gain insight into the facilities, and identify the degree of inclusion on the aspects of green sustainable design being studied in this thesis. Vertical learning facilities should also reflect and incorporate the green open spaces, landscapes, hardscapes, and other amenities that a horizontal campus or learning facility and make it available also in vertical campuses or learning facilities.

The data gathered from the observations and survey, and its result will dictate which elements and components are important to the students and will form and establish what elements will be included and incorporated in the guideline for a sustainable vertical learning facility.

This research was conducted through a mixed-method approach utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods of research design shown in the methodological framework (Figure 7). Surveys were used for a wide range of students and student population. Three surveys were given as a tool to get the required opinion of the students and to collect quantitative information. The group of student survey were taken from a good number of students who were able to experience studying in a horizontal school campus. Another set of survey were given to these students, who came from a horizontal campus and are now studying in a vertical school campus.

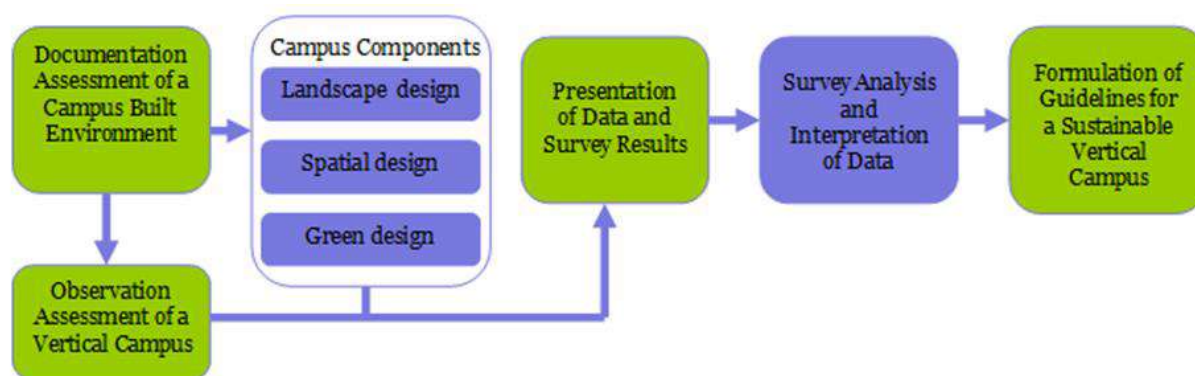


Figure 7. Methodological Framework

Survey number one and survey number three were given to the general population of students regardless of their college program. Survey number two on school campus facilities, with items about Green Design Interventions were specifically given to architecture students due to the content of the questionnaires, and due to the fact that they have already a background on green and sustainable architecture.

Documentation and Assessment of the Built Campus Environment

The documentation and assessment on the built environment of the campus occurred in multiple ways. The first step of the documentation and assessment portion of this research was to create or obtain a floor plan of the facility. The floor plans were used to better understand the layout and circulation of the facilities as well as understand the adjacencies of the various areas that students typically use when they are in school and to identify where students typically chose to study aside from the classroom, lounge around, socialize, rest, wait, and the other activities they do inside the school/campus.

The second step to this research was to tour and photograph the school campus. The tour of the campus was not a problem due to the fact that the author is a faculty member of the school. During the tour, the researcher asked questions about the design of the facility and the spaces to better understand how the space is used by the students, and where they spend it inside the campus.

A high emphasis was placed on photographing the areas where students typically spend a majority of their time when inside the campus. These spaces include the entrance, lobby, lounge area, library, cafeteria, corridors and hallways (Appendix B,C,D,E).

Observation and Assessment of a Horizontal vs. Vertical Campus

The purpose of the observational section of the research was to focus on the students; how they use the facility; what areas they use; the way they interact with the space; the quality of time spent in various locations; and the perceived state of emotional/wellbeing and comfort when they are inside the school campus.

Observations were conducted in each site over a two-week period to also validate the survey given by the researcher to the students and conducted the observations three to four days a week during the data collection and observation period of the research. The observation time was spent documenting the students' activities within the campus, and how the students interacted with the space and their overall perceived state of comfort as well as documenting the school campus environment.

The components of a horizontal campus were made using a table that shows the actual elements found in UST horizontal campus (Table 1). The campus design found three campus components and categorized them as landscape design, spatial design, and green design.











- Landscape design is looking at creating natural environments and sensational

connections for restoration.

- Spatial design is looking at arranging easily accessed spaces to provide good sense of orientation and order for different activities.
- Green design is looking at building an eco-system inclusive of sustainability features as well.

All of the three components with its elements advocate sustainability thru the principle of wellness. These components are found wanting in a vertical campus and will be part of the campus components in formulation of guidelines for a sustainable vertical learning facilities.

Table 1. Assessing for green and open spaces and sustainability in a horizontal campus
(University of Santo Tomas Main Campus)

Selected Open Spaces		Main Design Components			Main Activities
		Landscape Design	Spatial Design	Green Design	
		Trees Ponds Seating Plants	Open Courts Social Interaction	Micro- climate Shaded Areas	Seating Reading Social Space
		Seating Colorful Plants Trees	Land- scaped Courtyards	Micro- climate Shaded Areas	Seating Reading Social Space
		Nature Views Fountains Green Walkways	Main Circulation Pathways	Micro- climate Shaded Areas	Seating Reading Social Space
		Seating Colorful Plants Trees	Main Circulation Pathways	Micro- climate Shaded Areas	Seating Reading Social Space
		Trees Ponds Fountains Green Walkways	Main Circulation Pathways	Micro- climate Shaded Areas	Seating Reading Social Space

Presentation and Interpretation of Data,-Survey Analysis and Findings

Based on a survey among students, the data gathered present the demographic profile of the respondents. Majority of the respondents surveyed were male followed by female (45) (Figure 7), who came from the Third year (32%), followed by the Second year (24%), First year (17%), Fourth year (16%), and Fifth year respectively (11%) (Figure 8). While most of them started studying since they were 1st year (85%), most of the students have their classes situated between the 13th-16th floors (81%) of their school (Figure 9). Most of them have between 4 (40%) to 5 (34%) days a week classes wherein they invested/spent around 13-18 hrs (25%) to 19-24 hrs (25%) in a week. Depending on the subject load and the day of the week, students had an average classroom stay of 6-12 hrs (25%) per week to 13-18 hrs (39%) per week (Figure 10,11). Sample results of the surveys are presented in the Appendix F, G, and H.

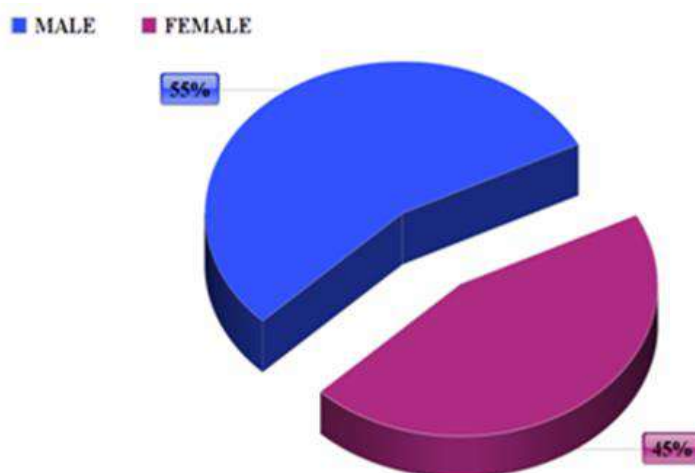


Figure 7. Students School Background Information on Gender

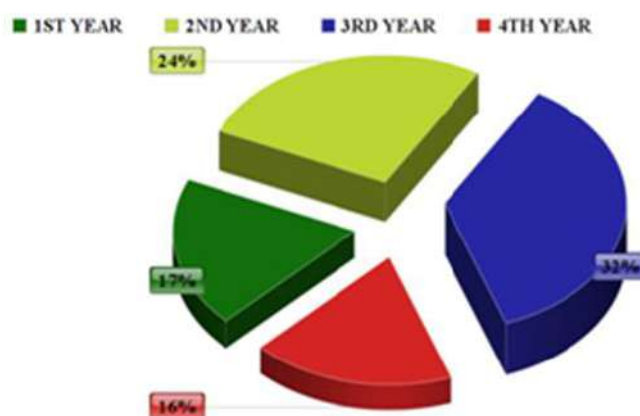


Figure 8. College Classification of Students

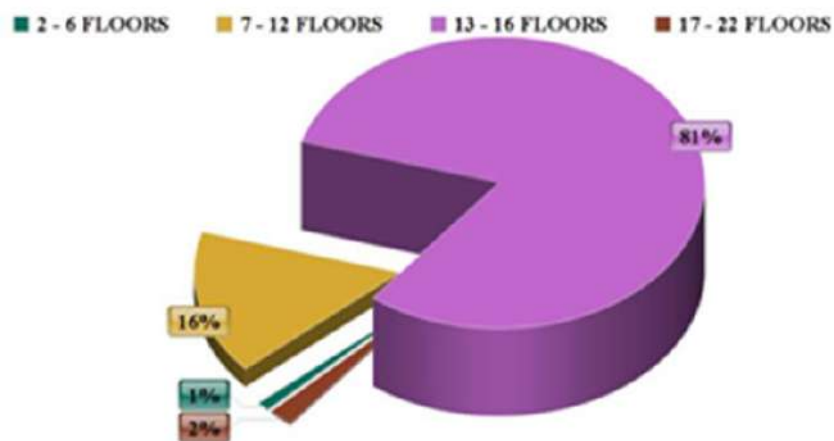


Figure 9. School Floor Levels

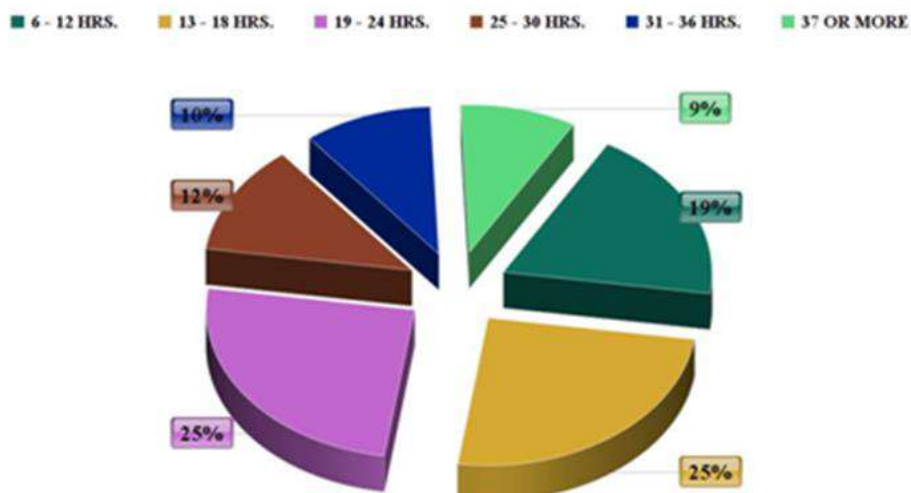


Figure 10. Hours Spent in School

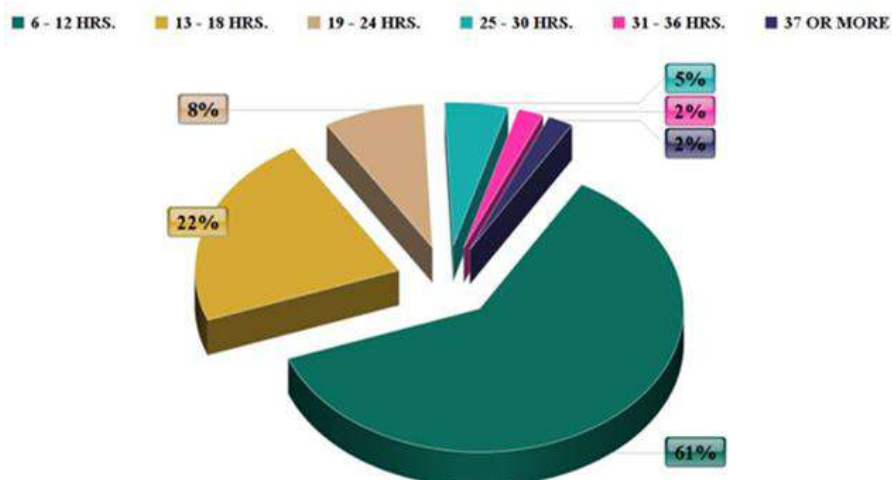


Figure 11. Hours Spent in Classroom

The information from another group of survey presents the school background information of the respondents related to the school usage of the facilities. Students majority average stay outside of the classroom is about 6-12 hrs. (61%). During free time, most of them (88%) have a place that they go to inside the campus. It is either the library (39%) for research and do important school works and projects and the canteen (33%) for getting a hardy meal for a day or bond with other classmates and friends. Although majority of the respondents are unsatisfied (35%) or they just make due on what they have (35%) on these areas that they “hang out” to inside the campus, these students believe that they can still improve on these places.

The students prefer to have their own relaxing space inside the school (93%), they would also prefer having something natural and green inside the campus (98%). Because of the architectural structure of the campus at present, they could offer spaces that are quiet (59), lots of seats around to use (55), socialization areas (53) and places to conduct activities inside. If given an opportunity, students would like to see open courts (75), landscape gardens (73), more places to sit around (63) and places to conduct more activities (61). With these kinds of improvement suggestion, it can be very appealing and inspiring in studying their course.

Green Landscape Intervention suggestion of the respondents as seen in the table, the respondents that deemed “very important” are having more seating areas, followed by having trees and having covered areas/trellis. For the respondents, they find it calming, relaxing and inspiring of having natural plant growth around the campus. Although the campus has a very unique design all throughout, nothing beats the calming and relaxing sight of seeing something grow and alive around the campus and not just plain white walls that they see the entire day. Also, because of the many students around the campus, there is also a need on each student to find some seats that he/she can use outside of the classroom for him/her to work on his/her schoolwork and other personal stuff. At times, students are not allowed to stay inside the classroom if they do not have a class in that particular room. Most of the times, they would loiter around the campus and find a particular place (or floor) that they can comfortably stay and do their work.

Based on the outcome of the survey, the important elements for the students on Landscape and Spatial Design found out although these students prefer to have their own relaxing space inside the school (93%), they would prefer having something natural and green inside the campus (98%). Because of the architectural structure of the campus, at present they can offer spaces that are quiet (59), lots of seats around to use (55), socialization areas (53) and places to conduct activities. If given an opportunity, students would like to see open courts

(75), landscape gardens (73), more places to sit around (63) and places to conduct more activities (61). With these kinds of improvement suggestion, it can be very appealing and inspiring in studying their course (Table 2).

Table 2. School Facilities Green Landscape Intervention

A. Green Landscape / Hardscape Design Interventions	Mean	Interpretation
Trees	3.71	Very Important
Colorful plants	3.18	Important
Shrubs	3.16	Important
Water feature / fountain	3.14	Important
Seating Area	3.80	Very Important
Covered Areas / Trellis	3.71	Very Important

The response of the students on the school facilities spatial design intervention, the areas that the students deemed “very important” are Circulation, Open Areas, Activity Areas, Way Finding and Window views. Students appreciate not only just how aesthetically beautiful a campus is but also its functionality in dealing with the everyday movements of the students. In any campus, space is always a premium. Through proper design of the space, facilities can be very much maximized for the benefit of all of the students. Also, students do not want to feel cramped or suffocated because of the lack of ventilation structures as well as minimal floor walking areas. In the end, a campus with a good floor space to house all the facilities needed by the students can greatly help in the continuing academic development of the students (Table 3).

Table 3. School Facilities Spatial Design Intervention

Spatial Design Intervention	Mean	Interpretation
Open Areas	3.68	Very Important
Open Courts	3.35	Important
Covered Courts	3.46	Important
Activity Areas	3.68	Very Important
Window Views	3.58	Very Important
Circulation	3.74	Very Important
Wayfinding	3.61	Very Important

Green Design Intervention as rated by the respondents of the study. As seen in the findings, all of the students find “very important” that the design of the campus can be sustainable

(3.75), Tropical in Design (3.72), Microclimate (3.63) and Biodiverse (3.61). With the integration of various green technology in various industries around the world, having a “green building” cannot be far behind. Although there are green technologies available that are a bit expensive to be utilized, nowadays there are also some technology that are localized, readily available and can be easily integrated and applied in any kind of building structure.

These frameworks encourage us to look at the role of built environment design in a broad sense of sustainability (Table 4).

Table 4. School Facilities Green Design Intervention

C. Green Design Intervention	Mean	Interpretation
Biodiversity	3.61	Very Important
Microclimate	3.63	Very Important
Sustainability	3.75	Very Important
Tropical Design	3.72	Very Important

And, lastly for the School Facilities Maintenance as reflected by the respondents, elevator travel and security are “very important” to the respondents. The School Facilities and Maintenance as reflected by the respondents are shown in the following tables, elevator travel (3.85) and security (3.80) are “very important” to the respondents. In the current campus, one has to use the elevator to reach the other classrooms to the other floor. Unfortunately, because of the many students even though with all of the elevators functioning, there are times that the students would need to wait for some time before they get their turn to use the elevator. Also, students value security because they bring to school valuable equipment like laptops, tablets, cell phones that they need in their studies and communications with people. Making them feel secure that is integrated in the design of the campus can greatly help the students in achieving their academic goals in school (Table 5).

Table 5. School Facilities Maintenance

D. Maintenance	Mean	Interpretation
Elevator Travel / Service	3.85	Very Important
Security	3.80	Very Important
Others Please Suggest:	0.58	

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Based on the analysis and findings from the different literature reviews, the author was able

to formulate and came up with a theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. The components of a horizontal campus that incorporated sustainable design were categorized in three, namely landscape design, spatial design, and green design, and these components became the basis for the formulation of the components of vertical campus as well. Each of these three components was subdivided to the component's specific element. The incorporation of these elements were based on the result and analysis of the surveys given. From the study and research, all of the three components with each respective element is the contributor for a conducive learning environment in a vertical learning facility. All of the three components with its elements advocate sustainability thru the principle of wellness.

Among the new sustainability principles from Asia, one of the major components of sustainable architecture is “wellness”, and is directly linked to each of the other five principles. It is found out from this study that all these components point out that wellness makes for a sustainable vertical learning environment. It is also found out that the principle of green vertical urbanism and the principles of sustainable architecture also directly or indirectly advocate the sustainability principle of “wellness” and well-being as key factors for a sustainable vertical learning facility.

Finally, from the formulation of the framework, a design guideline for a sustainable vertical learning facility will be created for the translation and application of the findings made in this study (Figure 12,13).

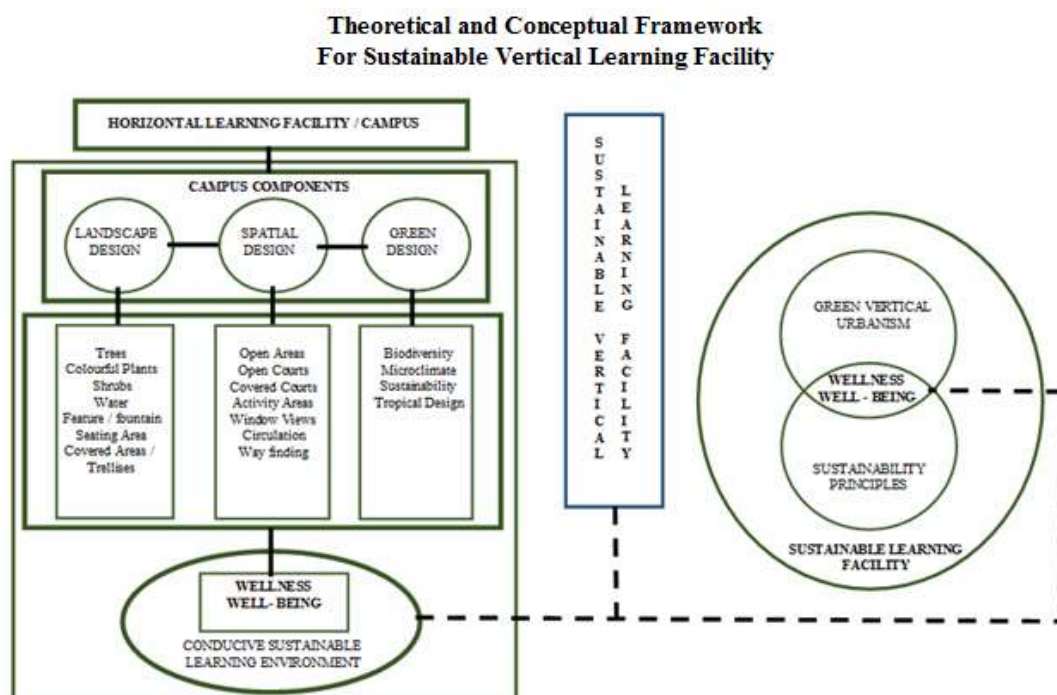


Figure 12. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

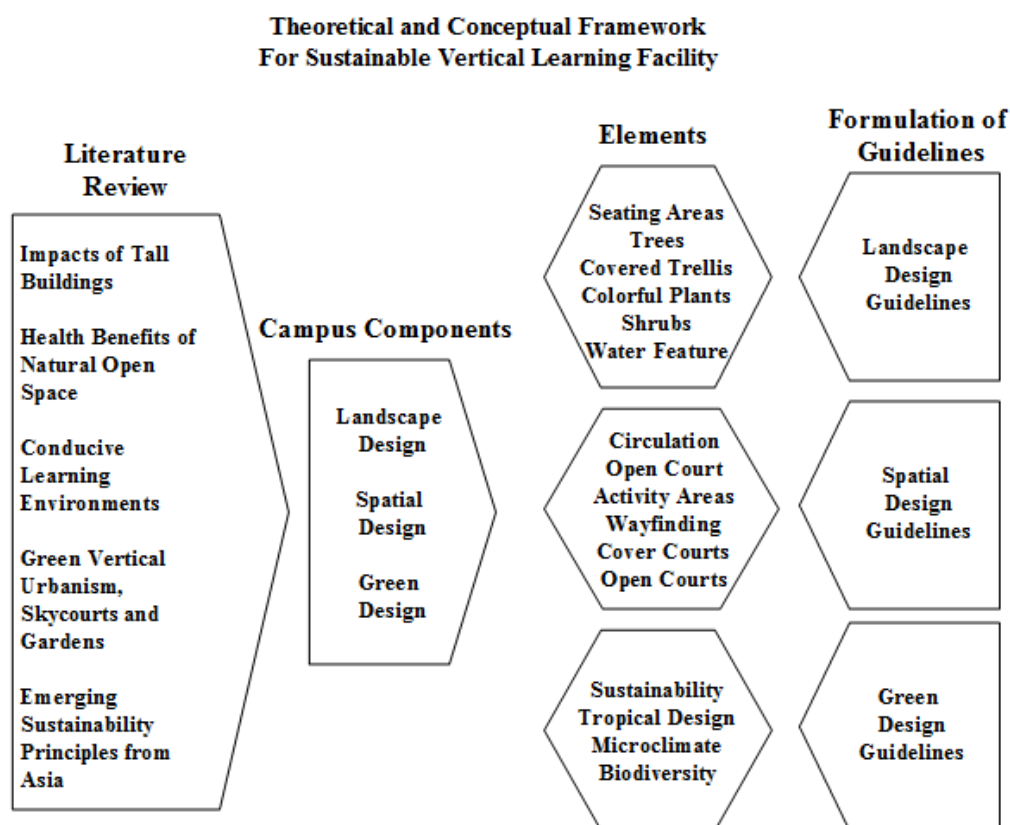


Figure 13. Formulation of Guidelines for Sustainable Vertical Facilities

Conclusion

In conclusion, from the review of related literature written all have common factors when it comes to sustainability. We can apply sustainability elements from successful models on varied interventions that had been done already and proven itself as seen in examples that we see on the ground. But what about above ground? especially when floor plates are stacked vertically like tall buildings.

Many of the findings, researches, and studies point out that buildings have effects on its occupants, especially for those living in vertical tall buildings. Studies show that the ill effects of tall and vertical buildings pertain to a lack of wellness factors that make it not a conducive environment for them.

Related literature also indicate that these can be mitigated and solved by addressing these problems through design interventions by incorporating the elements that promotes wellness like connectivity with outdoors, visual access to weather, natural light, access to nature, provisions of green and open spaces and these affects how individuals feel and perform. A study in Singapore found that the presence of these elements in buildings positively affect

wellness even when they are manmade (Sng, 2011), and incorporating these elements in a vertical structure, and for that matter a vertical learning facility will have the sustainability factor that will enhance wellness of its occupants.

The components of a horizontal campus that incorporated sustainable design indicated three campus components and categorized them, namely landscape design, spatial design, and green design from the assessment of a horizontal campus found to have these elements and components. Landscape design is about creating natural environments and sensational connections for restoration; spatial design is about arranging easily accessed spaces to provide good sense of orientation and order for different activities; and green design is about building an eco-system inclusive of sustainability features as well. All these components are very important for a sustainable learning environment, together with the principles of green vertical urbanism and the principles of sustainable architecture that result to the wellness and well-being of the students, and the key for a sustainable vertical learning facility.

Recommendations

The result of the research and study found out that wellness is a very important factor in creating a sustainable conducive learning environment. Incorporating the elements that promotes wellness should be present in a vertical structure and for that matter a vertical learning facility, so that students will have a better quality of student life while inside the campus or facility.

But it should not stop there, it is the recommendation of the author that more researches and studies should be done to incorporate more principles of sustainability in designing and planning not only for a vertical learning facility but also to other vertical structures as well. There are six principles of sustainable architecture emerging from Asia (Kishnani, 2012), and wellness is just one of these. Embracing and incorporating other principles such as, efficacy, embeddedness, ecology, advocacy and integration will realize and result in buildings and structures that promote a positive lifestyle and a good quality of life for the occupants.

The findings of the study resulted to the formulation of framework and the creation of a design guideline for a sustainable vertical learning facility and can be used as a reference and guide for similar projects like this. The recommendation and proposed sustainable design intervention for the SDA campus are shown in Tables 6, 7, and 8 on the selected campus space and incorporated the different campus components each with respective different activities the space provides for the students.

Table 6. Recommendation for a Sustainable Vertical Campus (SDA)











Selected Vertical Campus Space	Selected Vertical Campus Space	Campus Components			Main Activities
		Greenscape Landscape Design	Spatial Design	Green Design	
		Plants and Shrubs Covered Trellis	Circulation Wayfinding Open Areas	Sustainability Microclimate Tropical Design	Meeting Area Waiting Area
		Greenwall Seating Area	Sitting Area Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling Natural Light	Sitting Enjoying Scenery Chatting
		Greenwall Seating Area	Sitting Area Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling Natural Light	Sitting Enjoying Scenery Chatting
		Skycourt Seating Area Covered Trellis	Activity Areas Window Views	Sustainability Microclimate Passive Cooling	Sitting Enjoying Scenery Reading
		Greenwall Planters	Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling	Enjoying Scenery

Table 7. Recommendation for a Sustainable Vertical Campus (SDA)





















Selected Vertical Campus Space	Selected Vertical Campus Space	Campus Components			Main Activities
		Greenscape Landscape Design	Spatial Design	Green Design	
		Greenwall Seating Area Trellis Skycourt	Activity Areas Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling	Sitting Enjoying Scenery Chatting
		Skygarden, Covered Trellis, Seating Area	Circulation Area Activity Areas	Biodiversity Microclimate Tropical Design	Social Gathering, School Activities
		Greenwall Planters	Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling	Enjoying Scenery
		Plants and Shrubs Covered Trellis	Circulation Wayfinding Open Areas	Sustainability Microclimate	Meeting Area Waiting Area
		Greenwall Planters	Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling	Enjoying Scenery

Table 8. Recommendation for a Sustainable Vertical Campus (SDA)

Selected Vertical Campus Space	Selected Vertical Campus Space	Campus Components			Main Activities
		Greenscape Landscape Design	Spatial Design	Green Design	
		Skygarden, Covered Trellis, Seating Area	Circulation Area Activity Areas	BioDiversity Microclimate Tropical Design	Social Gathering, School Activities
		Plants and Shrubs Covered Trellis	Circulation Wayfinding Open Areas	Sustainability Microclimate	Meeting Area Waiting Area
		Skygarden, Skycourt, Seating Area, Trellis	Circulation Area Activity Areas	BioDiversity Microclimate Tropical Design	Social Gathering, School Activities
		Greenwall Planters	Window Views	Microclimate Passive Cooling	Enjoying Scenery, Natural Views
		Plants and Shrubs Covered Trellis	Circulation Wayfinding Open Areas	Sustainability Microclimate	Meeting Area Waiting Area

Guidelines for a Sustainable Vertical Learning Facility

The three campus component typologies are subdivided into specific elements per each campus component. A comprehensive combination of these design strategies will realize the restorative and positive effects of these components in a vertical learning facility resulting to a wide range of comfort for its users from physical enjoyment, emotional relief, conducive learning spaces, social and activity spaces that promotes wellness and well-being in a vertical learning facility or campus.

Green Landscape / Hardscape Design Elements: Component 1

The Greenscape and Landscape Design Components identify and define the elements, create natural and manmade environments and sensational connections for students' experience, and integrate these features into a vertical campus design and planning.

Spatial Design for Vertical learning Facility: Component 2

Spatial design looks at integrating easily accessed spaces to provide good sense of orientation and order for different social, academic, and educational activities.

Green Design for Vertical Learning Facility: Component 3

Green Design looks at building as an eco-system inclusive of sustainability and augment the integrity and performance of the vertical campus by employing sustainable practices.

The formulation of guidelines for vertical learning facilities reflect and incorporate the components of a conducive vertical learning environment. These individual components are subdivided into the important elements needed for a conducive and sustainable vertical learning facility.

These guidelines are the minimum standards and will serve as a basis that will guide the development and design of the physical environment of a sustainable vertical learning facility that is conducive to learning and promotes wellness for the students in a vertical campus.

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Appendices

Section 24. Establishment of Extension Classes. A school facility shall be considered an extension class where it possesses the characteristics of a school branch as above provided, except that (1) administrative and support facilities mentioned are not available at the site but merely the classrooms; (2) enrollment in an extension class is restricted to a special clientele, and not available to the general public; and (3) such extension classes are temporary in nature.

The offering of extension classes under a recognized degree program shall require prior approval of the Commission, and after full compliance with the requirements, as follows:

1. Proof of Level II Accreditation of the degree program; and,
2. Proof of compliance with the policies and rules of the Commission on extension classes.

Section 25. Dissolution. The provisions of the Corporation Code of the Philippines on dissolution of corporations shall govern, as far as applicable, the dissolution, liquidation, and distribution of assets of a higher education institution.

Article VI INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

Section 26. Institutional Sites and Buildings. The school site of every private higher education institutions must be suitable and adequate for its activities. The institution should own the site. If not owned, there should be a definite and feasible program for ownership thereof within a reasonable period, or reasonable and adequate provisions for continued use by the school through a long-term lease or usufruct of at least ten (10) years.

In the selection of a prospective school site, consideration should be given, among others, to such factors as total floor area required for occupancy at any one time, traffic situation in the vicinity, a reasonable distance from other schools already existing, and location and distance from

distractive establishments such as cockpits, dancing halls, bars or recreational places of questionable character, bowling alleys, movie houses, markets, garbage dumps, funeral parlors, jails, cemeteries and others.

School buildings shall be designed and constructed in conformity with the provisions of the Building Code. As much as possible, the school buildings:

- 1) shall be so situated that they are sufficiently far from all fire hazards and that instruction and study can be conducted without undue interference from neighbors and passing traffic, and so arranged that activities going on in classrooms, study rooms, laboratories, or the library do not interfere with each other;
- 2) shall be adequately planned and constructed that in case of fire, typhoon, earthquake, etc., all students can evacuate the building promptly and safely;
- 3) shall be equipped with fire escapes, fire extinguishers, and other safety devices;
- 4) shall have enough lavatories for both sexes which shall, at all times, be kept clean;
- 5) shall be adequately lighted and ventilated;
- 6) shall contain sufficient space, furniture and fixtures for the general needs of the administrative staff, faculty and students;
- 7) shall not be used for private residence or in any way that might directly or indirectly interfere with school operations;
- 8) shall have an easily accessible and well-furnished, well-equipped library, as well as administrative offices and faculty rooms;

- 9) shall have adequately outfitted laboratories and equipment for the science courses;
- 10) shall have a sufficient area for student personnel services;
- 11) shall have allotted specific areas for home economics and other vocational courses;
- 12) shall be adequately planned that classrooms and laboratories open on to a corridor; and,
- 13) shall, if a multi-storey building, have at least two staircases with a minimum width of two meters, subject to government regulations. Ramps shall be provided for students with special needs as required by the BP Blg. 344 otherwise known as the "Accessibility Law".

All higher education institutions, are also required to provide for adequate auditoriums, lecture rooms and gymnasiums, and are further required to be sufficiently equipped to give adequate instruction to the public.

In addition, the following are required for school sites and buildings:

1) For Safety

To ensure the safety of students while in the premises, all higher education institutions are enjoined strictly to observe and follow the applicable provisions of Presidential Decree (PD) No. 1185, otherwise known as the "Fire Code" and PD No. 1059, otherwise known as the "National Building Code".

The Regional Offices are authorized to evaluate and monitor compliance by institutions to the said Presidential Decrees, and to report in writing any violations thereof to the Commission.

Any higher education institution found guilty, after due process, for violations of any provisions of the aforementioned laws, shall be dealt with accordingly, which may include the revocation of permits and/or authority to operate and/or offer courses.

2) For Sanitation, Waste Disposal and Environmental Hygiene

In the interest of public health and safety, particularly of students, faculty and non-teaching personnel, all higher education institutions are required to conduct appropriate and effective measures to ensure that all campus facilities and premises are properly maintained according to sanitation and hygiene standards as prescribed by the Code of Sanitation of the Philippines and other pertinent laws.

All higher education institutions are also enjoined to: (1) coordinate closely with local and national government agencies responsible for sanitation and waste disposal; (2) inspect and undertake remedial measures where necessary, potable water supply and distribution systems located in campus; and, (3) institute appropriate preventive and responsive measures to combat the development and spread of communicable diseases on campus.

To prevent and address outbreak of water and food-borne diseases in campuses, all higher education institutions are further required to conduct the following activities as part of student services:

- a) monitoring and assurance of potable water supply;
- b) maintenance of cleanliness and sanitation of school surroundings, including comfort rooms and canteens;
- c) health and sanitation clearances of food handlers;

Appendix A. Manual of Regulations for Private Higher Education (MORPHE) Section 26 Article VI



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces

Appendix B. University of Santo Tomas Horizontal Campus



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces



UST green and landscaped grounds showing path walks and open spaces





SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies

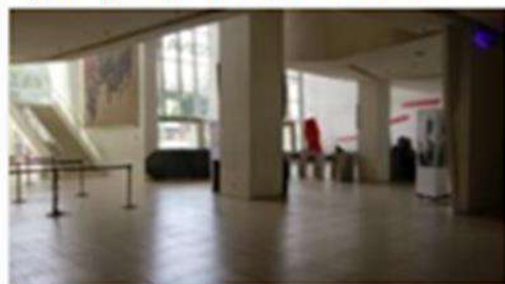
Appendix D. De La Salle College of Saint Benilde Vertical Campus



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies



SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies

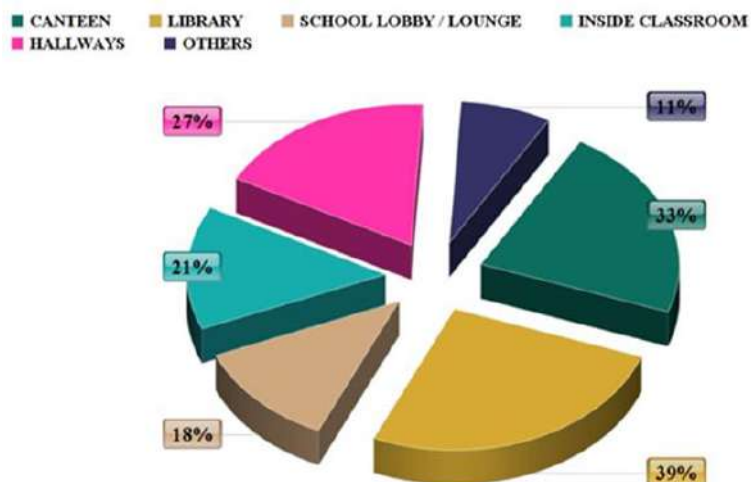


SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies

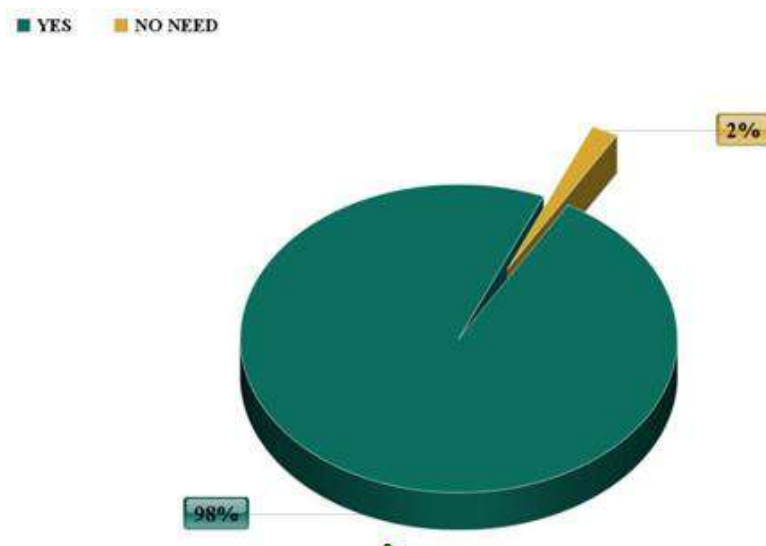


SDA vertical campus showing interior open spaces, corridors and lobbies

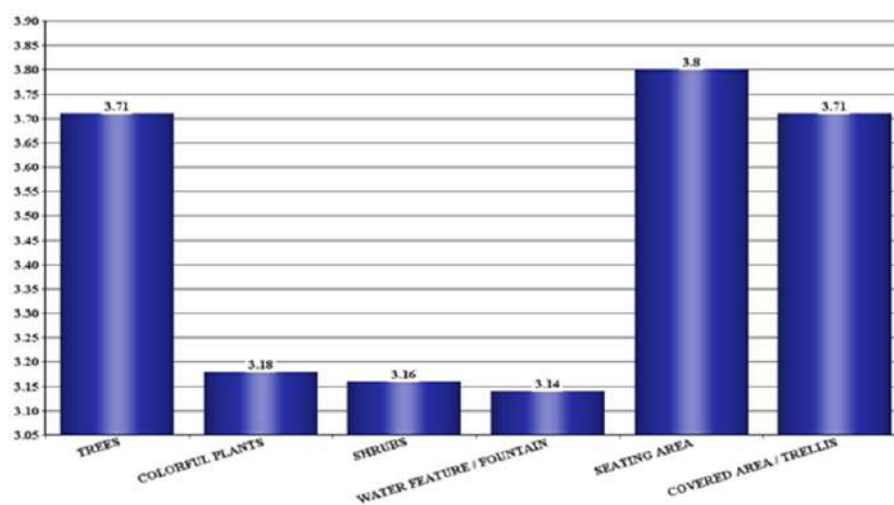
Appendix E. De La Salle College of Saint Benilde Vertical Campus



Appendix F. Preferred Place of Students Outside of their Classroom



Appendix G. Preference of Students for Landscape and green open spaces



Appendix H. Additional Facilities Needed by the Students within the School

Sharing Responsibility of Multiple Risks by Collective Actions:

Lessons from Barrio Cantera, Argentine

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Abstract

The pace of urbanization and the number of people living in urban settings has increased exponentially over the course of the past century. By 2050 the UN expected that the world's population will keep increasing by 7,000-8,000 people per year in urban areas while it will remain stable in rural areas (UN-DESA, 2017; UN-Habitat, 2016). It means that cities in developing countries, especially informal settlements, will absorb the increase of world population, with the high vulnerability of their living environments and habitability. But how can we protect the vulnerable population in informal settlements from multiple risks while creating sustainable forms of collective life?

The paper presents lessons from collective actions achieved through three participatory micro-practices at Barrio Cantera; an informal settlement situated on a steep slope in San Martin de los Andes, Argentine. First, authors recognized the reality of continued urbanization, highlighting the growth of informal settlements and accepting their permanence. And second, residents are encouraged to find simple but reliable solutions that respond to risk priorities of their direct living environment. Results were oriented to strengthen the community capacities and to accomplish an authentic practice of community engagement projects at the neighborhood scale in a short period of time. To conclude, the micro-practices achieved at Barrio Cantera are likely to be minimal. However, they provided wider lessons on how assessing risks by collective actions open an opportunity to share the responsibility of their living environment by reducing and coexisting with risks through alternative and strategic solutions.

Keywords: informal settlements, living environment, multiple risks, micro-practices, collective actions, responsibility.

Introduction

Urbanization is a global phenomenon in which the nature of disaster risk is evolving simultaneously. Today, many of the people who are most vulnerable to the effects of climate change live in informal settlements and around urban centers in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. By 2050 the UN expected that world's population will keep increasing by 7,000-8,000 people per year in urban areas while it will remain stable in rural areas (UN DESA, 2017; UN Habitat, 2016). It means that cities in developing countries, especially informal settlements, will absorb the increase population attracted by the advantages provided by the city or forcibly displaced from their original environments.

Since the mid-twentieth century, the accelerated urban growth in Latin American cities has brought economic, political and social changes that are visible on the disproportionate concentration of marginalized communities and unequal urban contexts (Rodgers, 2012). For the urban poor, the rapid urbanization is often associated with a decrease of land tenure security with negatively impact on their living environment and habitability. This situation is visible on the phenomena of occupation and self-provision of housing, often in a precarious manner on land sites prone to hazards; as these sites are chosen by their residents because they are less likely to be evicted as the land is unattractive to developers.

In this context, the high vulnerability of living conditions of informal settlements elevate the risks from most climate change impacts such as increasing temperatures and heat waves, intense precipitation events, landslides, floods, changes in water availability, sea-level rise and among others. Although climate change adaptation in urban areas is increasingly recognized as a priority for funding and programming by local authorities, national governments and international agencies, relatively little attention is paid to the ways that organized and collective actions of low-income residents can contribute to this and share this responsibility (Lopez-Moreira, 2017; Satterthwaite et. al, 2018). Thus the limited financial or technical support for these collective actions in informal settlements and the constant local government inaction is seen in the absence of a precise determination of intervention preferences. Commonly based on legal solutions or political decisions that have not considered the exacerbated changes in informal settlements produced because of climate change. In addition, there is a lack of a planning strategy that considers different factors that have led to an inordinate growth of low-income residents informally located on land. This entire generates a vicious circle of poverty, social exclusion and marginality preventing these residents from their integration into urban society. And limits the extent to which they can collectively make a meaningful contribution to minimize their own vulnerability to the risks of disaster.

This article aims to bring lessons from collective actions achieved through three participatory micro-practices at Barrio Cantera; an informal settlement situated in a steep slope in San Martin de los Andes, province of Neuquen, Argentine. The efforts presented are part of a joint research

and design project between the University of Tokyo, the National University of Comahue and the Provincial Institute of Housing and Urbanism of Neuquen (IPVU). Also, it will explore the participatory process in which residents, who own a great knowledge of their living environment, could gather information themselves and use it for planning and risk reduction purposes. In this way, local knowledge becomes fundamental to understand needs, energy and material demands of informal settlements that coexist in urban cities. Further, it is a direct source of information to plan and to the face challenges of risk reduction.

First, authors recognized the reality of continued urbanization, highlighting the growth of informal settlements and accepting their permanence. And second, residents are encouraged to find simple but reliable solutions that respond to risk priorities of their direct living environment. Results were oriented to strengthen the community capacities and to accomplish an authentic practice of community engagement projects at the neighborhood scale in a short period of time.

A Macro Vision of Risk in Informal Settlements

In informal settlements, environmental risks such as climate change events are shaped not only by the socio-economic particularities of the context in which these emerge but also by the ways in which the residents of these settlements experience, conceive and relate to their local environment (Sakay et. al, 2018). In this way, people-environment relationships are understood as multiple and complex; where environment comprises the physical, interpersonal, social and cultural aspects of the context that people interact with. It is true that environmental processes such as weather-related influence decisively on the type of risk facing a community; but the social processes such as economic growth, urbanization, and governance, have both direct and indirect effects on the perception and responsiveness of the communities against risk (Jabeen et.al, 2010; Romero-Lankao et al., 2014).

Likewise, the risk increases when governments have a weak planning and regulatory capacity of the urban development process. This is commonly observed when the local governments limit themselves to regularize the land tenure domain or relocate the informal community. And later begin to work directly on the needs of people living in precarious situations; being the risk reduction or mitigation the last step in the chain of procedures.

In this way, the right to property has been confused with other fundamental rights. There is a belief that property is a fundamental right, but the right to property is a means to enjoy or recognized other fundamental rights (Aun, 2018). Based on that belief, a series of local governmental strategies are outlined to ensure the right of property of a person to improve the situation of habitability and vulnerability. The problem with this path is that property is granted without an analysis of the risk and the possible territorial development of the occupied space. These issues without control can only have as a destiny a tragedy.

Risk reduction involves activities aimed at protecting communities from hazards and minimizing their vulnerability to disaster risks. It moves beyond the traditional disaster management approach of simply focusing on response, rehabilitation and rebuilding after a disaster (Hardoy et. al, 2009; Haque et. al, 2014). Therefore, as a starting point to reduce risk, it is necessary that the local government assume a position of action to build resilient communities and to ensure that those actions and development do not increase the existing vulnerability situation of its residents.

UN-HABITAT III considers that with 50% of the world population living in cities and with a projection of substantial growth of the urban population for the coming decades. Therefore, there is a need for new tools and approaches that strengthen local governments and citizens to achieve a better protection of the human, economic and natural resources of our cities (UN, 2017). Some of its proposals are based on the need to take measures of risk reduction that require studies. In this sense, the commitments assumed for an environmentally sustainable and resilient urban development are numerous¹.

Barrio Cantera and its Multiple Risks

The small informal settlement of Barrio Cantera is situated at a steep slope within the city of San Martin de los Andes, Province of Neuquen, Argentine (Fig. 1). San Martin de los Andes is a popular Patagonian mountain town with about 30,000 inhabitants. The city is located at the north end of the well-known Seven Lakes Road (Ruta de los Siete Lagos), a fertile valley covered by lakes, rivers and natural forests the foot of the Andes Mountains; and 45 km from the border with Chile. San Martin de los Andes has a cool ocean-influenced climate, with an annual average temperature that does not exceed 10C. It has no dry season and the winter is very susceptible to heavy storms which tend to produce a mixture of rain and snow. During this season, torrential precipitations are common and fluctuate between 700 mm and 2800 mm

¹- At the New Urban Agenda Habitat III:

63. “(...) Given cities’ demographic trends and their central role in the global economy, in the mitigation and adaptation efforts related to climate change, and in the use of resources and ecosystems, the way they are planned, financed, developed, built, governed and managed has a direct impact on sustainability and resilience well beyond urban boundaries.”

64. “We also recognize that urban centres worldwide, especially in developing countries, often have characteristics that make them and their inhabitants especially vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and other natural and human-made hazards (...)”.

65. “(...) promotes disaster risk reduction and management, by supporting the development of disaster risk reduction strategies and periodical assessments of disaster risk caused by natural and human-made hazards, including standards for risk levels, while fostering sustainable economic development and protecting the New Urban Agenda 19 well-being and quality of life of all persons through environmentally sound urban and territorial planning, infrastructure and basic services”.

77. “We commit ourselves to strengthening the resilience of cities and human settlements (...), for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 and by mainstreaming holistic and data-informed disaster risk reduction and management at all levels to reduce vulnerabilities and risk, especially in risk-prone areas of formal and informal settlements, including slums (...)”.

approximately causing floods in depressed sectors and landslides at the hillsides (Kalmbach, 2015).

The primary trade of San Martin de los Andes is tourism as the city forms a gateway to the Lanin National Park and the lake corridor. Particularly, during winter time, skiing and snowboarding become the focus of activities. In this way, the development of tourism has brought not only economic and urban changes but also has attracted new migrants to the area. The topography of San Martin de los Andes is a flat land constrained between the Lacar Lake and the mountains which have limited the expansion of the city, forcing low-income migrants to settle mostly on the steep slopes. As a result, this has caused the reckless modification of natural environments (Fig. 2).



Figure 1. Location of San Martin de los Andes, Argentine



Figure 2. Aerial Picture of San Martin de los Andes

In this context, Barrio Cantera history is linked to the migration of people searching for opportunities that the tourism development of the formal city of San Martín de los Andes has provided since the mid-70s.

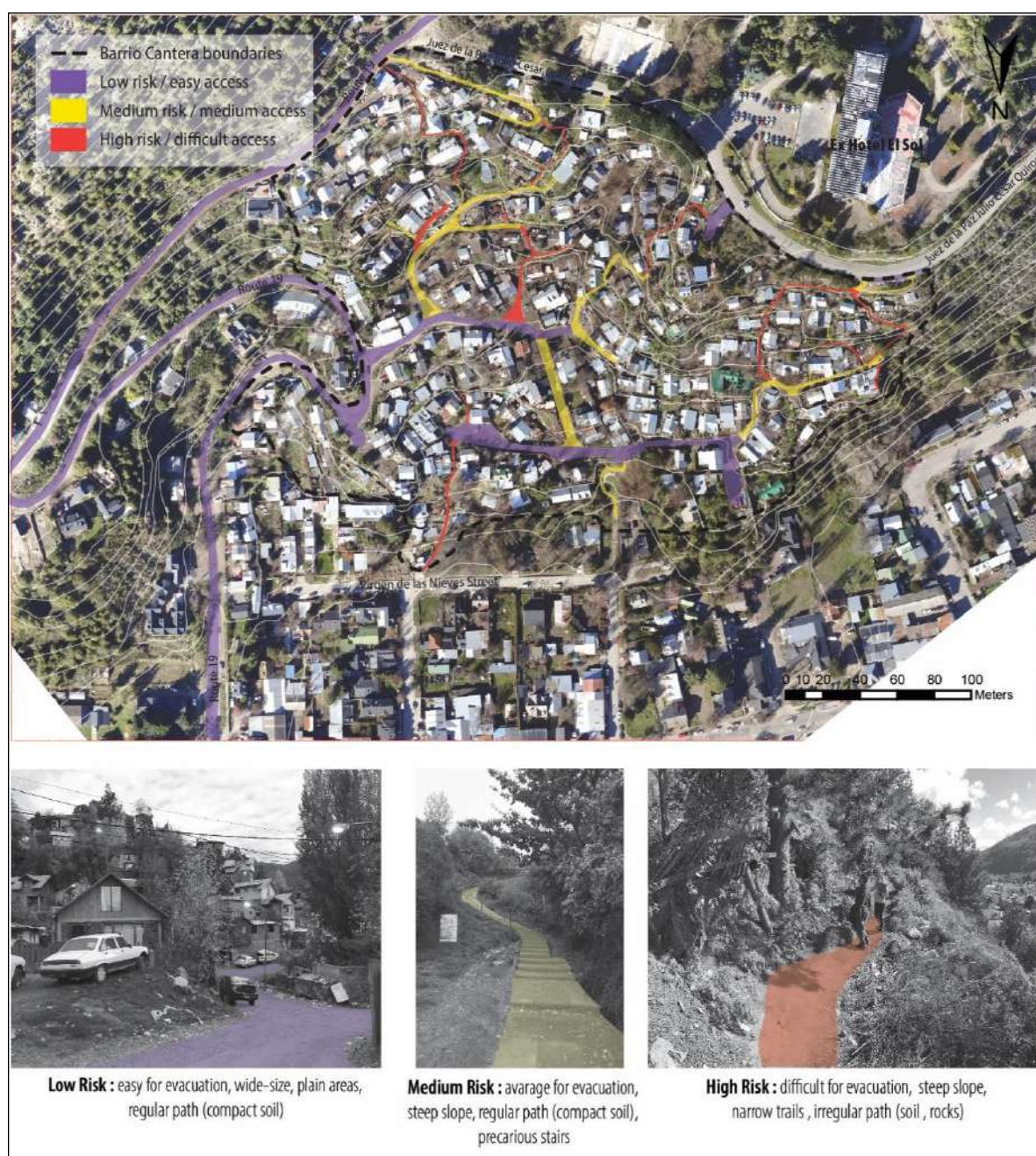


Figure 3. Barrio Cantera and Risk of Accessibility

residents exposed to high risks because of the socio-economic and climatic-weather related conditions.-

The accessibility and mobility inside Barrio Cantera present strong limitations due to the way it has been occupied and the steep slope of the topography. The presence of streets without exit allows the vehicular and pedestrian mobility in the same space. In other cases, the pedestrian mobility presents a system of precarious stairs built by the neighbors and a network of trails to access to houses (Fig. 3). These trails are characterized by widths of less than one meter and

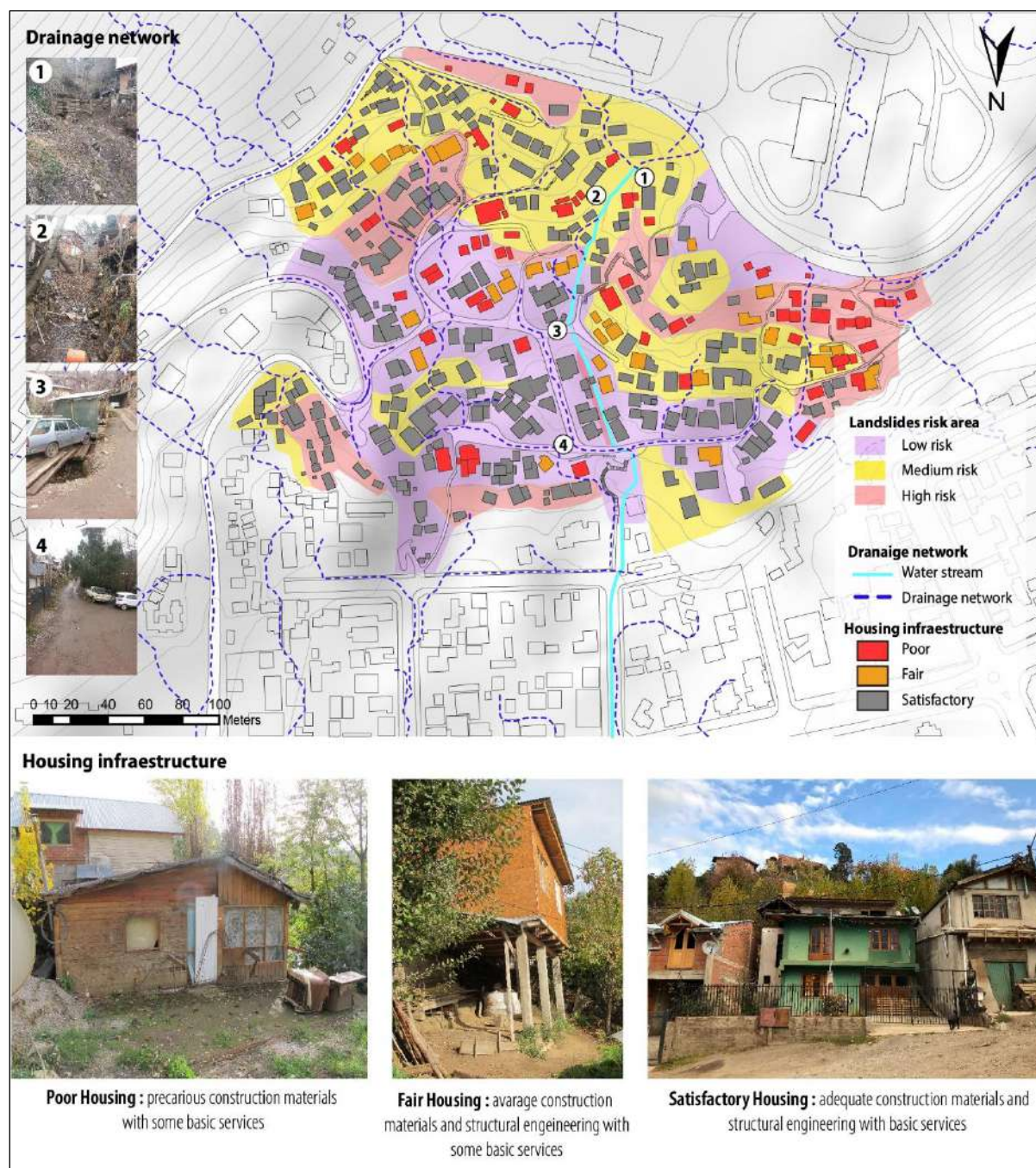


Figure 4. Map of Landslides Risks and Housing Infrastructure of Barrio Cantera

situated at steep areas. All this generates unsafe accesses and evacuation routes in case of an event.

A relevant fact is that Barrio Cantera has a geography in the form of an amphitheater that works as a drain of the upper slope (Fig. 4). For this reason, the slope is very unstable in the presence of rain and its drainage system plays a very important role to avoid possible risks of floods and landslides. However, there are many points with a deficit of water runoff due to the accumulation of garbage and buildings. Therefore, flooding, rock falls, building collapse, and landslides are a common phenomenon in Barrio Cantera, resulting in significant economic and other losses, such as the destruction of property and infrastructure, and can include injuries, diseases, and fatalities.

In addition, land tenure security at Barrio Cantera has a negative impact on the living environment and habitability. Consequently, housing was built in a precarious manner and located in sites prone to floods and landslides as it determines how land rights are held and protected. Also, land tenure security varies if the house is situated in the municipal or private land. This condition dictates the full or partial dotation of basic services causing social conflicts among its residents because of the differences of benefits they receive due to the land tenure domain.

Collective Actions to Assess Risk at Barrio Cantera

Since 2017, our work in Barrio Cantera has demonstrated that an in-depth understanding of people-environment relationship can be gained through exploring residents' experiences of risk. This provided an alternative vision for disaster reduction from the conception of sharing responsibility on minimizing resident's vulnerability to disaster risk. Thus they can by becoming agents of change.

First, environmental risks such as the impacts of landslides caused mainly by precipitations and drainage network were understood by residents with diverse needs and agendas. In this sense, the participatory involvement of Barrio Cantera residents and different stakeholders were essential to finding simple but reliable solutions that respond to risk priorities of their direct living environment at the neighborhood scale. And second, collective actions were considered through different micro-practices in which mitigation and prevention measures were physically and properly taken by sharing the responsibility to manage and reduce risk.

Data were gathered through group activities, group discussions, participant observation, and fieldwork. For example, participatory mapping on a scale model of Barrio Cantera topography with the location of all residents' houses (Esc: 1/2500), was used to provide information about resident's day-to-day basis risks and to drive identity and spatiality during the mapping process (Fig. 5). This exercise allowed residents to think, share local knowledge as they could go further their first impressions by observing and actively discussing everyday life elements regarding



Figure 5. Participatory Mapping



Figure 6. Soil Testing

risk. Also, walking surveys were conducted to identify areas with high probability of landslides and later a manual soil test was conducted together with the community (Fig. 6). For the last one, a manual hand auger equipment was used to perform a penetration and a pull-out test. Results from this test were examined by structural engineering students and professionals in the field, giving us an idea of the soil strength of Barrio Cantera.

Each activity mentioned above comprised over 30 participants at Barrio Cantera: residents, representatives of the Municipality of San Martín de los Andes, professors, researchers, students and professionals from the University of Tokyo, the National University of Comahue and the Provincial Institute of Housing and Urbanism of Neuquén. Further, participation included the way in which Barrio Cantera exist and brought valuable information and knowledge from the expertise and lifestyles of its residents that made possible the achievement of three micro-practices through collective actions in two periods: October 2017 and May 2018 (Fig. 7).

A) Alluvial Retaining Wall (October 2017)

Residents identified “the stairs” (main pedestrian access) as a potential place to improve. Due to the location in a depressed area, it presented flooding risks making the walking access to the neighborhood almost impossible during rainy seasons. This phenomenon was also exposing a house to landslide risks located next to this area. The proposal was a 6 meters concrete alluvial retaining wall to canalize the rainwater into the nearest natural stream in order to mitigate and prevent future alluvial flooding (Fig. 8)

B) Knitted Handrails (October 2017)

Handrails were built using low/ high maintenance materials to enhance a collective and shared responsibility on managing public spaces. Handrails frames made of steel were complemented with colorful hand-made knitted panels. This is an ongoing micro-practice as the knitted panels should be fixed or to be replaced in case of a festivity. (Fig. 9)



Figure 7. Location of micro-practices at Barrio Cantera (A, B, C1, C2, C3, C4)



Figure 8. Alluvial Retaining Wall



Figure 9. Knitted Handrails

C) Piled Soil Walls (May 2018)

The technology used for hill engineering commonly reduce the total risk of landslides by offering reinforced concrete retaining walls solutions. However, in the case of Barrio Cantera, this solution was troublesome as it requires a high engineered project to assess the different degree of landslide risks. Instead, a piled soil wall system using low-cost materials (H-steel frames and wood panels) was proposed to protect existing retaining walls made by residents



Figure 10. Piled Soil Wall Construction System

(Fig. 10). This temporary solution will reduce the risk impacts in case of an event giving more time to evacuate safely. Depending on the risk degree of a specific area, it is possible to adjust the material such as the size and number of H-steel frames.

This method will provide to Barrio Cantera with a harmonious landscape by covering the whole area using the same system. Residents mapped risk areas followed by an on-site soil survey and test on each area. A total of 4 piled soil walls were built and more potential areas remain for a future intervention (Fig. 7: C1, C2, C3, C4).

Results

This article has demonstrated that it is important to take into consideration the environmental conditions and all social actors to create a balance between the natural environment and the residents that occupy it.

The micro-practices developed at Barrio Cantera are likely to be minimal, but they contributed finding practical and responsive solutions to reduce risk and vulnerability at the neighborhood scale. Also, they provided wider lessons on how collective actions can open an opportunity to invest in alternative and local solutions that can allow informal settlements and its residents coexist and reduce risks in a responsible manner.

As a result, four central dimensions were found at the core of such a developmental framework:

a) Co-learning through the lens of risk

It is important to strengthen the resident's capacities to adopt a lifestyle that can coexist with risk. Increasing awareness of risks enhances vulnerable communities to take action and get involved to prevent the loss of their own livelihoods.-

b) Multi-stakeholder participation is essential

Disaster reduction is most effective at the community level where specific local needs can be met. It was found that any effort could be successful when they involve the direct participation of residents most likely exposed to risks. An authentic participation was achieved by bringing together residents, local authorities and educational institutions, and gaining legitimacy in the planning, decision-making, and operational activities at all levels of responsibility.

c) Responsible collective actions

Risk management requires the participation of the community, as part of the local urban development planning. This allows collective actions to embrace the feeling of the population and therefore the resulting programs and risk reduction projects will be in line with the concerns and needs of each locality. This way a real, sustainable development of the community can be achieved.

d) Knowledge and capacity

In informal settlements, residents often work together to create solutions their own solutions. Residents from Barrio Cantera can organize themselves, gather critical planning data, and use these to design their own solutions regarding risk reduction. Also, they have the capacity to negotiate with other stakeholders by testing and managing the implementation of these solutions. Barrio Cantera residents emerged powerful expertise from their knowledge through their engagement in the decision-making process to improve their living environment.

Conclusions

Urban growth projections highlight that a large portion of the urban population will live in informal settlements in most of the developing countries. It is in these areas that most residents face high risks caused not only by socio-economic conditions but also by the effects of climate change with negatively impact on their living environment and habitability. This means that their contributions are meaningful to minimize their vulnerability and reduce risks. As resident's diverse experiences and responses towards risk reduction are commonly shaped by pre-existing conditions such as land tenure security, socio-spatial segregation, poor infrastructure; a new discussion is opened about local government's challenges regarding informal settlements. Therefore, it is necessary to have more committed and competent local governments that promote an evolution in the paradigm of sustainable urban development and climate change. In addition, any system of planning and risk reduction must not only be integrated into the administrative capacities but also the economic possibilities of the country and based on the reality of informal settlements local contexts.

At the macro scale, the need for environmental protection as a new and broad right should be taken into account: a) incorporate the new risk approaches into planning and territorial development policies for risk reduction and the occurrence of disasters, b) increase the security of land of informal settlements and protect the environment through the identification, reduction, and control of risk conditions and c) promote a comprehensive risk management system that involves different stakeholders and makes vulnerable residents participants in the decisions that involve the assumption of risks at micro or neighborhood scale.

At the micro-scale, risk reduction in informal settlements requires the flexibility and the willingness from local governments to go outside of conventional and formal strategies. However, authentic urban resilience will require the active participation of residents to find responsive solutions to reduce exposure to risk disasters minimizing their vulnerability and strengthening their ability to cope and adapt to those impacts. In this way, the enhancement of collective actions from part of the residents and different stakeholders bring the opportunity to co-produce participatory approaches and to share responsibility for sustainable development at the neighborhood scale. However, a special effort is required to understand the traditional management of local value and the people-environment relationships at informal settlements while concepts and technology can support and provide additional innovative approaches.

Under these considerations, it is advisable to local governments to consider the possibility of generating a more sustainable path that allows incorporating the settlements into the city according to the following priorities: a) know the risk of the occupied space, b) inform and report the risks to residents, c) decide how to invest on disaster risk reduction, d) generate a territorial development in agreement with residents in order to assess their own security, e) provide essential services and infrastructures with least possible environmental impacts, and f) organize the rights over the land in which its residents can gain self-regulated means.

The selection of these priorities was based on the experiences obtained at Barrio Cantera and principles established at Habitat III. However, the applicability of the same criteria would be possible to other countries as it recognizes principles, rights, and responsibilities that focus primarily on the quality of life of all citizens.

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Multi-purpose collaborative design to keep natural riverfront in rural area

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Abstract:

Riverfront is the most attractive space. Natural ecological elements, untouched beauty, pure atmosphere, etc, are some of the favourable characteristics. Interaction between people, accessibility of water, observation of animals, etc, are some of the main preferable activities. Good design can increase these qualities. However, most natural rivers are difficult to keep in place after riverfront development. This paper argues that rivers can and should keep their naturalness even in most densely built up areas. Their values can be found in ecological, social, and visual aspects. Their disadvantages and threats include hygienic, health, and safety issues. Although there are contradict effects, a good design can use space and engineering structures strategically and skillfully to fully utilize the natural river features while oppress its passive impacts. This requires a delicate design framework to integrate various features and allow multiple functions to happen in the riverfront place making. It covers human's feelings and activities, as well as natural elements and ecological process. Several cases around the world will be compared, and Daihe village in Sichuan province, China is used as the main case study to represent in detail how this approach is applicable. The multi-purpose design is realized through interaction and communication between designers and local residents. The research is based upon a collaborative investigation work by several universities from China and Taiwan.

Keywords: Riverfront, Multi-purpose, Interactive, Daihe village.

Introduction

Waterfront is the most active place in towns and villages. Both natural elements and human activities interact and correlate in this dynamic domain. Water is no doubt one of the most dynamic natural elements for people. Its colour, reflective scenery, sound of fluidity, as well

as the abundance of wild life, are all attractive. The river valley, banks and riverbed, water adaptive plants and animals, river flood resistance and water usage facilities, river crossing bridges, etc, make the riverfront a vivid stereo spatial structure. People like to use this space, either in the river to swim, or along the water to fish, or solely to sit and watch, listen to the sound or feel the wind. They enjoy being absorbed by the rich natural life resources, as well as being involved into the multiple activities that are connected with water.

However, many landscape designers ignore this richness in local interaction between natural and human life. They tend to do “selective design” instead of “overall” design. “Selective” design means to choose certain elements that are deemed to be important or good from the designers’ point of view. However, this might incur some dangers. The first is to ignore the natural part in favour of human part, and to ignore the normal species in favour of the endangered species. The second is to ignore the “low culture” in favour of “high culture”. Under this approach, designers tend to overlook the need of water itself, and favour instead the need of human for water. This leads to the exploitation of water resource, while ignoring many of its facilitating and supporting elements as a system. As a result, water related ecological, aesthetical, social elements that collectively form a special system are fragmented frequently.

This paper takes the waterfront space as an integral and systematic “biome” that bears multiple functions and meanings. We examine the possibility of designing a rural riverfront space for experiencing the water itself, for keeping the normal animals at place, and for allowing folk culture to remain in place or to happen in the future. The international design workshop in Daihe village in Sichuan province, China is taken as the case study. The organization mechanism of this collaborative design workshop is introduced, and the reason why it was held successfully and continuously for three years is analyzed. The concerns for Daihe village’s waterfront space is raised, and the possibility of introducing more folk culture, including Majiang, a traditional Chinese gambling game, is further discussed. The question is whether this “overall” approach, that is composed of both good and bad, high and low, important and normal aspects under the current moral or scientific criteria, applicable to be utilized as an integrated multi-purpose design approach in waterfront design in a rural area?

Daihe village



Fig 1. The remote sense photo of Daihe and Baotian village (Source: Baidu website)

Daihe (代河) is a village in Ya'an (雅安) city, Sichuan province. It is a relatively flat basin surrounded by mountains and hills. By 2017, there are 285 households and 1056 inhabitants. The average income is 13000 RMB/year, which comes mainly from agriculture, including tea, forest, and bamboo industry. The total area is 11 km², within which the forest and bamboo area is roughly 700 ha, the tea area is 130 ha (according to the village head). It owns a tea collaborative commune, a tea factory, a wood production factory, and a bamboo factory. All these are in a primary level. Tea industry is special since it is a national level green tea production base site.

Although Daihe is a small village, it is full of cultural heritage. It locates in an area where there is the intangible heritage of “High platform performance art” (“宴场高台艺术”) nominated by Sichuan province. It was an important traffic node and rest place for the “Cha-Ma ancient road” (the road for tea and horse). West Sichuan wooden vernacular building technique is well kept and practiced here. The local community is full of hospitality.

The river named Gaodiedong (高叠洞河) runs through the village. The river separates the settlement into two villages: Daihe and Baotian. They originally belonged to one village. Now the river becomes both a border and a meeting place. This waterfront space, together with tea industry and the local community, became the focal point of the design workshop.

Daihe design workshop

In 2016-2018, professors and students from mainly four universities across the Taiwan strait, namely Sichuan University, Peking University, Taiwan University, and Chengkong University, gathered in Daihe village for a design workshop. More than twenty professors

and three hundred students participated. The workshop collaborated closely with the local community. To summarize why it could be held continuously and successfully, three main features can be

mentioned: a key person, a key place, and a key object.



Fig 3. The workshop scene. (Source: Author)

A key person

The village head named Yan Aimin is the direct contact person. He is in his forties, full of energy and experience. He is familiar with all the villagers, and is open to the outsiders, especially those scholars who are interested in the village's development. He has his own business, which is also benefited from the workshop. He is enthusiastic in setting up connections between the students and villagers, such as organizing meetings between the students and villagers.

A key place

For any design workshops to happen, a central gathering place is needed. In Daihe's case, the house of the village head's become the gathering place. In and around his house, a guest house, a restaurant, and a convenient shop are facilitated. A courtyard is in the front. His home thus became the base and centre for the workshop. In addition to staying and dining, his house offers an ideal place for daily meeting and discussion. First, there is a corridor space, where people could sit and drink tea. This is a perfect place for students to gather in groups. Second, the courtyard is ideal for outdoor activities, including community dancing and

outdoor dining, as well as occasional gathering. Third, his home is neighboured by an old water mill, which is itself the outcome of on-site participatory design. It also offers enough space for the discussions after a long day work.

A key object

The old water mill became an intermediate media through which all the activities are organized. It is a visible product and tangible outcome that shows a spirit of collaboration and care for the history. It was once the relic of an abandoned public water mill, which was used for making and refining agricultural products through the water power. Many villagers would gather here to work and to communicate. Thence it was also an important public place. When it was abandoned several years ago, this meeting place was lost.

When the students came in 2016, they found this abandoned place, and some students jumped into the river and brought the old parts of the mill back. Under the help and guidance of the villagers, they fixed it and made it work again. In the mean time, they made a new design for the mill building. The mill space is at the first floor, functioning as a mill for the villagers and exhibiting the milling process for the visitors. A new meeting space is proposed at the second floor, which not only became the meeting place for the villagers, but also was used as the resting place for visitors, and as meeting place for the students to discuss during the workshop period.

Through this physical participation process, the students got a concrete sense of what community needs, and what heritage means. This self-involvement offers a good teaching opportunity, not only for the students, but also for the villagers. They learned from this how valuable the old space and stuff are, and that they should not abandon them too quickly and easily.

The “soft design” approach of waterfront design

Soft entering

There are two types of design resources: hard and soft. The hard ones are the scientific analysis. The soft ones are the sensory feelings. We tried to balance the two in order to make more “sensible” designs. The basic consideration is that a natural riverfront like the one in Daihe is full of natural features. The bank is made of soil, lined with water plants, and water related animals such as ducks would frequent the river regularly. In any case, it is a rural river, full of natural characters. What we need is firstly to know the river, and to use our body and five senses to feel it. It is not enough just to see, instead we walked into the river on bare foot to sense the bottom of the river bed, and the strength and temperature of the water. We

looked for the place where the villagers and the animals would access the water, interviewed the villagers on how they see the river, how they use it, and the water level of the floods. All these helps supplement the “formal” knowledges from scientific reports and historic records and add “informal” but “sensible” elements to our decision making system of design.



Fig2. Daihe's waterfront (Source: Author)

Soft interference

Based on our soft entering investigations, we intend to keep the river in its natural state. First, we decide not to use straight lined concrete banks. Instead, the original soil banks and water plants are kept in their original form and place. Compared to the willingness of giving it a modern or beautiful form, we intend to keep its original ecological form, so as to preserve the various existing activities to happen along the river. Ecological function is considered by adding several pools that could accommodate flooding water and could be used as fishing pond in normal seasons. This could give the riverside more scenic features and could attract more people to gather and communicate. A “secret forest” is kept in its original status and is made more accessible, which is particularly of interest for the young kids to enter and risk an adventure. Two levels of river front public spaces are created to allow more people to access the river when the river level is low. All these helps change the river front into a more community friendly space in a soft way.

Soft outcome

In addition to normal graphic planning and design, we proposed a riverfront guideline for the future designers and villagers to follow. This is accomplished in the form of a “villagers’ contract on riverfront space”, which achieved the agreement of the villagers, professors and students. It ruled how the riverfront should be preserved and built. The main content is to keep its natural form and ecological function. This guideline help ensure that future design works could follow a soft and sustainable way, even if they are not designed by our team. It could guaranty a positive and sustainable use of the riverfront space.

Discussion and conclusion

About “slow” design

In normal design studios, people tend to give an output as quick as we can. It is normally a one-week or ten-day term, and the students are encouraged to give out a design solution in a fast and concise way. Even if the solution is not practically applicable, a good concept is often deemed as the most important for design training.

However, there are negative aspects in this approach, which we tried to avoid. In this approach, the students easily fall into the “design” mode, without thinking deeply and seriously about the practical aspect. They get enchanted with their imaginative thinking and would tend to bring various “styles” into the place and take it as a test field. However, a rural area is always combined with “unseeable” things, either in ecological or in cultural and historical aspects. These are normally not easily grasped easily and quickly. We need to let our students know how to design more slowly and patiently, so that many deep-rooted elements could have space and time to grow by themselves.

About folk culture

Similar to “fragile” water and “normal” animals, folk culture is not privileged in general, since they are deemed as the so called “bottom culture”, or “low culture”. They include local belief and amusement, community entertainment and daily games, which are not positively recognized as a useful tool to enhance life culture. Many of them are even deemed as unhealthy or passive objects that needs to be eliminated. However, many of the positive aspects of these games are not fully recognized and utilized in these design adventures, especially when they are too short.

We thought of various ways of activating the riverfront space. Waterfront Majiang is one of them. Although this idea was finally abandoned since we were not sure about its impact on both the villagers and tourists, some of us still think that the riverfront should be so designed that it could allow such activities to happen occasionally, and in a healthy and controllable

way. This is because that this kind of amusement game is popular among the villagers, and it has many good aspects and values, especially for the elderly. As designers, we can not judge whether this should be totally banned or abandoned. What we could do is to get the good part out of it and make full use of it. This also needs a good design concept. But this is what we hesitate to develop a step further.

About rural waterfront design approach

Landscape designers are among the troops of folk and local culture elimination, especially in waterfront redevelopment. Since swimming is regarded as dangerous, waterfront design would forbid any chance of swimming in order to avoid the possibility of unexpected death. Since flood is regarded as dangerous, high dams would separate people and the river, even though it prevents people from having their greatest fun. When danger and “low” culture are lost in waterfront, it becomes safer but boring. This is a paradox each designer encounters. Most of the designers have to choose the safe oriented plan, since this means their career is also safer. But the result is, the waterfront becomes more and more unified and most of them lost their uniqueness and vividness.

Based upon such recognitions, we tried to use the above mentioned three “keys” and three “softs” as our design approach and philosophy in the Daihe design workshop. There are both successful and failure aspects in it. After three years of practice, many things have changed in Daihe village, not only in riverfront space, but also in many other aspects such as the production and marketing of tea. The overall conscious of the place is raised for the students and villagers. Many new industries are being tried. The village will ultimately change gradually. We hope that it is a slow and gradual process. “Soft” is still the “key” for us for the time being.

Acknowledgement

Daihe international design workshop is organized by Sichuan University, and collaborated by Peking University, National Taiwan University, National Cheng Kung University and many other universities. This paper benefits from the collaborative teaching together with professors Li Wei, Chang Sheng-Lin, Lee Tzu-Chang, and many others.

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‘Arkicamp Heritage X: Youth Empowerment Through Experience and Exposure

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Abstract

Heritage has always been full of complex social issues and challenges. One of these major challenges would always be on how to make the locals appreciate and value their own heritage. The ARKICAMP strategy, a grassroots advocacy, was utilized. It tapped the youth, particularly the undergraduate architecture students of a local University. They were involved in several community-based, pro-active heritage initiatives such as built- heritage inventories, as-built documentation, adaptive re-use design workshops and exhibitions. These initiatives were implemented in four towns in the province of Pampanga, one of the oldest provinces located north of Manila.

This advocacy which engenders the spirit of volunteerism approach is not new except that it was simply given a new dimension- the empowered youth cascading heritage empowerment. Aside from giving the participants their early apprenticeship credits, they were also given an early exposure to the world of heritage. For some participants, this became a turning point for them to embrace a career path towards heritage work and advocacy. The experience and exposure given to the local students became a natural way to reawaken the other community members to do something for their heritage. They were inspired by the dedication shown by the Arkicampers. They have seen that their local heritage is their unique social identity. It is the one that will lead them towards a new civic urbanism that will give them their sense of community and belonging.

Keywords: Arkicamp, experience, exposure

Development of Ecological Democracy Sheet: a new tool to give social impact on urban/regional design and to evaluate future implementations of urban design

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Abstract

We are convinced that practicing ecological democracy would be essential to revitalize a local community and to build a better future. We have established the Ecological Democracy Foundation so far and have started several projects to put ecological democracy into practice in Japan. In this paper, we would like to introduce a new tool: Ecological Democracy Sheet (EDS) which we have developed for a better understanding of an interrelationship between ecology and democracy, and to discuss its feasibility as a new methodology to evaluate social impact of urban design. To attain this purpose, we will analyze a practice which we applied EDS to consider future implementations of urban design in Japan. We believe that the findings from our practices and usage of EDS will contribute to explore ecological democracy and to develop a new technique for prioritizing a better attempt considering its social impact.

Keywords: Ecological Democracy, Urban Design, Social Impact

1. Introduction

In Japan, the idea of Ecological Democracy is gaining popularity. In 2016, 'Ecological Democracy Foundation' was founded by the authors and has tremendous support from more than 165 people in various fields. In April 2018, 'Design for Ecological Democracy' (Hester, 2006) was translated and published, and around the same period 14 Japanese scholars and practitioners discussed Ecological Democracy in Japan in the quarterly journal; BIOCITY (Ecological Democracy Foundation, 2018). These movements have attracted attention especially from community designers, planners, and scholars in Japan.

The first appearance of the idea 'Ecological Democracy' would be in 'Education for ecological democracy' written by Michael A. Peters. He explains Ecological Democracy as an alternative

of current society, being explained the early 1990s' situation of a crisis of ecology, a depletion of resources, and its international responses as well as a question on current liberal democracy and a theoretical exploration for a new social political system. Eckersley (2004) states that Ecological Democracy extends the stakeholders of political decision both temporally (multi generations), spatially (super-state) and species (non-human) reaching to a newly democracy. In these discourses in environmental politics and environmental ethics, Ecological Democracy is depicted as a new model which replace the current political system and we have still not attained to.

On the other hand, Hester (2006) states in his book that:

'While I am overwhelmed by the despair around us and the meanness we confront in our habitation, ecological democracy takes roots, sprouts, and blooms here and there.' (Hester, 2006, pp. 419)

He stresses that the seed of what we should aim for have already been here and there. We have been impressed his statement and thought it would be a clue to address Ecological Democracy. So, taking up his position, we have started the investigation to discover Ecological Democracy in an everyday life in Japan. Among this, we have developed a tool; Ecological Democracy Sheet (EDS) to find a culture-nature relationship which we should aim for, that is, a seed of Ecological Democracy. We have already tested this tool in 4 cities a year and confirmed its effectiveness.

This paper explains our approaches to discover Ecological Democracy using EDS, and then states how it appeared and how we evaluate it. Especially in this paper, we will introduce case in Okayama and Senzoku area, Ota ward, Tokyo, Japan. In the following chapter, the structure, utilization, and expected outputs of EDS; the tool we have invented for discover Ecological Democracy is explained. The third chapter shows the case study of Okayama and Senzoku area and explains how Ecological Democracy was appeared there. The fourth chapter analysis the result of the case study and discusses the meanings and the social impact of EDS.

2. Description of the Ecological Democracy Sheet

Our ultimate purpose is to discover the connectedness between society and ecology, which is embedded in the everyday life and its landscape. For this purpose, we have developed the new tool; EDS. In the followings, the structure, utilization, and expected outputs of EDS will be explained.

2-1. Structure of the Ecological Democracy Sheet

EDS is a piece of paper which contains the three columns; Social, Ecology, and Landscape. After receiving a brief instruction, the participant is requested to fill in this sheet for a particular place, scenery, or activity being conscious of these three columns. In the Social column, the

participant enters a human activity, cultural activity, and history which he or she encountered. Then, in the Ecology column, a name, voice, and smell of nature (plant, animal, and other living creatures) is going to be written. Lastly, in the Landscape column, a scenery which is spread out before him or her eyes would be drawn. After that, another task that the participant is required to do is to think of the connectedness of each description and draw a line. For example, causality and correlation apply to this connection.

Besides the three columns, EDS only has a name entry field, a date entry field, a place entry field, and a sheet title entry field. It is a very simple and everyone can sensitively understand how to fill it out. Usually, the entry will be conducted by about 10-20 people at the same time, and it takes about 20-30 minutes per sheet to fill it out.

Figure 1. Ecological Democracy Sheet (EDS)

2-2. Utilization of the Ecological Democracy Sheet

The main outcome of EDS is an Ecological Democracy Cycle (EDC) which is a kind of a story deduced from the descriptions of social things and ecological things at a particular place. In order to produce it, at first, all the contents of EDS filled out by participants are arranged into one sheet for each place. This arrangement moves to a sorting the description of each columns according to a similar content. Then, it enters the phase of a creation of a story. It starts from deciding one description of landscape and searches a correlated social things and ecological things. After repeating this work, the participants discuss their orders and casual relationships to create attractive stories. And, finally, they put a title for each of them.

In the above procedures, what is the most important thing is to take gestalt (not think of a set of parts but think with emphasis on entirety and structure). The discussion does not simply summarize the elements entered on the sheet, but rather search for elements which are not appeared on the sheet (few descriptions of landscape, no specific elements of ecology, etc.). We ask the participants to focus on finding the core element of a particular landscape and try to

consider the correlated society and ecology relationships that might be invisible but embedded in a landscape. In this way, we are trying to take a general view of a place and its remote future. We believe that this course of works enables participants to think matters with cross-disciplinary and cross-scaling (region-district-city).

2-3. Features of the expected outputs of Ecological Democracy Sheet

Focusing on the social impact that EDS gives participants, this section states the three important outputs that we expect from the above workshop. First of all, we hope that EDS gives us a newly point of view; backcasting. The discussion through EDS enables us to draw the future desirable image of a place because we can grasp its whole structure and contexts in the end. And, from this future image, EDS ask us to think about what we have to do now. This means that EDS led us to plan future actions from the views of what a place should aim for.

Secondly, EDS let us determine the priority of future actions for a community development. Because EDC express a set of social, ecological, and landscape matters and strongly connects community's issues and its resources, the participants can evaluate their importance and feasibility. Thus, we could overcome an endless argument to seek community's problems and turn to discuss a concrete plan to set the direction of future actions for a place making.

Thirdly, EDS invites participants to learn together and take the first steps to act. EDS is not only a tool for consideration but also for a dialogue. By finding and feeling a connection between ecology and society together, participants will have sympathy for others. We aim to accumulate this sympathy and to build a society where people learn from each other and devote themselves to a better society.

3. Ecological Democracy Sheet Workshop in Ookayama

3-1. About Ookayama

Ookayama is a quiet residential area developed in the 1920s located in the northwest part of Oota ward, Tokyo. The Ookayama train station, Tokyu Hospital, Tokyo Institute of Technology and Senzoku pond is located in this area. The area has a hilly topography, as it stands on the Kokubunnji ridge line, a part of Musashino plateau, and used to have a lot of springs providing water to the Senzoku pond.

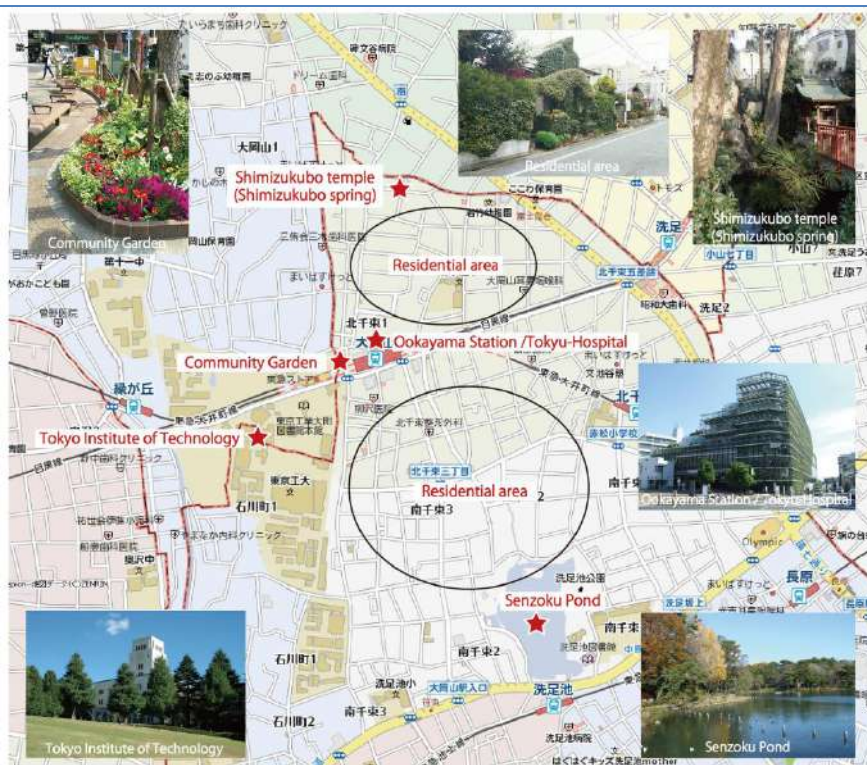


Figure 2. Ookayama map

3-2. Ecological Democracy Sheet Workshop

In December 2017, EDS Workshop was held by the Ecological Democracy Foundation with the support of students of Tokyo Institute of Technology. The participants of the workshop were the members of Ookayama Machizukuri Council. In the workshop, each participant filled in their EDS, and discussed about the contents they wrote on the sheets in groups. Upon filling the sheets, participants were instructed to describe the landscapes of their childhood, their favorite places in the area of the present and the issues that they find in the area. The participants were also instructed to write people and the nature that are related to the things that describe.

Below, ideas developed through the workshop are introduced.

3-3. Workshop results

4 ideas below were developed in the workshop.

- 1) Forming a green network of citrus trees for Swallowtail butterflies connecting residential gardens, community garden and the university campus
- 2) Programs to increase pervious surfaces on the Musashino plateau leading to abundant spring water, and water cycle education at the Shimizukubo temple and the Senzoku pond
- 3) A network of singing of insects, the green wall of the hospital, community garden and the university campus.

4) Knowing the world (surrounding environments) and yourself, and enjoy the relationship with the place – were developed in the workshop

Below, ideas 1) and 2) are described specifically.

3-3-1. Forming a green network of citrus trees for Swallowtail butterflies connecting residential gardens, community garden and the university campus

The idea is described in figure 3. Residential houses with private gardens are the majority of the area. In the gardens, other than large canopy trees, persimmons, plum trees and citrus trees with yellow and orange fruits are planted. And participants in the workshop claim that these citrus trees attract Swallowtail butterflies 【②】. They also claimed a community was formed in the area through maintain the greens of their gardens 【①】 , but aging of the community is making it difficult for them to maintain their gardens.

In addition, although abundant greenery can be seen in the private gardens, open green spaces are scarce in the area 【③】. The community garden in front of the station which is planted with Rosemary trees, Christmas roses, apple trees and lemon trees, attracting butterflies as well as dragonflies, is an important open green space for the community. Once a month, residents of the Ookayama shopping arcade, members of local NPOs, student volunteers take care of the plants in the community garden 【④】. In spite of its importance, many people don't recognize the presence of the garden.

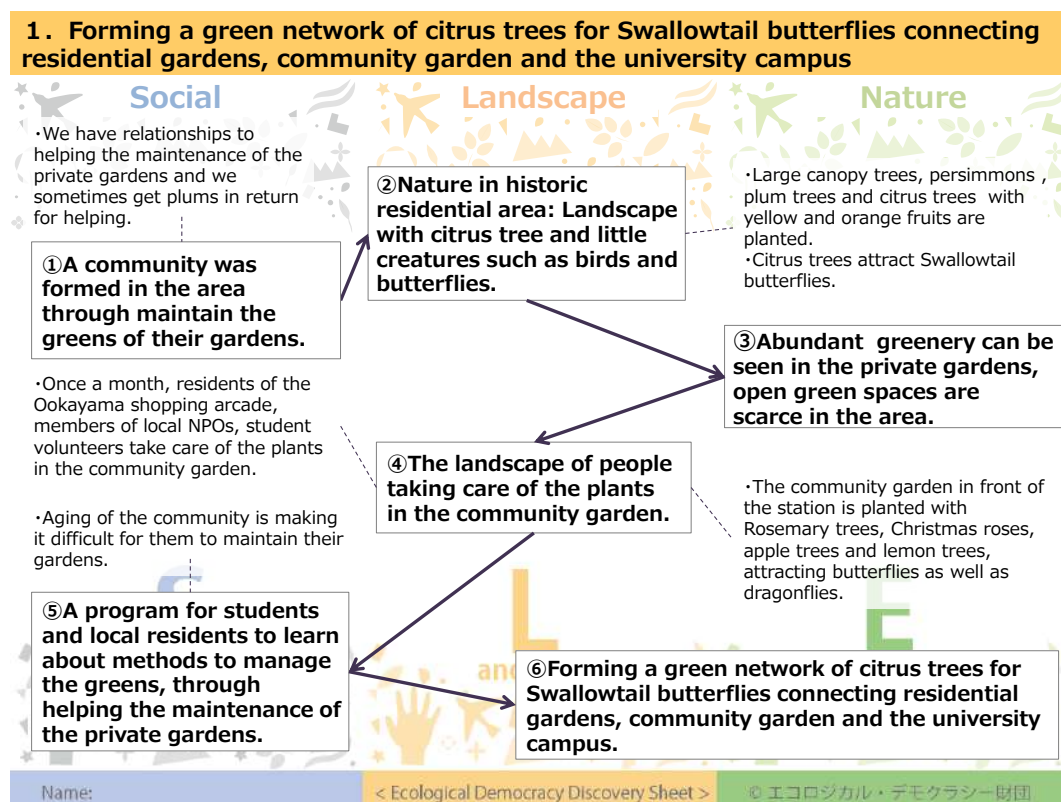


Figure 3. EDS 1

Taking into consideration the factors mentioned above, we came up with a set of ideas. The main idea is to form a green network of citrus trees for Swallowtail butterflies connecting residential gardens, community garden and the university campus 【⑥】. By forming a green network of citrus trees connecting residential gardens, community garden and the university campus, we could form a flyway of Swallowtail butterflies which will provide a place to learn about ecology for the children in the community. Following the idea above, we also came up with a program for students and local residents to learn about methods to manage the greens, through helping the maintenance of the private gardens 【⑤】. And holding a harvest festival to enjoy the fruits harvested in the greens, could provide an opportunity for the community garden to become a center to connect people.

3-3-2. Programs to increase pervious surfaces on the Musashino plateau, leading to abundant spring water, and water cycle education at the Senzoku pond

The idea is described in figure 4. In the area, abundant spring water flowing out from the depressions of the Musashino plateau used to exist. From the maps drawn in the 1920s, spring water flowing out from the Shimizukubo temple flowed into the wetlands and rice paddy fields eventually flowing into the Senzoku pond. The water collected in the pond flows out as a stream, flows into Nomi river and flows into the sea, representing the natural water system of the area. But now, by the housing land developments, the pervious surfaces in the

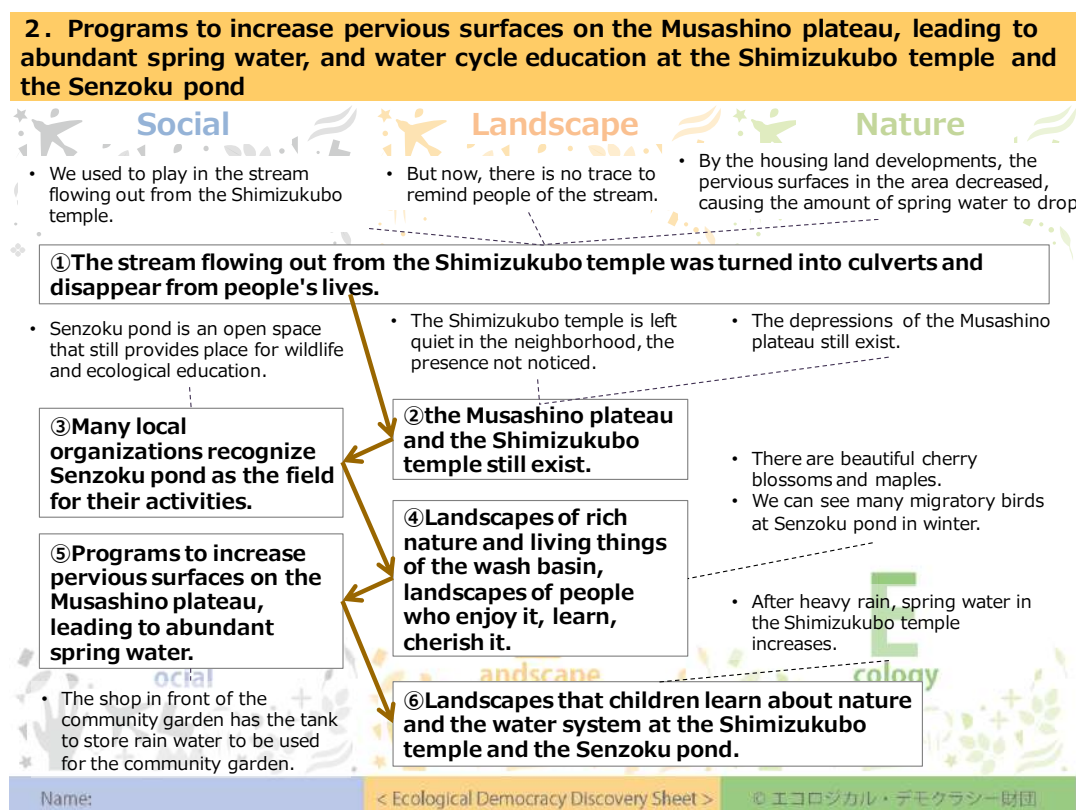


Figure 4. EDS 2

area decreased, causing the amount of spring water to drop, and eventually enabling people to turn the streams into culverts 【①】. Now, the Shimizukubo temple is left quiet in the neighborhood, the presence not noticed 【②】. On the other hand, Senzoku pond is an open space that still provides place for wildlife and ecological education in the area, and many local organizations recognize it as the field for their activities 【③】. With beautiful cherry blossoms and maples, and many migratory birds flying in, the place is loved by the local community 【④】.

Taking into consideration the factors mentioned above, we came up with an idea to make programs to increase pervious surfaces on the Musashino plateau 【⑤】, leading to abundant spring water, and water cycle education at the Shimizukubo temple and the Senzoku pond 【⑥】.

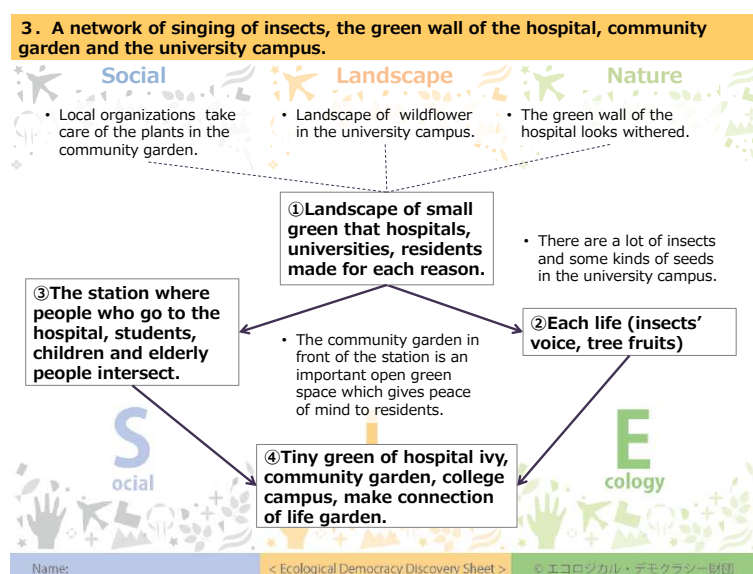
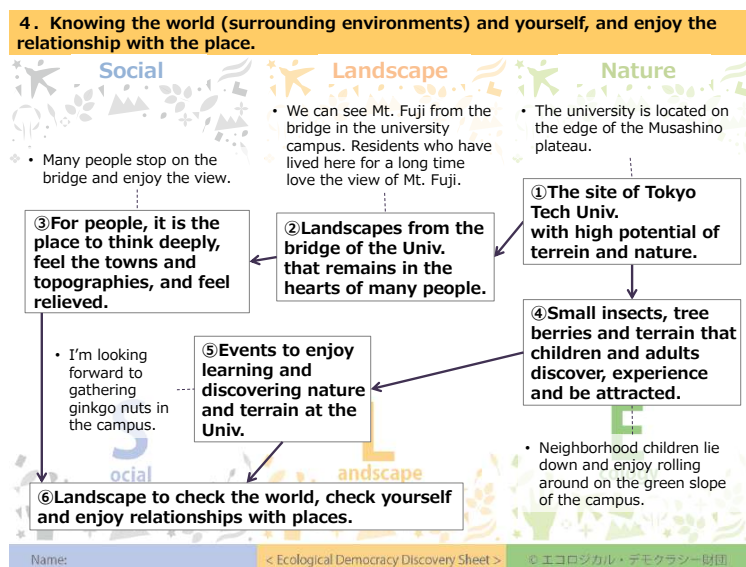


Figure 5. EDS 3



- Figure 6. EDS 4

3-4. Implementing the ideas

To implement the ideas developed in the workshop, we must first prioritize the projects and determine the feasibilities of each project. The advantages in the use of the EDS are that it clarifies the social and nature resources to utilize, pointing out a specific place at the same time. Therefore, if the priority and the feasibility of the project is very high, this sheet will instantly tell you what to do next. And in the case when the feasibility of the project is very low, it will tell you what you should start with.

The council members who participated in the workshop are now working to put project 1) into practice. They planted in total of 6 citrus trees in a small park, elementary school and middle school in the area with the residents and children. The trees planted will be taken care not only by the members of the council, but with students of the schools and residents. They are planning to expand their area to the community garden and the university campus, involving more people to take care of the trees. They are also planning a field work to survey the locations of citrus trees in the area in December. Though each of these projects are small daily life projects, a town with glamorous butterflies can be foreseen.

4. Evaluation

4-1 Purpose and methods

Based on the results of the Ookayama workshop, we shaped four types suggestions and revealed the relationships between society and ecology using our original tool.

Ecological Democracy requires considering the consistent and sequential relationship between social and ecological things in both community-scale and urban/regional-scale. Then, what elements or interactions of daily social/ecological things do create the future vision? In this chapter, we analyze scaling-up dynamics of social/ecological things from everyday life in each EDC 1-4, and consider the connection between the descriptions of figures.

In order to analyze, we utilized ABCD analysis that we created for ourselves. In this analysis matrix consisted of 4 quadrants, the vertical axis is the size of spatial scale and the horizontal axis represents society and ecology. On this matrix, we reorganized the social/ecological things of EDC 1-4. Also, we put things that are undistinguishable from either society or ecology in the middle of the matrix. As regards scale, the thing which people can perceive at one time is a small scale, and the thing which is not so is set a large scale.

A and B show daliy examples of “Social things (A)” and “Ecological things (B)” . D and C show the scaled-up examples of A and B that are located within larger context. For example, when the water’s edge of nearby park is mentioned in B, it may indicate the valley of the water’s edge in C, and when each regional activity of various ages is remarked in A, the system of activities for all ages may be written in D.

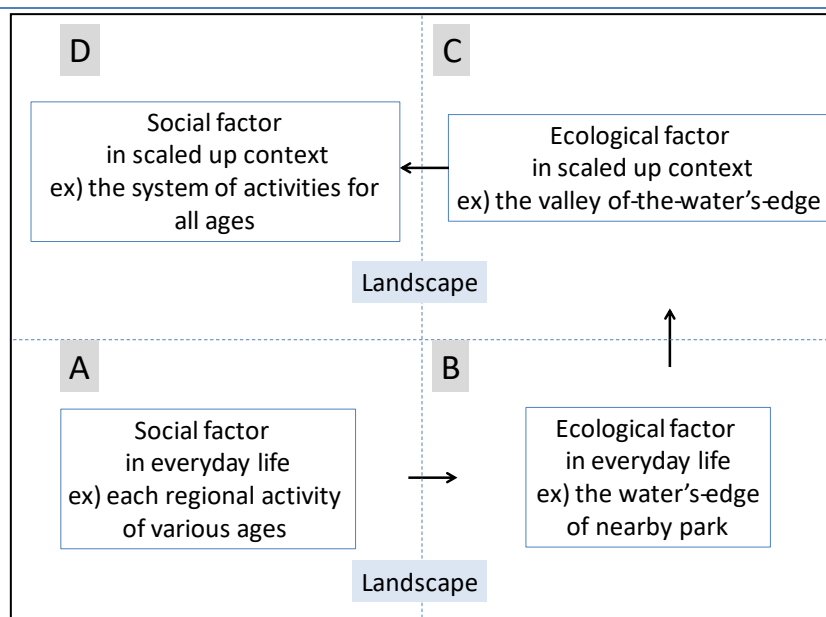


Figure 7. Example of the ABCD analysis for EDS

4-2 ABCD analysis of Ecological Democracy Sheet

EDC 1: “Forming a green network of citrus trees for Swallowtail butterflies connecting residential gardens, community garden and the university campus”

In this EDC, A is “①A community was formed in the area through maintain the greens of their gardens.”, B is “③Abundant greenery can be seen in the private gardens, open green

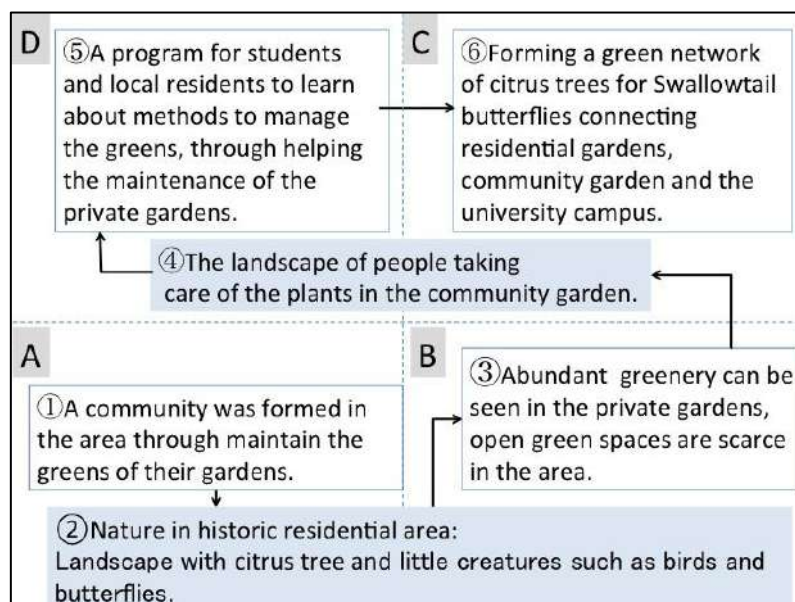


Figure 8. The ABCD analysis for EDC 1

spaces are scarce in the area.”, C is “⑥Forming a green network of citrus trees for Swallowtail butterflies connecting residential gardens, community garden and the university campus.” And D is “⑤A program for students and local residents to learn about methods to manage the greens, through helping the maintenance of the private gardens.” Then, ① connects to ③ to indicate that nature is limited at home gardens and does not spread throughout the city. And ⑥ is scaled up from ③ to design the whole city with utilizing nature at Ookayama. Finally, ⑤ is suggested to realize ⑥. Landscape ② and ④ show that this EDC connects to the particular places of Ookayama and Ecological Democracy works in everyday life. It shows that this EDC is not limited to discover familiar connections between nature and society but suggest the social system. It forms one story that draws the future of the city "I wish I could realize it someday".

EDC 2: “Programs to increase pervious surfaces on the Musashino plateau leading to abundant spring water, and water cycle education at the Shimizukubo temple and the Senzoku pond.”

In this EDC, “①The stream flowing out from the Shimizukubo temple was turned into culverts and disappear from people's lives.” is between A and B. “③Many local organizations recognize Senzoku pond as the field for their activities.” is B and “⑤Programs to increase pervious surfaces on the Musashino plateau, leading to abundant spring water.” is C. And as to landscapes, “②the Musashino plateau and the Shimizukubo temple still exist.” is placed between A and B, “④Landscapes of rich nature and living things of the wash basin, landscapes of people who enjoy it, learn, cherish it” is between B and C, and “⑥Landscapes that children learn about nature and the water system at the Shimizukubo temple and the Senzoku pond.” is between C and D.

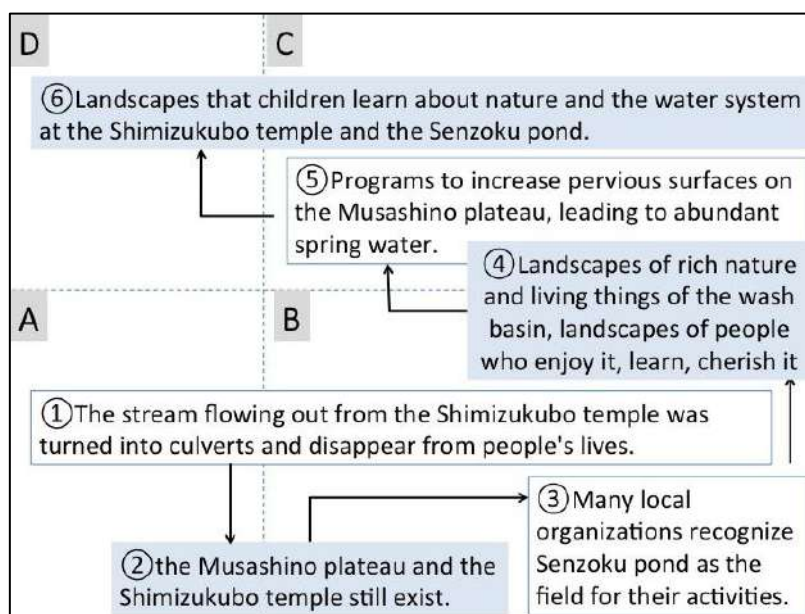


Figure 9. The ABCD analysis for EDC 2

Senzoku pond.” is between C and D. ① points out that spring water and streams that were former children's playgrounds are now underdrains. On the other hand, ③ indicates a state of the Senzoku pond that is still valued by local people. Then, ② and ④ work as landscapes to show the connection with particular places of ① and ③. ⑤ is about approach to penetration throughout the plateau as scaled up example of ③. Finally, a landscape that children learn water circulation at the springs and ponds is suggested.

EDC 3: “A network of singing of insects, the green wall of the hospital, community garden and the university campus”

In the third EDC, A is “③The station where people who go to the hospital, students, children and elderly people intersect.”, B is “②Each life (insects’ voice, tree fruits)”, “①Small green that hospitals, universities, residents made for each reason” is placed between A and B, and “④Tiny green of hospital ivy, community garden, college campus, make connection of life garden.” is put between C and D. ① connects to either a social relationship(③), and a nature relationship(②) at the same time. And as a result, ④ is suggested to capture new design in larger framework. Then, ① and ④ also work as landscapes that indicate specific places. It means that this EDC happens connecting with particular places of Ookayama area.

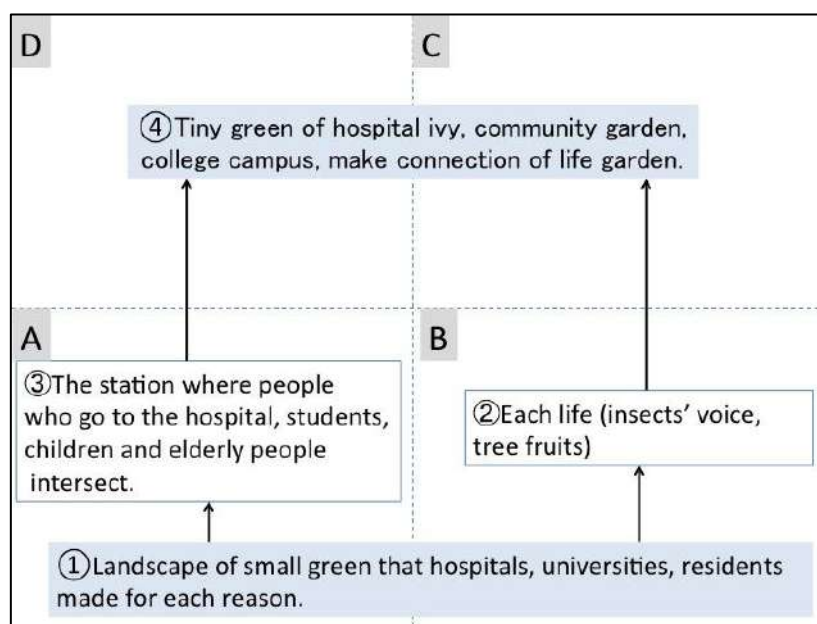


Figure 10.-The ABCD analysis for EDC 3

EDC 4: “Knowing the world (surrounding environments) and yourself, and enjoy the relationship with the place – were developed in the workshop”

In this EDC, A is “③For people, it is the place to think deeply, feel the towns and topographies, and feel relieved.”, B is “④Small insects, tree berries and terrain that children and adults discover, experience and be attracted.”, C is “①The site of Tokyo Tech Univ. with high

potential of terrain and nature.” and D is “⑤Holding events to enjoy learning and discovering nature and terrain at the Univ.”.

And as to landscapes, “②Landscapes from the bridge of the Univ. that remains in the hearts of many people.” is between A and B. “⑥Landscape to check the world, check yourself and enjoy relationships with places.” is between C and D.

① is about characteristics of Ookayama which is a hill and full of nature. It connects to landscape from the bridge and landscape of Mt. Fuji (②), and the natural space that all ages can enjoy (④). Then, it indicates a social state that people feel safe (③).

Taking these factors as a whole, finally the event beyond ages is suggested. (⑤). And this landscape is described in ⑥.

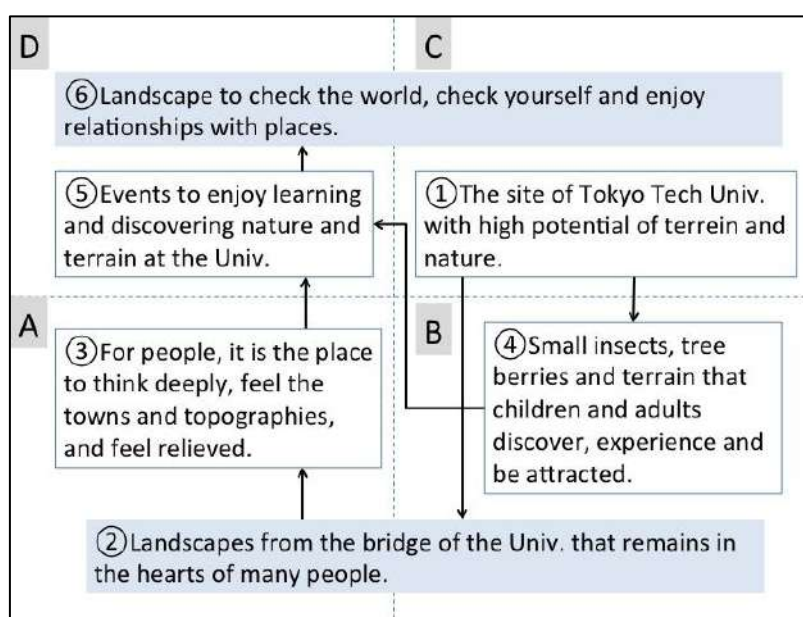


Figure 11.-The ABCD analysis for EDC 4

4-3 Consideration of the analysis results

• About each EDC

Based on the results of ABCD analysis, every EDC passes through ecological things in our everyday lives; a home garden (EDC.1), living things in Senzoku pond (EDC.2), and attains a whole regional improvement plan by repeating scaling up and down. From now on, ecological things are supposed to be important to scaling up and down the relationship between society and ecology.

• Anchoring places and landscape in EDC

There are some concrete places and landscape in each EDC. For example, there is the historic residential area (EDC.1) and the stream flowing out from the Shimizukubo temple (EDC.2). So, each EDC is connected with particular places of Ookayama area.

In addition, these places are connected with the previous community activities and landscapes such as people's relationship through caring home garden (EDC.1), landscapes of people who enjoy the waterfront (EDC.2). Anchoring places and landscapes in EDC enables citizens to obtain their urban/regional vision and the direction. For example, the path of the swallowtail butterflies (EDC.1), and programs to increase pervious surfaces on Musashino plateau (EDC.2).

5. Conclusions

This study has tried to discover Ecological Democracy in our daily life and to reveal relationships between society and ecology embedded in a landscape using our original tool. From the results of Ookayama workshop, we have got the four suggestions from the citizen group, such as the creation of a green network connecting residential gardens, community gardens and the university campus to resolve the management issues of their gardens, and the water cycle education which leads to restore the sustainable water system there. These suggestions are definitely one of the seeds of Ecological Democracy which strengthens a society and ecology relationship.

Moreover, we have analyzed the above series of descriptions (EDC) and found some of their features. For example, we have realized that all the EDC starts from ecological things in our everyday life (a residential garden, migratory birds, voices of insects, and so on) and attains to a whole regional improvement plan by repeating scaling up and down. In most of the cases, the important description would be relating to a landscape of its community which enable citizens envision their desirable future images and the path to them.

Currently, we are holding several workshops all over the Japan, and struggling for practicing Ecological Democracy. We are planning to continue to use EDS as both a consideration and a dialogue tool to spread our activities and looking forward to working together all of you.

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Designing Vallcarca: Resiliency Through Grassroots

Activism in Barcelona

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Abstract

Arising from the Vallcarca metro, tourists looking for Gaudi's Park Güell find themselves in a partially-demolished neighborhood, the work of decades of top-down urban plans gone awry, of bulldozed blocks of self-built homes, with those remaining flying defiant banners or adorned with political graffiti. The disarray is a break from the popular image of the city, but it is also evidence of effective urban activism. This paper examines the story of Vallcarca as a case of community-based planning that fosters resiliency through its grassroots networks. It describes both top-down and bottom-up planning processes and situates the recent victories of community advocates within a longer history of grassroots planning in Barcelona, one which stands in sharp contrast to the celebratory rhetoric of expert urban design more commonly described in writings about this model city (see Joan Busquets and Peter Rowe).

In the dominant narrative of Barcelona's urbanism, short shrift is usually paid to the contributions that grassroots actors have made to urban form and civic conviviality. While acknowledging the impressively competent technical expertise of the city's professional urbanists, the character and the form of the city owes as much or more to its cultural and economic history. Civic urbanism of the grassroots variety emerged in particular ways during different eras of the city's history: an era of industry fostered worker self-organization; an era of neglect engendered self-construction and autonomy; and the recent era of hubris birthed a resistance demanding authentic participation. The impact of these eras is legible today in places throughout the city, and the examination of Vallcarca contributes to a more comprehensive knowledge of how this vital city is shaped by its citizens.

The case study research derives from qualitative data including participant observation, in-depth interviews, textual analysis, and academic teaching collaborations. It builds upon discourses within urban studies in Spain that challenge the Barcelona model of planning and its inherent contradictions (see Jordi Borja, Manuel Delgado, and Josep María Montaner) and it elevates the experiences of residents, community activists, and advocate designers who have

contributed to a process of collaborative design that has run parallel to official processes. Urban designers have tried to emulate Barcelona's urban form without understanding the role that grassroots activism has played in its shaping, and this paper offers a partial remedy by telling a story of one neighborhood more completely.

Keywords: community-based planning; community resilience; grassroots activism

Informality and Public Interest Design; Navigating Complex Realms in Designing with the Homeless in Portland, Oregon

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Abstract

In response to an affordable housing crisis, the city of Portland, Oregon declared a state of emergency in 2015 that opened up new pathways for responding to the rapidly increasing rate of homelessness. Faculty and students at Portland State University's Center for Public Interest Design (CPID) led a participatory design process to explore new approaches to this issue that placed homeless individuals and service providers in direct conversation with architects and designers. Through deep engagement and structured partnerships with all direct stakeholders, the first fully-sponsored village of "pods" in the region, the Kenton Women's Village, was created.

The success of the Kenton Women's Village has led to the emergence of several new villages in which the CPID has been deeply involved, each with its own engagement process and focus. While many elements of the Kenton Village have been incorporated into the more recent village proposals, the design team is continuing to work with homeless individuals and advocates and have found a need to support and embrace an increased level of informality in the creation of the villages. This need results from both the recognition that the creation of the village can be incredibly empowering for stakeholders if given more control, and the desire to avoid the potential pitfalls of introducing formality into a traditionally informal system.

This paper will discuss the challenges and richness involved in navigating areas of informality within the design process through an analysis of the architect's (and architecture student's) role in the design of villages for the homeless in Portland, Oregon.

Keywords: Homelessness, Participatory Design, Design-Build, Public Interest Design, Informality

Introduction

Long considered a problem limited to the Global South, informal encampments by people experiencing homelessness are increasing rapidly in the United States.¹ In Portland, Oregon, recent reports counted 4,177 individuals as homeless on a given night, with 1,688 living unsheltered on the streets (Krishnan, 2017). The inevitable emergence of encampments throughout the city are often met with hostility and are soon “swept” (with this very term itself giving clear insight into the City’s historical approach to handling the issue, reflecting how the homeless are forced to move without providing them with shelter. However, some encampments have been able to survive, and have evolved with various degrees of support and formality. In Portland, the “village” model has emerged as a typology for addressing homelessness that recognizes the logic of the communities that people experiencing homelessness are creating for themselves while endeavoring to provide a safer and more impactful response than encampments.

Villages in Portland are understood to mean transitional housing communities consisting of small tiny house type “pods” for individuals, with shared kitchen, bathroom, and gathering facilities. Portland’s first city-sanctioned village, Dignity Village, grew out of protest in 2000 through the concerted efforts of activists and housing advocates and it continues operating today (Finley, 2003).² While often considered a “rest area” rather than a village because it contains only a small number of residents (about 5) and host 75 unhoused Portlanders daily in tents, Right 2 Dream Too was established in 2011 by houseless individuals to serve those seeking a safe place to sleep for the evening (Perry, 2014). With these two communities providing guideposts, the village movement finally began to gain traction in response to a declaration of a state of emergency on housing and homelessness in the City of Portland in late 2015. The State of Emergency designation opened up funding opportunities and flexibility in policy that allowed exploration of the village model in greater depth while directly contrasting it with proposed solutions that are far less supported by the homeless themselves, such as huge, converted warehouse facilities with hundreds of shelter beds that opponents viewed as amplifying the fundamental problems with existing shelters. Even when shelter beds are available in Portland it is extremely common to hear a de facto preference to the streets over shelters, which are often perceived as unsafe, inhospitable, and overly

¹- A 2017 report by the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, *Tent City, USA*, reported a 1,342 percent increase in the number of homeless encampments reported, from 19 encampments in 2007 to 274 in 2016, 73% of which were illegal.

² Architect Mark Lakeman was instrumental in these early efforts and has continued working on the village efforts with the CPID discussed throughout this paper. Also, a sanctioned village does not mean City supported, but rather that it is recognized as a community and allowed to exist under certain conditions.

restricted.³

The village of Hazelnut Grove was established in early 2016 by setting up tents beside a major roadway on a linear strip of partially wooded land owned by the Portland Bureau of Transportation. As the community of about 20 individuals worked to transition their village from tents to pods, they participated in the creation of the Village Coalition, an organization led by homeless individuals and housing advocates to support the three villages, as well as the creation of future villages. As part of the Village Coalition, architecture students and faculty at Portland State University's Center for Public Interest Design were asked to provide pod designs for Hazelnut Grove. While this could be easily done, the team recognized that there were underlying issues of land availability, safety and comfort, access to utilities, legality, financial support from the municipality, and perceptions of homelessness that would need to be addressed in conjunction with any design efforts in order to ensure the success of these and future villages.

The POD Initiative, an effort created by the CPID in partnership with the Village Coalition and City Repair Project, grew out of this recognition. The initiative brought architects together with villagers and other stakeholders in an open charrette to explore the village model. Importantly, residents of Hazelnut Grove and Dignity Village were recognized as the experts on villages, with the architects and architecture students bringing professional knowledge to the table. Following the charrette, 14 teams, which were primarily architecture firms, formed with each agreeing to design and build in just a few weeks. Critically, the pods were funded by the Mayor's Office and, while modest in cost, marked the first time that Portland invested in the village model and meant that they would have to find land for a village of these pods.

Once the pods were built through a participatory effort, they were displayed downtown for several weeks while a growing group of governmental and nonprofit partners worked toward establishing the village on a site in the Kenton neighborhood. Following several months of deep community engagement and a participatory design process with Kenton neighbors, the village opened just about 9 months after the launch of the POD Initiative, and in the year and a half since its opening has become a beloved part of the community.

Following the success of the Kenton Women's Village, several other villages have formed and evolved in the city, offering slight variations on the village model. In each instance there are interesting tensions between the informality of villages created by the houseless

³ This sentiment is echoed in Chris Herring's article "Tent City, America" where homeless individuals across the country consistently noted an aversion to shelters because of their "strict and often depersonalized atmosphere," where visitors felt talked down to and overly restricted.-

community as a form of activism and the formality of both design and the processes that allow for support and establishment of the community. While advancing the village model in several capacities, the Center for Public Interest Design has identified the following four areas as ones in which these tensions necessitate recognition from designers in order to preserve elements of informality while simultaneously providing services within formal methods of project delivery:

- 1) increased neighborhood involvement in the creation of a village;
- 2) new guidelines and codes related to pods and villages;
- 3) full utility access to village sites; and
- 4) the introduction of village operators/managers.

This paper will discuss these areas within the case study of Portland's village movement and the need for designers to embrace elements of informality for both the benefit of discrete projects and the larger issues of combatting homelessness.

Increased neighborhood involvement in the creation of a village

The 14 pods designed through the POD Initiative were built and set up in a village format in downtown Portland in December 2016 even before they had a site to move to. This was part of the intention of the event: to invite Portlanders to learn about the village model in an effort to combat resistance to new villages, and to force the City to provide a site for a village.

While still set up downtown, a site in the Kenton neighborhood in North Portland was identified and viewed as ideal because of its proximity to transportation, amenities, residential areas, and a park, while also being located on a commercial site adjacent to single family housing. A coalition of project leaders that included the City of Portland, Catholic Charities, Village Coalition, City Repair, and the Center for Public Interest Design met with the Kenton Neighborhood Association to express the hope that the village could be sited in their neighborhood. While the City had the right to place the village on the city-owned property, the partners decided to offer the Kenton neighborhood the unprecedented opportunity to vote on whether or not to allow the project in their neighborhood. As a pilot project seeking to prove the village model as an asset rather than a liability, it was crucial to seek community buy-in on the project.

Over the course of several months the group met with Kenton neighbors regularly, including through a series of participatory design charrettes and workshops. By having designers lead the discussions throughout this contentious and sometimes heated process, it changed the conversation from one of voicing concerns to seeking solutions. By March of 2017, after a rigorous engagement process, the neighborhood felt ready to decide, choosing to welcome the village into their community in a decisive vote of over 2-to-1 in favor. This was a huge

turning point for the village movement in Portland, and the Kenton Women's Village opened on June 9, 2017.

By providing the community a chance to vote on the village, the project wasn't rejected in a defensive reaction as so many projects around homelessness had been in the past. Instead, they were able to contribute to the vision and spirit of the village through the participatory design process, and the result has been a village that its neighbors fully embrace. Donations pour into the village regularly, many of the women at the village have been employed through the local business association, and the women are included in community activities. This community support surely contributes to a successful placement rate of women transitioning from the village into permanent housing.⁴ Perhaps the most encouraging indicator of the success of the creation process of the Kenton Women's Village is the fact that one year after the end of the pilot project period, the neighborhood voted nearly unanimously (119 to 3) in favor of continuing the Kenton Women's Village in their community.

In spite of these positive outcomes, the formal process created for the Kenton Women's Village was immediately requested by several other neighborhoods. This process and vote was not requested with the intention of creating a community-embraced village, but rather to vote out encampments and informal villages existing or emerging in their area. Most notably, the Overlook neighborhood where Hazelnut Grove is located immediately requested a vote of their own even though the village already existed. The neighborhood also lamented the fact that they were never part of the village design process, nor were the pods at Hazelnut Grove designed by architects.

The Kenton process and vote was never intended to set a precedent for replication; it was simply necessary for this pilot project. Had it not been for this process in Kenton, the vote to allow the village into the neighborhood almost certainly would have been no. While some level of community engagement and participatory design is essential to ensuring any village's success, it is not sustainable to repeat such a rigorous process for a model intended to be delivered quickly, affordably, and at a scale able to truly address the number of unsheltered individuals in Portland.

This issue continues to come up with each new village proposal, which is quickly followed by a request for a neighborhood process and vote. A thoughtful public interest design process here nearly opened up a mechanism that could be used against the unhoused, who are the very people that invented the village model. The creation of villages by people experiencing homelessness is a declaration of need, a manifestation of community, and an act of civil

⁴ As of November 2018, the Kenton Women's Village has placed 20 women into permanent housing.

protest against a system that often doesn't acknowledge their humanity.⁵

This is a process that is incredibly valuable in its own right and, in order to prevent undermining the very systems that gave birth to the village movement, must be supported by designers, even when working parallel in processes intended to make systemic change.

New guidelines and codes related to pods and villages

The term pod itself was used by the creators of the POD Initiative with the recognition that alternative descriptions like “tiny house” and “micro-dwelling” have implications within the building code that would hinder, if not preclude, the goal of creating a village quickly and affordably. The size of pods is the direct result of studying the emerging vernacular of structures that houseless individuals were building for themselves when given enough time before “sweeps,” as well as parameters required for being easily moved. Pods range in size, but the average footprint is about 8'x12', with a maximum height of 10'6", which includes the 4x4 or 4x6 skids that the pod base sits upon. These dimensions relate specifically to a need for a structure that can be easily lifted with a forklift and transported on a flatbed truck without requiring additional special equipment. The teams participating in the POD Initiative that created the units for what became the Kenton Women's Village were given these base dimensions, as well as the requirements that the pods be fully insulated, and have lockable doors, operable windows, and safe material choices. Transportation of the pods remains among a village's greatest expenses when getting started, but it is a crucial component in taking advantage of the underutilized land on which villages are almost exclusively sited (on a technically temporary basis).

Homelessness is a “wicked problem” that is overwhelming for the vast majority of people to contribute to solving.⁶ However, the construction of a pod is something that many people feel that they can accomplish, and in their aggregation can create a community that makes a significant impact. This is much of the appeal of the village model. However, it must never be forgotten that human beings live in the pods and should be afforded as much safety, comfort, and dignity as possible. While pod villages have been possible by largely falling in the gray area outside of building codes during Portland's State of Emergency, it is these very codes that were created to ensure public health, safety, and welfare.

⁵ Andrew Heben argues that “the self-organized tent city is a physical embodiment” of the unhoused reclaiming public space and resisting hostile architecture and planning intended to deter camping (2014).

⁶ Wicked problems as described by Rittel and Weber are complex, elusive, and “malignant” social problems with no clear solution.

With the State of Emergency set to expire in April 2019 and unexpected to be renewed, formalizing pods into a local building code will allow current pods to continue to exist unencumbered and will ensure standards are met with future pod designs by those and donations by groups hoping to contribute to a village. However, building codes and regulations have often been used as institutional tools for exclusion and oppression, such as when “building codes, zoning laws, and subdivision regulations were used to create a residential environment based on class and income,” establishing “occupational and income differences into the residential organization of the metropolis” (Taylor, 1995). How can a building code for pods promote the safety and well-being of its occupants without potentially being weaponized against houseless individuals doing the best with what they have in unimaginably difficult circumstances? The Center for Public Interest Design and partners are exploring this very issue.

While tent encampments often aim to evolve into villages and share much of the same background and challenges, the village model also shares a great deal with Single Room Occupancy (SRO) Housing and would be wise to avoid its same path. SRO housing consists of small rooms with limited to no bathroom, kitchen, or dining facility, which were instead shared. A village in some ways acts as a deconstructed SRO.

Andrew Heben, an urbanist and local leader of the village movement in the Pacific Northwest, credits changes in building and zoning codes to directly contributing to the demise of SRO housing in his book *Tent City Urbanism* (2014). What was once a common and affordable housing option for a range of clientele has, in many cities, become an increasingly rare building style almost exclusively for those at the very poorest end of the spectrum of our housed citizens.

An important strategy that the team exploring the pod building code is proposing is for the inclusion of language that grants wide berth over the use of “alternative means and methods” in the building of the pods for houseless individuals. These alternative means and methods should reach beyond the intent of meeting the building code and may be pursued with the intention of improving a person’s most basic living conditions. The empowerment that comes from one building their own home, no matter how modest, cannot be overvalued even if it does not immediately meet certain standards. It is also worth noting that pods designed and/or modified by houseless occupants offer a wealth of knowledge of user needs and creative affordable solutions to daily problems, which has provided invaluable insight into architect-designed pods. These are actions that designers should support and continue to learn from.

Full utility access to village sites

The site on which the Kenton Women's Village is currently located is scheduled to be developed in early 2019, so the village will need to be relocated. When offered several sites by the City, the village chose to remain in Kenton just a few blocks from the current site. This move will mark a clear end to the "pilot project" era of the Kenton Women's Village and the beginning of a village with a more permanent and secure future. With this long-term perspective comes a desire to improve upon the current model. Unlike the current Kenton Women's Village that relies on a water delivery system, gray water containment, and portable toilets, the new village site will have full sewer connections and direct water, which will allow for amenities currently lacking like flush toilets and laundry machines. Additionally, the village will increase from 14 pods to 20 and each pod will go from having a single solar panel to being wired to the electrical grid and supplied with radiant panel heaters.

While not facing land development, Hazelnut Grove is also being relocated to a site provided by the City and will need to move before the expiration of the State of Emergency in April 2019. Hazelnut Grove currently has no water, no electricity, and no sewer, but they do have portable toilets. The new site will have sewer, water, and electricity, though unlike Kenton--which already has kitchen, shower, and hygiene facilities--Hazelnut Grove will require new common structures.

These upgrades mark an exciting step that will be transformative in terms of quality of life for both Hazelnut Grove and the Kenton Women's Village. However, even though the City is providing these infrastructure improvements, they do come at a cost. The site development follows a formal process of design submissions and site work that can delay even well-funded, large-scale projects. Site work needs to be done in order for the pods and common structures to move, and any delay could hinder the village staying open throughout the transition. Additionally, these upgrades further risk putting upon houseless communities that are hoping to start their own village the burden of needing to navigate the expensive, challenging, and time-consuming process of site development.

Aiming for a higher quality of housing and life is paramount, and utilities are essential to achieve this goal, but it must be remembered that much of the success of the village model to date has been its impermanence and ability to occupy undeveloped sites without features such as utilities. Furthermore, the village model fills a critical void between those on the street and those in permanent housing, but it is needed precisely because it is extremely affordable, can be created quickly, and can take advantage of underutilized sites that make the model

work. A need for facilities with complete utilities can undermine each of these advantages to the model. Ultimately, stakeholders will need to be mindful to encourage the City to allow for some communities and villages to become more formal over time (such as the process with Hazelnut Grove), and the Center for Public Interest Design is exploring how this process can be ensured once the State of Emergency is no longer in effect.

The introduction of village operators/managers

The final area where designers are toeing the line between formality and informality in the village work is with the introduction of village managers. A key component of what makes villages so desirable to their residents has been an emphasis on self-governance. Hazelnut Grove and Right 2 Dream Too, for example, have established their own rules for conduct, conflict resolution, and operations. They have even established their own nonprofit organizations. However, with support for the village model largely coming from their role as transitional housing, new and emerging villages are finding partnerships with outside nonprofit organizations a necessity.

Following the POD Initiative, government and nonprofit partners identified Catholic Charities as an ideal village operator for the then-proposed Kenton Women's Village. The organization had a fantastic success rate with developing and operating transitional and affordable housing in Portland, and they were excited to be part of this pilot project. The management of the village by Catholic Charities was essential to getting the approval of the Kenton neighborhood to create the village, and they were instrumental in handling the sensitive nature of the resident in-take process. While aspects of self-governance and conflict resolution is emphasized, the Kenton Women's Village has two full-time site managers to help with any resident issues and to connect the villagers to services and opportunities.

The management of the village by Catholic Charities has allowed for continued financial support from the City, ongoing workshops and self-enhancement opportunities for the residents, and a high rate of transition to permanent housing. As Hazelnut Grove approaches its move, it has also opted to take on village management from a different nonprofit organization at the recommendation of the City, which has been crucial for finding acceptance among future neighbors.

These types of partnerships will only increase as villages become more formal because of the complexities of working within a structure that may place the same demands on villages as of more traditional building typologies. While there are costs and compromises associated with village management, it opens the possibilities to access sites, services, and amenities that

might not otherwise be feasible. This must be pursued without eliminating the possibility of a village to arise without management or oversight.

Conclusions

The history of villages in Portland, the recent energization of the model as a result of innovative partnerships and the City's State of Emergency on Homelessness, and the use of design as a participatory process has led to a number of villages, with varying degrees of formality, from which we can learn. As design plays an increasingly central role in the work toward the formalization of villages, it is critical to continue to support informal villages as partners in these efforts. Designers will do well to recognize the expertise available from people with lived experience with homelessness, and endeavor to allow them to continue to guide their work, whether it is in support of a village or another housing model. At their best, villages provide an opportunity for true collaboration and involvement, can serve as supportive and safe communities, and can provide spaces to heal in order to move to more permanent housing. However, as the physicality of villages improve there is a risk of designers appropriating a design language created by those experiencing homelessness themselves toward what might be described as the gentrification of villages. As the Center for Public Interest Design continues design work, research, and community engagement related to the creation of villages, it is exploring the impacts of introducing layers of formality within the model. Increased neighborhood involvement, new building codes, increased expectations of village utilities, and the means of village management are just four critical areas to evaluate and mindfully navigate in this work, which can hopefully inform other designers also working on the fringes of informality.

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Moving Things Forward:

The Durham Way of Making Decisions About Affordable Housing

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Abstract

This paper examines the factors key to making decisions about affordable housing in Durham, North Carolina. The primary resources used to understand how decisions made are six interviews with actors key to policymaking, planning, and the production of affordable housing as well as the author's own experiences as an advocate. The "Durham way" is set in the context of relevant theories such as rules for radicals (Alinsky, 1985), network space (Castells, 2009), and urban regimes (Stone, 1989). As a Pacific Rim practitioner and academic the author considers how community design acumen applies when one is a citizen advocate in the American South, and how rational planning and politics intersect in moving things forward. The piece concludes with themes distilled from the interviews and reflects on how they compare to what today's community design approaches have to offer (de la Peña et al, 2017).

Key Words: advocacy, affordable housing, community design, politics, decision-making

Introduction

I have a new hometown. Durham, North Carolina, where I now live, is a "hot," rapidly revitalizing city with two major universities (Duke and North Carolina Central), the Research Triangle Park (high tech), a progressive culture, creative entrepreneurship, a strong real estate market, and pockets of deep, systemic poverty. It has a sophisticated, southern, and accessible urban identity and as such still functions in many ways as a small town. One is as likely to know the mayor or a city councilperson as one would know a neighbor. The fingerprints of government officials (elected and administrative), consultants, citizens, civic organizations,

educators, financial institutions, and the development community all typically can be found on city decisions and their implementation. I've been involved in some of them.

This paper is about Durham and how public decisions are made. To examine and understand it I will tell the story about the city's current efforts to preserve and produce affordable housing. To tell the story I start by explaining my own involvement in city matters including a description of CAHT (the Coalition for Affordable Housing and Transit), an organization of which I am an active member. In the CAHT context I explain several activities we undertook that have had the result of creating a "space" for conversation (Castells, 2009). I then explain how I think things work, which I test against what others think about "the Durham way" by reporting on interviews with key participants in the quest for affordable housing. To digest the interviews I conclude with several themes that emerged.

This paper is exploratory but I want to state up front that I believe Durham is good at public decision-making. In the case of affordable housing, decision-making is fortified by the community's commitment to the well-being of the whole, upheld by a commitment to solving problems in a civil way. Government officials reach out to the community for input on many levels and in some cases form tacit partnerships to achieve policy goals (Stone, 1989). This is not to say that the process is smooth or easy, but it is purposeful. I might even go so far as to say collaborative.



Figure 1. Durham, NC housing construction November 2018

Examining "the Durham way" is timely as the housing crisis isn't going away any time soon—here, in the region, or nationally. Indeed affordable housing promises to be a big issue in the 2020 U.S. presidential race—three possible Democratic candidates have recently introduced bills to tackle the problem (Jagoda, 2018). But national agendas about housing trickle down to the local level where they are implemented. It is up to the collective community to sort out how this plays out—a blood-letting, a passive-aggressive indifference, or a roll-up-our-sleeves opportunity. Hopefully the Durham example offers grist for the mill

(Figure 1).

What I Know

According to American Fact Finder 1-year estimates, in 2010 Durham County had 267,587 residents (American Fact Finder, 2018a). By 2017 the population had increased to an estimated 311,640; an increase of 44,053 residents, or 16% (American Fact Finder, 2018b). Mayor Steve Schewel, in his 2018 State of the City address, informed the audience that 20 people a day were moving to Durham (Schewel, 2018a). All of the figures are staggering.

Who are all of these people? My husband and I are two of them and fall in line with one of the new-resident profiles. Retired, wanting to live in a lively urban area, looking to engage in city life. We moved to Durham in the summer of 2010 and after settling in started to participate in downtown development issues. My first foray was in 2013 after the City of Durham released a draft parking study (Kimley-Horn and Associates, 2013). I organized a meeting of neighbors, we read the report to educate ourselves, we discussed it, wrote a pointed letter detailing flaws, and went to the public presentation of the document. At that meeting we had many questions for the presenters but were assured (more like placated), that this was only a first step, and that there would be ample opportunity for more input (Arnstein, 1969). That was in April. At the end of August, we all received notification that in 15 days our monthly parking fees would go from zero to \$90. The period of trying to entice people to move downtown with the promise of free parking was over.

A furious flurry of email messages between neighbors ensued. Rather than get caught up in the drama I took the weekend to investigate how this had happened—a calming activity for me (de la Peña et al, 2017). Indeed, there was a public record paper trail—one just had to track it down. A recommendation to raise fees had been made by the consultants and the Transportation Department Director recommended it to the City Council. The Council had voted to do so in the FY 2013-14 budget (City of Durham, NC, 2013).

The neighborhood didn't have time to engage in consensus building around the issue. We needed to strike back. The problem was that we were new to downtown residency. We didn't have a tried-and-true method for mobilizing. The only organization we had ready access to was Partners Against Crime, the focus of which was community policing. So, I sent out an email message to everyone I could think of. I explained what had happened to cause the fee hike. I also told my email contacts that they could respond how they wanted, but that I planned to write letters to the Mayor, City Council, and key City staff. I listed the points I planned to make; my notifying email message had multiple attachments—the paper trail and

a contact sheet for City officials and the press. This pointed us all in a same direction. And we had targets (Alinsky, 1989).

Some of the City Council responded immediately to my letter and one sympathetic councilman coached me on how to inveigle my way into the agenda of a Council work session. About 10 of us went and two designated representatives spoke, assertively. We distributed packets of incensed letters to the Council and the press. The Mayor was irritated (he liked an orderly meeting), the rest of the Council was taken aback. But as we were leaving the meeting room the Transportation Director offered to meet with us to resolve the problem which he admitted having caused. We were seen as powerful and organized (a lot more than we were); we were on our way.

A few of us shepherded “the movement” but as a whole group we never once met to develop strategy. I made a habit of sending out an email message before each action so as to alert people about what was going to happen and then posted the result. A few of us met a few times with City officials to talk about how to resolve the issue. I would attend Council work sessions to report on our progress. Several times I polled downtown residents. My email list grew to 75 names. We moved forward loosely, collectively. I had a direct line to one journalist and we got a lot of “above-the-fold” coverage. We kept the pressure on. Strangely the Transportation Director and I became friends. Five months later the issue was resolved—a gradual fee hike over five years for the residents who had been promised free parking. It seemed fair.

Be Careful What You Wish For

In downtown Durham there is still a lot of under-utilized land to be developed, namely City- and County-owned parking lots that were the result of urban renewal and the creation of a one-way traffic loop in the 1960s. Under-utilized, but not for long. Counting the number of new market-rate apartments being built and watching the City give tax incentive after incentive to big-dollar projects, I became concerned. Noticing small businesses starting to be priced out of spaces they had occupied for years, I became distressed. Having read the parking study, I knew what was coming. After the resolution of the parking issue I became friends with Councilman Steve Schewel. Full of worries about affordability in the downtown I asked to meet with him. The next big issue for downtown would be affordable housing I thought, and I wanted to get involved. He connected me with Lorisa Seibel, leader of a newly formed affordable housing coalition, CAHT.

Lorisa and I met at her office. It was a get-to-know-you, how-can-I-get-involved kind of

meeting. She gave me a brief introduction to the coalition and invited me to a monthly meeting. I started attending but I have to say that my first impression wasn't that favorable. The meetings were not well-run so I stopped going for a while. By the time I started up again Wib Gulley, a retired local politician, was on the scene and seemed to be taking charge. My first meeting back he did two things that caught my attention: 1. Report on a meeting he'd had with the City Manager about a city property being considered for affordable housing 2. State that he wanted the group to prioritize its work because people were busy and needed to focus. Concise and directed—I liked it and decided to stick with the group, at least for a while longer.

I had just run a strategic planning workshop for a local group of city design advocates and volunteered to organize one for CAHT. My starting point was to look at the organization's mission statement and goals. Then I surveyed the core members about the effectiveness of the goals and used the results to frame the meeting. It was ok. The group spent two hours strategizing on four topics. Mostly I floated, observing there were several topics no one knew much about and one topic that people fought over. I reported on the workshop results at the next monthly meeting, but added a personal observation that it seemed like the group was hobbled by not having debate or decision-making protocols. There was a bit of a tussle over this but within a few months there were procedures and three committees (Coordinating, Technical, and Outreach). *In absentia* I was put on the Coordinating Committee.

The workshop was held in September 2016. Since that time, we have continued to do annual strategic planning as a review of the past year and to prioritize the coming year's activities. We don't always follow the results because the individual members of the core group have their own agendas, pet projects, and personal networks and relationships. But the imposed has allowed us to tackle more complex issues, grow the coalition, and become a player. For example, at the July 2017 Coordinating Committee meeting several members announced (out of the blue) that they had been talking and decided it would be good for us to hold candidate forums for the upcoming local election. This was a particularly important election year in Durham because our mayor of 16 years was retiring. Further, we had three council seats up for grab—with over 20 people vying for them—and possibly a fourth seat depending on the outcome of the mayoral race.



Figure 2. CAHT Mayoral candidate forum September 18, 2017

We decided to do it. The goal was to hold the first forum at our September monthly meeting. We developed detailed agendas and involved a number of coalition members in the event as questioners, time keepers, greeters, facilitators. A local graphic designer designed a poster and we put it up on our Facebook page. On September 18 we held our mayoral forum with almost 100 people in attendance (Figure 2). Around 75 attended the council candidate forum in October.

How on earth did we pull it off? In a nutshell, the group had a significant stash of intellectual capital. Let me start with the assets I brought to the table. In reality organizing the forums was little different than organizing a community design workshop—clear objectives about how the forum would advance our cause, the need to start early enough to get the work done and the word out, a million details to tend to, and so on. I could do this blindfolded but in the case of a political event I needed help. Luckily the Coordinating Committee includes seasoned politicians. I was given a tutorial on how to properly approach a candidate to ensure their participation. We developed a list of topics that we wanted candidates to weigh in on and sent the list in advance, in keeping with a long-standing tradition in Durham whereby leading civic groups send out questionnaires to candidates as a prelude to inviting them to meet, which candidates agree to do in hopes of an endorsement. We also asked each candidate to provide a self-introduction, an assessment of what Durham had done well and not so well, and what steps s/he would take to keep housing affordable in Durham.

The forums put the CAHT monthly meetings on the map as the go-to place for affordable housing issues. Attendance at the November meeting doubled; all of the Council people-elect attended as did a few County Commissioners. We felt confident, but we were getting ahead of ourselves. This became evident at the City Council work session immediately following the election. I was sent to read a letter expressing our displeasure at the results of a consultant

study of alternatives for a piece of land owned by the city. Only 22 of 140 units of affordable housing on a 4-plus-acre site were proposed. Rather than being received as the Golden Child in the wake of our success in the candidate forums, I was put on the witness stand. “Miss McNally, how do you propose we pay for 175 units of affordable housing (our counter proposal)? Do you know how much each unit at Jackson Street is costing the City? If you have solutions, I’d like to hear them!” and so on.

It is fair to say that I was devastated by this public drubbing. Then I started stewing. I worked up a game, similar to Monopoly, with playing cards that represented facts, presumed facts that were actually fiction, key terms that I didn’t understand but kept hearing over and over (LIHTC, vouchers, RAD), critical public properties ripe for development. I wanted CAHT to convene a tournament and play the game thinking some great truth would emerge. Gentrification, displacement, the need for affordable housing and neighborhood protection were the topics that any of us could wax upon eloquently, but if we were going to be the go-to group, we needed to have knowledge about and good answers to questions the Council had skewered me with. What’s more, the results of our annual survey revealed that other members felt the same way.

Not long after the November disaster the Coordinating Committee met with now-Mayor Steve Schewel and he laid out his top priorities for affordable housing. We asked how CAHT could help and he gave a very direct response, namely that it didn’t help for us to use City affordable housing projects for target practice. The Coalition committed to a program of re-education. The combination of these factors—the survey results and the Mayor’s admonishment—gave birth to the Affordable Housing Academy. CAHT agreed to embark on a one-year education program which we have pursued with diligence. Since January we’ve held ten speaker events and will likely continue into 2019. How have we done it? To start the Coordinating Committee made a list of topics we needed to become conversant with and experts or policy makers who could teach us. Once a speaker was identified one of us took responsibility for contacting and providing her/him an overview of what we hope would be covered. Topics have ranged from housing vouchers and RAD (the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Rental Assistance Demonstration Program), to the continuum-of-care program infrastructure for the homeless, to evictions to a developers’ roundtable. The events are posted on CAHT’s Facebook page and all manner of people attend, from newcomers, to City and County staff, to core CAHT member organizations, and elected officials. Our membership continues to grow—we’ve outgrown our original meeting room.

This success has its positive and negative sides. No question we have established a positive

track record. But sometimes it feels a little impersonal. Deep discussion and strategizing around issues is done mostly now at the committee level; the monthly meetings feel more like a speakers' series. So, it feels less participatory, less like a space to bring your issues to and get help. However, I notice that there is a lot of after-meeting lingering, meeting up, tending to business. It's like if I need to see person X about Y, I know I can go to a CAHT monthly meeting and likely find X there. Ultimately the measure of success will be in what we decide to do next and how we perform when our knowledge is put to the test. Work planning for 2019 ought to be interesting.

How I Think Things Work



Figure 3. Jackson Street showdown September 10, 2015

Accessed September 29, 2018. <https://www.wral.com/durham-residents-press-for-affordable-housing-downtown/14889858/> (link to live footage)

This news clip would give you one view of how Durham makes decisions (Figure 3). But it is more nuanced than that. My interest in writing this paper comes from *de facto* participant observation in downtown issues as I mention in the previous sections. With the exception of decision-making about big downtown development projects, I believed that what I was seeing was a relatively transparent process of public deliberation on the part of elected officials. Most of it happening either in Council work sessions, where projects are aired and there is time for public comment and Council discussion, or through the constant process of individuals reaching out to each other—Council to the public, the public to Council, the public to staff, Council to staff, and so on.

To test these observations, I decided to interview people who knew; people with different perspectives, based on the different roles they play in the production of affordable housing in Durham. I identified about 20 with whom I could check my ideas about the Durham way of

decision-making. As of this writing I have interviewed six of them.¹ I contacted each individual by email asking if s/he would be willing to participate in my study (see Appendix 1). Although promised to be short (45 minutes) the interviews have lasted between one and two hours. For the first time ever, I used a tape recorder.

Since this piece is exploratory, I wanted to experiment with interview techniques—something open-ended, but since I had strong instincts about what was going on, I also wanted to direct at least some of the discussion. To that end I created a hybrid survey instrument—part out of the tradition of narrative inquiry, part using a technique from community planning (see Appendix 2) (Peters, 2010; de la Peña et al, 2017). Even though I had a prepared set of questions I adapted from interview to interview as I learned things. To begin I asked each one to talk a bit about when they first started down their path (as an elected official, as a professional) and to think about how they made decisions on important issues. Then I had them focus on their present position and how their decision-making process had changed, if at all. Then I said, “Let’s drill down on this by you giving me an example that relates to affordable housing. Start the sentence by saying, ‘When I am making a decision about affordable housing, I _____ (do the following).’ Then tell a story.” As a final step I went down a list of scenarios that might explain Durham’s decision-making process (my hypotheses). These scenarios acted as prompts to expand the discussion. The results follow.

The Learning Curve (Schewel, 2018b)



Figure 4. Durham Mayor Steve Schewel

¹- If I can stick with it, I’d like to interview someone from the County, from the world of finance, a for-profit developer and a non-profit developer/builder, a chamber of commerce representative, a homelessness expert, a regionalist, a neighborhood activist, someone from Duke Divinity School, more City staff people, to name a few.

In May of this year I had the honor of introducing Durham Mayor Steve Schewel as CAHT's monthly guest speaker (Figure 4). Schewel had been before us in September 2017 as a candidate to present his ideas about affordable housing and now that he was mayor, we wanted the official word on what the City was doing to implement the 2016 Affordable Housing Plan. What few people knew was that as an incumbent candidate for city council in 2015, Schewel had issued an 18-page white paper, "Towards an Affordable Housing Strategy in Durham" (Schewel, 2015). It was detailed, well-informed, and far-reaching; it was heroic.

Where did his vision come from? More fundamentally, how did he know all of this stuff—the City hadn't even let the contract to develop the affordable housing plan when he wrote it?! In his white paper Schewel said that he had worked on affordable housing as a volunteer, as support for local non-profits working on the issue, and as the council liaison to the Durham Housing Authority (DHA). He reported he had worked on affordable housing more than any other of the city's issues since elected in 2011. It was his highest priority as a council member, something he worked on most days (Schewel, 2015,1).

It turns out, however, that being well-informed, being the champion of affordable housing didn't necessarily mean that he knew how to produce it. His acumen was tested when he was still on the City Council, on the Jackson Street project.² The first hurdle came when staff recommended a market-rate, mixed-use project for this City-owned, 1.9-acre parcel. Prior to that the City had tried to sell the property, but it was at the end of the recession and there was little interest. Further, community interest in using City land for affordable housing was growing. In 2014 the Council signed on to a resolution that 15% of all housing within one-half-mile of light rail stations should be for persons of 60% or below AMI (area median income) (Resolution, 2014). Jackson Street was a good location to do just that because it was next to the bus station and across the street from a planned light rail station. Many, many market-rate units had gone up in this area—now it was time to start developing affordable units in a place where the people who needed it, who didn't have transportation and could take advantage of the proximity, could benefit.

Schewel also believed the site should be used for affordable housing but then-Mayor Bill Bell wanted the project to be mixed-income, not only affordable. Said Bell, "I'm not interested personally in putting any of the city's money in strictly affordable housing that's packing poor people into one area" (James, 2015). For whatever reason, the rest of the Council agreed with the Mayor and staff was directed to prepare an RFP for a mixed-income project. Schewel remembers it as the "tensest" time he ever experienced being on the Council, "I went down in

² The project has recently changed names, from Jackson Street to Willard Street Apartments. But most people, including me, still refer to it as Jackson Street.

flames. At least I stuck to my guns.”

The Mayor’s RFP went out but didn’t get any bidders because tax credits (a popular way to finance affordability) aren’t available for for-profit units. Eventually staff was instructed to prepare an alternative RFP that swung back towards an all-affordable vision and consultants were hired to explore this option. Over the next few years the program was refined. As Schewel tells it, “It wasn’t a straight path. The story here is that it took a long time to get to the right thing.” When asked to reflect on how Jackson Street was illustrative of his decision-making process, since the end result was what he wanted in the first place, he replied,

“I was a steady advocate for this plan which was an informed position—thinking about what the neighborhood currently was [market-rate housing] and what was needed. I agreed with Bill and Cora [the Mayor and Mayor Pro Tem] that we didn’t just want affluent white people downtown. However, there was a lot I didn’t understand and I needed to learn. So I went out to talk to people.”

Schewel learned a lot and at the end of the day, he was vindicated. Three years after that ill-fated Council work session the City has a project with 100% affordable housing units (82 units at or below 60% AMI), “community-serving” retail, some office, and parking. The City has committed the land and \$3.6 million to the project, Duke University and Capitol Broadcasting (both major landowners in Durham) are donating \$2.5 million. To cover the gap the City applied for and was awarded a 9% LIHTC (low income housing tax credit) of \$9 million.³ “I am thrilled with this tax credit award, which will provide crucial investment in affordable housing right in the middle of downtown,” Schewel said in a City press release several months ago (Housing Credits, 2018).

The Perfect Storm (Lado, 2018)

The skirmish on Jackson Street occurred at the same work session that the City Council was being asked to approve a contract to hire Enterprise Community Partners, Inc. to provide “measurable” five-year goals and long-term strategies for affordable housing production, preservation, and neighborhood revitalization in Durham. Enterprise was awarded a contract September 1, 2015 and by December 10, 2015 made its first presentation of findings. The plan was adopted on June 6, 2016.

³ “Under the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program, the IRS distributes a certain amount of tax credits to state and local agencies, which pass them on to developers. Developers then typically sell them to banks and investors to create equity. In North Carolina, the credits are distributed by the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency” (Willets, 2018).



Figure 5. Affordable housing expert Karen Lado

To anyone who has ever been a consultant to municipal government, this is lightning speed. According to Karen Lado, Enterprise’s lead on the project, this occurred because of a “perfect storm” (Figure 5).⁴ In this case, Lado meant it as a fortuitous confluence of circumstances—public pressure, political support, opportunity, and resources. Before the recession, Durham was a modestly priced, affordable city. The city had a pocket of poverty; some of its affordable housing stock was dilapidated and generally of poor quality. But after the economy picked up in the early 2010s, regional growth accelerated and housing costs followed. Wages didn’t necessarily, however. Durham had been “discovered” and was part of these trends, which meant that more people were being affected, more people were starting to worry, and citizens started asking the City to do more. It was palpable—people talked about affordability in coffee shops, at church; the newspapers wrote about the issue regularly.

What had not been as evident was that there was an existing rental housing challenge in the city which was being made worse by the run up in prices. Fortunately, Lado and her team started their work with data analysis which is where the problem was flagged. Said Lado, “The challenge was primarily a reflection of historic poverty and inequity—people weren’t housing-cost-burdened because housing costs were high, they were cost burdened because their incomes were very low. This situation was being exacerbated by price increases which were affecting people in the 30-50% AMI range (i.e. low-wage service workers) and therefore expanding the number of people struggling with housing.” In December Lado brought these findings to the Council in the form of shocking data soundbytes. She reported:

- An estimated 27,000 low-income households were housing-cost-burdened (paying over 30% of their income for housing) and more than half (15,000) were severely burdened (paying over 50%).

⁴ Lado is now Assistant Director of Strategy for Durham’s Department of Community Development.

- For every 100 households earning less than 30% AMI, there were only 38 affordable rental units. This meant a shortfall of 8,000 units.
- Between 2016 and 2021 1,240 rental housing units could “exit” affordability restrictions, most occurring in the first two years (Lado, 2015).

It was the defining moment in the affordable housing planning process. According to Lado, “It was really important that everyone take a step back and realize that there was a serious rental problem. This was the most powerful thing we did—define the problem. Because it justified a shift in allocation of resources. Once this was laid out, we all could feel comfortable with focusing on rentals. The community agreed—the discussion was never oppositional. We didn’t get into a fact war.”

So in a way the data made the decision. In March 2016 Lado presented draft goals, strategies, and a 5-year targets, with estimates of the annual subsidy that would be needed. On June 2nd the final plan was adopted with 100% Council agreement. It focuses on three goals:

Goal 1: Address the City’s greatest housing needs by preserving and expanding affordable rental housing units and vouchers serving Durham residents, with a focus on households below 50% AMI.

Goal 2: Maintain affordability and protect low-income Durham residents (especially households below 50% AMI) in neighborhoods experiencing significant price appreciation, with an initial focus on Southside and northeast central Durham.

Goal 3: Engage the larger Durham community to make affordable housing a citywide priority (Lado, 2016).

Since the Enterprise’s work the Council has voted to double the “penny for housing” tax. Every year property owners are now taxed two cents per every \$100 of assessed value, which generates approximately \$5.7 million per year for the City’s Dedicated Housing Fund. These monies are spent on a variety of issues relating to affordable housing: homeless needs, housing rehab for low-income property owners, grants to the Durham Housing Authority (DHA), funds for local non-profit developers to build affordable housing. Eventually they will be spent on the Jackson Street project.

When You Are Sitting on Prime Real Estate (Scott, 2018)



Figure 6. Durham Housing Authority CEO Anthony Scott (courtesy of Scott)

It is only recently that I have begun to appreciate Lado's focus on rental housing stock and the Council's wholesale endorsement of its preservation as the City's highest affordable housing priority. However the obvious place to implement this agenda is on properties that belong to and/or are managed by another agency—DHA. The properties in DHA's portfolio house 3,727 tenants with an average income of \$13,253, or about 16% of the city's AMI (Willets, 2017c). Managing and maintaining these properties is a challenge; running the agency is equally so. As housing authorities all over the country know, they are an institution that almost by construct is fraught, with storied pasts and poor reputations. Durham's is no different. When Anthony Scott became the CEO of DHA in June 2016, the organization was in trouble (Figure 6). A recent audit by HUD revealed that its housing didn't meet federal quality standards, nor did it meet its own local standards. Inspections of housing units weren't being conducted properly, and the inspection process itself was drowning in paperwork. The federal government wanted its rent-assistance subsidy money back (Hooley, 2016).

In the two-plus years he's been in Durham, Scott has made great progress in rectifying the situation. Asking Scott how he knew where to start yielded a multi-pronged answer. First and foremost, he focused on the well-being of his residents, "I think about how our decisions impact their lives, will they increase resident self-sufficiency, and most critically, can we make sure that no child of public housing becomes a public housing adult. If I do this, we've served our purpose." This is the people-first approach. He has also rebuilt his staff, hiring from five housing authorities across the country.

Then there's that minor detail, the properties. Upon arrival he had more than 1800 units across 21 neighborhoods in need of \$19 million in basic repairs (Willets, 2017a). To finance renovation the properties will be converted to the RAD program which allows housing authorities to borrow money, sell land, and do projects with private investors. This is a game

of catch up, and it is underway. No small thinker, Scott recently undertook his most ambitious task—renovating, and in some cases redeveloping, the 50 acres DHA owns downtown. This year DHA launched a public process to discuss the future of its downtown properties, holding a number of workshops to develop conceptual plans for four sites.

Throughout, Scott's mantra has been to first consider what he could change, what he could preserve, what he could add. Influenced by his experience with the Richmond, Virginia housing authority, he sees his properties in the larger context of the downtown and sees them as part of the whole development milieu, not as an isolated enclave. Three are part of a five-block stretch of East Main Street that for the most part is owned by DHA, the City, or the County i.e. public land. So, he looks at it as a whole corridor, not piecemeal—something I call erasing the lines. (McNally, 2011). To strategize on this Scott made a map and identified 15 sites in addition to DHA's where development and/or construction was currently underway. Then he asked himself if there was the possibility of putting RAD units on them, which would mean he could start to distribute them across the city instead of concentrating them in historically poor parts of the city. Said Scott,

“During my first week in Durham I was walking back from lunch. I looked down East Main and wondered how we could extend the West Main Street vitality to East Main? It's not just about looking at my own properties. You can see value by connecting the dots—can we coordinate, can we share in costs? If a developer sees what's going on here then s/he'd be willing to invest. Improvement to the whole area improves the value of everyone's property.”



Figure 7. DHA field trip stop at senior housing in Charlotte, NC August 28, 2018

It is a big vision, an ambitious undertaking that will require a lot of buy-in, collaboration, decisions, time, and money. Scott estimates the process of redeveloping DHA properties will take at least 10 years. It will involve finding housing for existing tenants while the work is

going on; it will require new constructs for operation, redevelopment, and financing. He knows he needs to bring his board, staff, elected officials, affordable housing advocates, and the community along as he works through this thinking. To that end in August he organized a field trip to Charlotte, NC, which is at least a decade ahead of Durham in this work (Figure 7). I was lucky enough to attend. In Charlotte we saw a robust example of a North Carolina housing authority doing creative things to produce affordable housing. The projects were complicated but impressive in terms of the details of land assembly, financing, partnerships, populations being served, diversity of housing types, and neighborhoods being created. The shared experience gave us a shared frame of reference that will serve Durham well in the future as we are faced with the many decisions we have to make to preserve and produce more affordable housing, on DHA property or otherwise.

Planning in the Face of Power (a powerful market that is) (Young, 2018)



Figure 8. Durham City-County Planning Director Patrick Young
Accessed November 12, 2018.

<https://twitter.com/durhamcounty/status/1044373712361979905>

Rentals are only part of Durham's affordable housing equation, obviously. Of the 128,160 housing units in Durham County, 53% are owner-occupied (U.S. Census Bureau). What happens to this part of the community's housing stock is governed by a delicate balance between the market and the City-County Planning Department. As Patrick Young, the department's director, will tell you, when he went to planning school back in the 90s one wasn't necessarily trained to think about how land use decision-making affects the production of affordable housing (Figure 8). What he has learned, however, is that property owners and developers have to be part of the answer.



Figure 9. Market rate housing downtown Durham

But traditional planning tools aren't doing the job to bring affordable housing to North Carolina's urban markets. The markets are too hot. The average newcomer to Durham brings \$10,000 more a year in income than existing residents. The for-sale housing market is squeezed, and what is available is selling more quickly, for more money (the median sale price went up 54% over the last five years) (Figure 9). Growth in the region isn't expected to slow for some time. To house the projected 160,000 people who will move to Durham by 2045, we need to add about two thousand units per year to our housing stock (Willets, 2018b). Where will they come from and will any be affordable? As the Mayor likes to remind me, it took three years to reach consensus on what should go on the Jackson Street site and those 82 units still aren't built. In the same amount of time in the same general location the private market has produced thousands of market-rate units.

For the past decade the Planning Department has been experimenting with different approaches for increasing the affordable housing stock in Durham that is not government-owned. Approaches devised to work around state legislation that prohibits mandatory inclusionary zoning. Staff has tried to deploy pieces of a toolkit produced by a team of University of North Carolina planning students with little success (Affordable, 2015). More recently an affordable housing density bonus was adopted to allow developers to increase project densities in certain neighborhoods in exchange for commitment of a percentage of affordable housing, by right (An Ordinance, 2017). No takers yet.

A current effort being led by the department is "Expanding Housing Choices" which is in search of appropriate infill housing prototypes. As part of this effort staff ran an on-line survey which was as much educational as it was participatory. The survey tested people's knowledge about the city's growth rate and median home sales, the forces that are causing this, and openness to new housing types in the neighborhood. Encouragingly, when asked,

“Would you be open to new types of housing in your neighborhood to address the housing shortage,” 47% of the survey respondents said yes, 19% said maybe (Expanding, 2018). It will be push, though. As Young says, the challenge is to figure out, “How can the market create more diversity in more places without ruining the community? Otherwise most of what will be produced will be single-family dwellings, and the demographic reality of Durham needing this housing type is shrinking.” This means making the choices acceptable to the neighbors. Like other cities in the U.S., Durham has fierce neighborhood associations that routinely fight change. Survey results indicate that duplexes might be acceptable but anything bigger might not.

The strategy isn’t fully flushed out so the tough decisions have yet to be made (i.e. approval of changes to the Unified Development Ordinance). Even if two-thirds of the survey respondents seemed open or maybe open, 30% were not, and they will present formidable opposition. A policy response is not all that is needed, however. One of the survey questions got at a homeowner’s willingness to build an accessory dwelling unit on her/his property. The results indicated resistance—it would be too expensive or it would be a hassle to be a landlord. But a primary reason was, “I have no idea where to start the process.” So, a current staff idea is to focus on homeowner education—how can I produce affordable housing on my own property. It is likely that the Expanding program will include a way to build the entrepreneurial capacity of property owners since building an accessory unit or duplex on one’s property is a business undertaking as well as a wealth-building opportunity. Young’s vision is to create partnerships between non-profit housing developers and the business community so as to create a revenue stream. The strategy would focus on the small-scale and it would not be too restrictive. It’s a race against time though.

It’s About Power (Parra, 2018)



Figure 10. Durham CAN Lead Organizer Ivan Parra

It has been an education for me to understand how strong a force the market is in motivating the work of major players in the affordable housing story. This hit home most when talking with Ivan Parra about his work at Durham CAN (Figure 10). “Affordable housing is a losing proposition to start with because you are fighting against the market. Either you have lots of organized people or lots of organized money. At this point organized money is winning. But it’s not done until it’s done—we haven’t lost yet.”

Durham CAN (Congregations, Associations, and Neighborhoods) is a non-profit organization whose mission is to develop local leadership and the power needed for low- and moderate-income families to improve their circumstances. CAN is also a sister organization of CAHT’s. I interviewed Parra because of my perception that CAN was a classic Alinsky-style organization. Indeed, this is the case. It is the result of Duke Divinity School professors, clergy, and local leaders inviting the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) to Durham in 1997 to talk about how other communities had organized themselves to face the power structure. IAF has been training people to do this since the 1940s using the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council experience as a model.⁵ Parra, at the time IAF came to Durham, was a recent immigrant from Columbia. He attended the session and was compelled by their approach. For several years he trained with IAF, ultimately becoming the lead organizer for CAN.

In 2000 CAN was publicly launched at a meeting attended by 450 people and 20 organizations. Today it is broad-based and cuts across religious, racial, ethnic, class, and geographic lines. The group develops its action agenda by listening to its membership. Listening is a structured activity. As described by Parra, at Listening sessions participants sit in a circle and share personal stories about what drives them to act, answering the question, “If you could change something what would it be?” Out of these stories the participants identify two to three priorities that are sent to the whole organization and voted on at an assembly. They form research teams that investigate the issue and then propose actions.

Making the goal of affordable housing concrete is one example of a priority that came out of Listening. As Parra noted, the 2014 affordable housing resolution was an important step, but it was too abstract for the average person to have meaning. So the research team set out to identify public land that could be used for affordable housing projects and found several parcels. Jackson Street was the top candidate because of its location and its potential to be funded in part by a tax credit. So the group said, “Let’s claim it.” And they did just that, organizing a hundred or so people carrying signs to disrupt the Council work session previously described by Schewel. They were not met with open arms, however. At that

⁵ The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council was started by Saul Alinsky and Joseph Meegan in 1939 “to challenge Chicago’s stockyard owners, government, and financial institutions to gain improvements for immigrants to the city’s South Side” (Barrett, 2004, 58-59).

meeting the disruptors were told to put away their signs. The Mayor stated that he didn't want a Cabrini Green in his downtown. Things went south from there.

Even though they were unsuccessful that day, the meeting had a galvanizing effect on CAN. In fact, Parra believes that the Mayor did them a favor. "The opposition is the best way to organize. The next meeting after his comments we had twice as many people. Because he was attacking 100s of people, not just one person." So, CAN didn't let up. During the interview Parra regaled me with the many steps it took to change the politics to eventually get a commitment from the City for 100% affordable housing on Jackson Street. It was an iterative process of counting the votes on the Council (they started at one for and six against), negotiating with the Mayor, making it a campaign issue, getting commitments out of council candidates, internal meetings to decide if they wanted to keep going or give up, counting the votes again, pushing things slightly, celebrating every small win, but never forcing the vote until they knew they had enough to win. As it turns out Mayor Bell, who was the strongest advocate for market-rate housing, was also counting the votes. When it was clear his plans for the project wouldn't work, he called CAN representatives to meet, "First of all congratulations. I can do the math. I want to make a proposal," Parra remembers the Mayor saying. Construction on the Jackson Street site is expected to start next summer.

Sticking with It and Staying in Touch (Gulley, 2018b)



Figure 11. Former Durham Mayor and NC State Senator Wib Gulley (courtesy of Gulley)

My final interview was with Wib Gulley, a core member of CAHT (Figure 11). Once the mayor of Durham and a North Carolina state senator, Gulley has been working on community development issues, including affordable housing, since the 1970s. I wanted to know how someone who had been in the business of public decision-making for so long went about it, particularly since the city's first two affordable housing bonds were floated during his tenure.

Out of the gate Gulley set me straight that it was about politics. To explain, he told a story on himself from his first days as mayor. After a decade of building it, a Black-White coalition took the election in 1985—10 of 13 seats. As mayor-elect he wanted to focus on his campaign issues and thought with a strong council majority it was possible, maybe even easy. He recalled thinking they would “spend 10% of the time on process, 90% on substance” and get a lot done. But it didn’t work out that way—it was 80% process and 20% product. Why? According to Gulley,

“The reality of politics is that they are a lot about ego. People have a strong sense of themselves. You get elected and you think I’m going to be the next president of the United States or the next Senator. This means two things—you want to be seen as powerful, and you talk and vote so as not to alienate anyone. So the tough decisions become tougher because you don’t want to piss people off. Ever.”

Gulley is now retired but still active in housing and transit issues. As a well-seasoned “citizen leader” he knows this political dynamic is still operative. But he has learned a lot over the past 30-plus years about how to get things done in the public arena, to CAHT’s and Durham’s benefit. I asked him how he makes decisions about what needs to be done to get more affordable housing in Durham, now. His simple answer is that his career in public service has taught him how to strategically understand and frame an issue and then move it forward to get results. However, figuring out how to crack the nut of affordable housing has been a challenge. Like our current mayor, he started off thinking he knew a lot about the issue, having been involved in it for so long. Now he realizes he knows very little, “Today it is enormously complicated, difficult, and expensive to try and figure out how to provide affordable housing, for sale or rent, in the U.S.”

How has Gulley overcome this? He starts by listening to and learning from others who know a lot more than he does. Through this purposeful investigation he figures out the critical priorities. But as a politician he knows that you have to be opportunistic. This has been the case with the old Police Headquarters site. In 2017 the City hired a consultant to assess the site’s potential. Predictably the first report came back with a determination that the City could expect \$9.2 million from the sale of the property as well as development that could yield tax revenues of \$7.4 million over a 20-year period. The development would likely be market-rate office and retail, with a bit of housing (15% affordable).

However, the City also ran a public input process as part of the study. Survey results indicated that housing (54%), community facilities (47%), and open space (43%), not office (26%) or retail (21%), were the top community priorities for the site (HR&A et al, 2016).

CAHT believed that this site was a real opportunity to get a substantial chunk of affordable housing in a showcase location within a few blocks of the bus station and Gulley authored a letter to that effect. He pointed out that the consultants' recommendations were at odds with City goals and that the "need" for what they were recommending had been, and would continue to be, met by the private sector, without the need for public land or financial subsidy from the City. He asked the Council to direct the consultants to make affordable housing the top priority use—175 units to be exact. He went on to point out that despite the 2014 affordable housing resolution that we had 1700 market-rate units downtown, with zero affordable in the development pipeline. He concluded that the only realistic opportunities for providing affordable housing in downtown Durham would likely require leveraging public land and suggested that the City begin discussions with the Durham Housing Authority or other mission-driven developers on the Police Headquarters site.

Gulley was unable to attend the council work session when the consultant report came out so I went in his stead. This was the letter I presented and was cross-examined about. Yet in spite of the exasperation with which the CAHT letter was met, Council sent the consultants back to study a scenario that would include 80 affordable units. While I was licking my wounds, Gulley was planning our next move—what were the steps leading to a decision, who were our allies, where could we weigh in and prevail, how did we execute this? To start he set up a series of meetings with the most skeptical councilmembers and with Mayor Schewel. He got the City planning staff to make him a map so he could study the site in a larger neighborhood context. From this he was able to develop a framework for describing why the downtown needed more affordable housing. Said Gulley, "I needed to find a way of talking about it to make it real." Then he set about to change people's perceptions by writing a brief white paper which posed questions around key features of the consultants' proposal.



Figure 12. Police Headquarters site pre-Council work session press conference June 7, 2018
Seven months later the consultants returned with alternatives which again predictably

demonstrated the high cost to the City of including affordable housing on the site—as much as \$168,000 per unit (HR&A et al, 2017). But this time we were ready. We had joined forces with Durham CAN which organized a press conference for the day of the Council work session, with lots of speakers and many in attendance (Figure 12). Gulley sent a letter to newspaper which ran as an OpEd piece that day (Gulley, 2018a). We had cheerleaders on the Council. We prevailed. But Gulley had also figured out an essential, last-minute step. Talking to the Mayor regularly, he suggested breakfast a few days before the Council work session and invited me (a friend of the Mayor's) and Breana Van Velzen, a recent Duke Divinity School graduate and core member of the CAHT group. As Gulley recalled the meeting, "The mayor came to breakfast thinking we needed to get as much money as we could out of the sale of the headquarters. He left saying ok, I see a process—go out to developers and see what we can get. Prioritize affordable housing in the RFP."

This points to a final and essential part of Gulley's approach. It's about having relationships. Every time I see him he has just had lunch with, met with, presented to someone he wants to cultivate, touch base with, or move on a position. "You can be exactly right on the facts and the substance, but if you don't have relationships, people who want to listen to you and who trust you, you can't get anything done. It doesn't matter how right you are." Many of his relationships are decades-long. And this is a resource that is recognized—in fact two of the six people I interviewed mentioned it— "Wib can go places that the rest of us can't."

Testing My Instincts

In writing this paper I wanted to tell Durham's story and in so doing try to put my finger on how Durham does things that make a difference. And I wanted to see what other people thought. In this section I discuss some themes that emerged so far—from my own experiences, from the interviews, and from realizations I've had as a result of writing this paper.

1. You need to define the problem you are working on so that you are working on the right one.
2. You need to know the facts. The facts can change the course of the discussion.
3. Preserving and producing affordable housing is complicated so you have to listen and learn together.
4. Affordable housing is all about the market, but it's also a place where government can do something if it so chooses.
5. It's also about politics so understand how they work and have a plan for participating—whether you want to disrupt, target, contribute, or all of the above.
6. It's about having a vision, a plan, and strategies but timing is everything.

7. People and place matter. Durham walks the talk, agrees to sit down and discuss to work through disagreements. And then there is the Club.

- 1. You need to define the problem you are working on so that you are working on the right one.**
- 2. You need to know the facts. The facts can change the course of the discussion.**
- 3. Preserving and producing affordable housing is complicated so you have to learn and learn together.**

I think it is fair to say that all projects have their learning curves. But as those interviewed told me, affordable housing's is a particularly steep one, sometimes the pivotal one. Karen Lado, in her work on establishing the baseline for the city, revealed the urgency of taking steps to preserve Durham's affordable rental stock which made determining the subsequent goals for the plan the uncontested course of action. The Enhancing Housing Choices program was designed to simultaneously gather public input and educate the participants. Two mayors, one from decades ago, one now, both explained their decision-making process as one which necessitated listening and learning as a starting point. But it's not just an intake process. It empowers the student, it allows us to command the conversation. Said Mayor Schewel, "Now I can go out with any mayor in the country and know as much or more about the topic than they do. I can articulate a vision and put a lot of specifics on it."

CAHT figured this out as well. That's why we've been running the speakers' series.

Interestingly, Ivan Parra, organizer of the masses, recognizes this as a critical role for his sister organization. "CAHT is a group of retired, experienced, smart people who know the data, the rules, current thinking, etc. about this subject." He went further to say,

"The speakers' program is really good. You are creating neutral space. We are seeing more and more council people, county commissioners, etc.—don't drop it. CAN is the action arm. Together we get the best of the two but we need to overlap. Research and action—the connection of the two is the 'sweet place'."

Mayor Schewel concurs, for pragmatic rather than utopian reasons. "We tend to have a big process and that is good. We have a lot of transparency. Within the process there is openness to the grassroots and the grassroots has developed a lot of expertise. They come to us with knowledge and it makes it easier."

I've been on the forefront of integrating public education into community design process, in fact I first reported on it at the second Democratic Designers conference (McNally, 2004). I know the necessity of getting the facts straight before goals can be set, priority courses of action pursued (de la Peña et al, 2017). In Durham we feel like we've learned a lot over the past few years, but the reality is that we've been on the path of exhuming the data and

understanding the problem. We are just starting down the production path and it will be a whole new learning curve. It is interesting that two of the six people I interviewed used Jackson Street as the story they wanted to tell. It is a reflection of where we are on the curve—from site-level advocacy to production. The City has just issued the RFQ for the Police Headquarters site. The County has another project that I didn't have the space to write about, which is expected to roll out in 2020. And Fayette Place (a large, contested DHA site at the periphery of downtown) hasn't even started. Perhaps the Affordable Housing Academy needs to fold in site planning, programming, and good design tutorials so that the grassroots can have a say in project development.

Anthony Scott knows these things. With big plans that will change the way the agency does business, Scott knows he needs support and partners, so he knows he needs to show the community—his board and staff, elected officials, and advocates—how other cities have successfully done what he plans to do. Thus, the Charlotte tour. My prediction is that the biggest impact of having been on the tour will be that we in Durham no longer have an excuse for being parochial. We will have to think big, we will have to take risks.

4. Affordable housing is all about the market, but it's also a place where government can do something if it so chooses.

I keep wondering if the market is in effect a *de facto* decision maker. Yet-I could not get one person to agree that the market was so strong that Durham had no control over whether we would ever get affordable housing. In 2015 one high priority of Schewel's was to use downtown property owned by the City for affordable housing. In his white paper he said, "The use of this public land is a tremendous opportunity for the community. We will be making an epic mistake if we squander this opportunity by simply selling the land to the highest for-profit bidder" (Schewel, 2015). A few who shall remain unnamed believe that using prime downtown real estate as a chip to throw in the game, even if publicly owned, is not the wisest decision. But they are still committed to trying because this is one role of government—to intervene in the market as appropriate, with intention. It can be done through regulation, with incentives, in partnership, with land. Patrick Young said he thought that the way Durham intervenes is an entrepreneurial start-up model. But instead of developing new technology, we are trying lots of different policy and partnerships to get it right. Maybe we'll develop the first affordable housing ap.

5. It's also about politics so understand how they work and have a plan for participating—whether you want to disrupt, target, contribute, or all of the above.

At the outset of this exploration I wondered if there was a standard operating procedure for how Durham goes about making decisions, and that through the interview process I would

unearth it. Gulley and Schewel came the closest to describing it. According to them, priorities typically come from staff but they can also come from the Council or even community organizations. Any one of them can have initiatives and priorities and the others react to those and then decisions are made. The interaction between these players gives you a certain policy outcome. In the case of affordable housing, the Mayor, DHA, the State, the Community Development Department have strong roles. The three goals and the 5-year housing plan, as well as budget process, are hugely influential but then opportunities arise that no one anticipated.

The process is fairly reasoned, purposeful, collaborative. We muddle, we can be cautious but there is a lot of discussion. As Gulley said, “There is elegance in a well-deliberated decision.” Of course, politics is part of this. This factor is one that I almost completely missed in my early thinking. In the interviews I was given plenty of examples. Parra’s description of counting the votes on the Jackson Street decision gives testimony—both the grassroots and the Mayor were doing it. Profiling affordable housing to shape the discussion in an election has been going on at least since the 1980s. Gulley did it then, every candidate committed to it in the 2017 campaign at the CAHT forums. Schewel predicts it will be in 2019, this time about whether to float an affordable housing bond issue.



Figure 13. Durham CAN Assembly October 27, 2018

Politics is about promises made, promises to keep. It is a standard CAN tactic to elicit them as public commitments. Until recently I had never attended one of CAN’s assemblies, but they are legendary in Durham (Figure 13). Hundreds of people turn out for a chance to “publicly negotiate” with politicians or other officials over issues that the organization has identified as critical. In fact, two of the other people I interviewed directly referenced these meetings, “...you know, it was a CAN meeting where they put your arm behind your back and they make you say what you are for...”

But what about CAHT? We may be mostly senior citizens, but we are part of the politic. As mentioned earlier we are recognized as the go-to affordable housing organization. We have authority and we have access. Gulley has trained us to be junior lobbyists—before every vote or big decision point we now routinely meet with or talk on the phone with the politicians, one-by-one. Yet while we sometimes are pushing the City or the County, it is just as often, if not more, that we are working on things together, informally. Clarence Stone, in his seminal book on the making of Atlanta, Georgia after World War II, would call this “regime politics.”⁶

6. It’s about having a vision, a plan, and strategies but timing is everything.

I also missed the importance of timing, the timing of when the public discussion starts. For 15 years all Durham could talk about was revitalizing the downtown. The private sector led. Everyone was grateful that for the most part Durham weathered the recession. But eventually the community tired of what it perceived as big giveaways to already-rich developers. Downtown started to lose some of its oldest, beloved small businesses—they just couldn’t afford the new rents. All of the new housing in downtown was for people with healthy incomes.

So where are we in the decision-making matrix now? We couldn’t have done what we are doing five years earlier; five years from now it will be too late. There was the perfect storm that catapulted the community out of the “we need, we want” phase into a plan of action. Gulley believes, “At this point in time probably the agenda with the most gravitas is the City’s affordable housing policy goals and its strategies.” I think Schewel would agree, but not so directly. He told me an interesting story,

“Recently I read something that says that as a leader time has two dimensions you have to operate in. One is patience. Things take a long time. We’re getting only 82 units of affordable housing while in the same time 1000s of market-rate units have gone up. There is bureaucracy but also the need to have public input and this takes time. Then I need to operate with a sense of urgency. I have my five things I’m urgent about and I’m pushing them every day.”

Indeed, he has a list. It had 26 items on it when he issued his white paper in 2015 (Schewel, 2015). It had seven items on it when CAHT met with him at the beginning of this year. It had grown to 12 after six months as mayor.

⁶- Stone defines a regime as “...not just any informal group that comes together to make a decision but an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions...that [come] about informally, in ways that often depend heavily on tacit understandings” (Stone, 1989, 4).

7. People and place matter. Durham walks the talk, agrees to sit down and discuss to work through disagreements. And then there is the Club.

This final cluster of observations is what I find most interesting about Durham. My starting point was based on my early experience on the parking study when elected officials and staff seemed so accessible, so eager to work out a solution with disgruntled neighbors. I asked people about this. Gulley responded,

“It is an ethic among elected officials in Durham—you should and must be out in the community listening, talking. If people want to meet with you, you meet with them. This is part of what makes Durham work well. It is a big change since the 70s and 80s. Back then they would just talk to a few key people and make a decision.”

Indeed, this is the ethos that makes Anthony Scott glad to be in Durham—that people work hard to be open, to listen. There is a commitment to civil society, and in the case of affordable housing, a commitment to walk the talk. Said Scott,

“When I first got here, I was really excited about DHA but I also looked at the priorities of the city. Here the commitment to house those in need is real, not just talk. I also looked to see if there were a lot of fights going on. I didn’t expect that everyone would agree on everything, I just didn’t want them to try to stop us because they didn’t understand what we needed to do, who our residents are. In Durham we can talk about what we’re trying to do and people get that we can’t do it ourselves, that federal funds aren’t enough. I knew the political support was there—not just the Mayor and the Council, but also organizations like CAHT that were willing to fight for this, instead of spending its energy fighting against DHA. People are open-minded, intelligent in decision-making. People will sit down and be clear about each other’s positions, not grandstand for personal gain. Here is the beauty of Durham. When I talk to peers across the country they say ‘Wow!’”

I think there’s more to it. Depending who you ask, there is or is not an operative good-old-boys club in Durham. Mayor Schewel rejected the idea, contending that the younger generation has disrupted it. Then he backpedaled, with a smile, and said, “No it’s good old boys and girls.” He knew what I was talking about. The group that I observe is a noticeable collection of people who went to Duke during the 60s when student unrest was rampant across the country. In some parts of the country it focused on the war in Vietnam or environmental justice, in others it focused on civil rights. The heritage of Duke’s movement is civil rights.⁷ Core participants from that movement are still here. Since that time they have served on the Durham city council, as the mayor or even a state legislator, worked to establish a regional transportation system, floated the first affordable housing bond in the city,

⁷ - Martin Luther King, Jr. was scheduled to come to Durham the day he was assassinated but had canceled to stay in Memphis to support the sanitation workers who were on strike. Duke students went on strike when word got out that King was dead.

founded People's Alliance, helped start the largest community credit union in the country, started an independent newspaper that still thrives today. And more.

Gulley and Schewel are two members of this club. They are also friends. Behind the scenes they push certain agendas, often in consultation with each other. Other members of CAHT are also part of the influential "progressive" core—the former director of Durham County's Social Services department (now the chairman of the board of DHA), a 3-term retired city councilwoman, a retired planning professor currently serving on the board of the Durham Community Land Trust, and so on. It is different than the regime politics Stone identified in Atlanta. It is something that has grown organically, with an open agenda, with a commitment to social not just physical change. Gulley described the Durham case clearly.

"No one anticipated this in the late 60s, early 70s when we came to school but by the end there were a number of folks who were thinking ok, we want to make change so a lot of us thought maybe staying here and making change would be a good idea. We didn't need to go to DC, somewhere else, or back home. Over the years more and more Duke grads have stayed here and it became a community that grew up, built progressive local organizations. I say this is a strength of the community. People like to say to me Durham is so crazy, that we have so many groups. My response is that it's a very vibrant, thoughtful, progressive polity...an example of what democracy ought to be. A community political dynamic with a lot of different voices represented."

I think the polity is place and people particular, it is powerful, and it is palatable—after all I was able to figure it out despite not having lived here very long. I also think it includes a strong faith-based component. Duke Divinity School has a huge influence on social justice issues in this community, issues which include affordable housing. At CAHT monthly meetings everyone self-identifies by their church. IFA, CAN's mentor, is a merging of community organizing and the faith community. Parra describes it as a spirituality that guides community action. Gulley calls it moral.

Conclusion

Anthony Scott said something to me that has stuck, "You and I agree that there is something special here in Durham. I want to know how it can be replicated in other places." At first I took it as a friendly and provocative challenge to academic writing. But he's right. As a practitioner, academic, and advocate who worked in the Pacific Rim for 30 years it has been a challenge to become grounded in this new, southern city. To be effective I've tried to understand and activate the intersection of process, technique, advocacy, and collaboration. It is what I'm trying to try to put my finger on by writing this paper. As I wrap up this paper I

realize I want to tell democratic designers I've learned that it is not just about making good plans, holding a workshop, using rote techniques. It is also about learning how to move things forward and politics. And in Durham's case it is a commitment to civil society.

In response to Scott's challenge I would say that while I have unearthed several factors that explain what makes Durham special, I can't say yet that I can write up a prescriptive guide for other cities (or housing authorities) to use. I need more data. I need to do more interviews, scour the archives, dig deeper into the literature, and write a few more collections of short stories before I can issue Durham's version of *Habits of the Heart* (Bellah et al, 1985).⁸

I also realize I'm not so worried about precisely defining Durham's decision-making mode because it will change. Having done six interviews, I am now starting to think about the future—the future of my coalition, how Durham will fare as a community assuming the next 10 years of new development will be about development with a social conscious. Who is part of the regime is also going to change—hopefully with the support of longstanding relationships. I wonder who will be the next affordable housing champion, who will lead the decision-making process. As of this writing there are four new members on the City Council so the Mayor plays a dominant role on decisions. This may change as might the definition of the problem. The Mayor has since he issued his white paper. Back in 2015 he said,

“Affordable housing’ means different things to different people. Some people want us to concentrate our efforts on housing the homeless. Others want us to concentrate on building workforce housing so that Durham will remain affordable for young knowledge workers or teachers or police officers. Still others think we ought to emphasize development of affordable housing along the light-rail transit corridor. And there are those who think the efforts to mitigate gentrification of the neighborhoods near downtown should take highest priority” (Schewel, 2015).

Three weeks ago he told me he now realizes that the issue isn't about affordable housing, it is about intergenerational poverty.

Joan Didion in an interview in *The Paris Review* described how every day when she sat down to write she would go to page one and re-type everything she had already written (Als, 2006,

⁸- There are a number of important issues, programs, pieces of the history that I didn't talk about such as homelessness, encampments and Open Table, sheltering, evictions, the voucher program and Unlocking Doors, the continuum of care, McDougald Terrace or the Southside missteps, the County's sites on East Main, the regional housing crisis and what other cities are doing, the role (or lack thereof) of the state, how affordable housing decision-making might be different than other decision-making in Durham, and things I don't know anything about and haven't had time to track down someone who does.

62). As a warm-up. When I read that my first thought was, oh my god, that's crazy, how would you ever finish? (My second was, no wonder her books tend to be slim.) In trying to write this piece, which I'm doing in the swirl of on-going affordable housing things, I get Didion's point. There's a rhythm to our work. It is soothing to revisit old projects, old stories. In so doing we draw from past experience, we calm down, we suit up for the next round.

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Appendix 1: Interviewee Contact

From: "marcia mcnally" <mmcnally@centurylink.net>

To: "Anthony Scott" <ascott@dha-nc.org>

Sent: Friday, September 28, 2018 10:59:09 AM

Subject: request from marcia mcnally

Hi Anthony,

Hope this message finds you well.

First, I want to thank you again for the fabulous Charlotte tour. It was an honor to be included.

Second, I write to ask if you are willing to be interviewed for a paper I'm writing for an upcoming conference. The conference is hosted by various organizations with members who teach, do research, and practice democratic planning and design.

The paper is a foray into something I've been mulling over for a few years, namely how Durham makes decisions. I've only lived here since 2010 and have only been involved in several issues (downtown parking, light rail, and affordable housing), but as you know, my background is in participatory planning. I find "the Durham way" to be quite interesting.

I plan to conduct the interviews October 17, 18, and 19 but knowing you are really busy, I would be flexible about the date. My goal is to do each interview in 45 minutes. In your case, I would like to talk about how Durham is addressing the need for affordable housing using a story of your choice to illustrate. I can also suggest one if you prefer.

But for now I'm trying to see if you are willing and available. Looking forward to hearing from you, at your earliest convenience.

Best,

Marcia McNally

Appendix 2: Sample Interview Questions

Becoming Native Interview Questions: Steve Schewel

Note

Confirm that it is ok to tape record the discussion. My brain-to-hand coordination isn't what it used to be. Will you indulge me? I'll be the only one using the recording.

Intro

You are my first interview. I'm starting with you partly because this context is the starting point of our friendship. And of course because you've been one of Durham's leading public decision-makers for a long time. Before we start do you have any questions?

Questions

1. OK, I'd like to start by going back in time, with you telling me a little about your first elected position in Durham (the school board?). How did you come to be on the _____?
2. I'm particularly interested in hearing about how, as a ____ member, you generally went about making decisions on issues.
3. Since then you served on the City Council, and now you are the mayor. It seems like you have to make many decisions every week. Is your decision-making process the same as it was when you were on the school board?
4. Let's drill down on this by you giving me an example that relates to affordable housing. Start the sentence by saying, when I am making a decision about affordable housing, I _____ (do the following). Then tell the story in detail. [I may have to prompt to find out who the key players were, how he interacted with and responded to them, key moments and turning points, how the issue evolved and how did it turn out in the end.]
5. Think about the story you just told me. How did you deal with challenges that arose?
6. What did you learn from this experience?
7. Did it tell you how to make better decisions in the future?

8. I've done some thinking about how I would answer the question, "When decisions are made about affordable housing in Durham, this is what happens..." So I've got a list. Let's work our way down it and see what you think. For each one say yes, no, sort of.
- It's a rational planning model – the experts assemble the facts, analyze them, shape it all into recommendations, present to the City Council, Council decides.
 - City staff goes through a public input process, combines what citizens say with City policy, and shapes a plan. Council adopts it, the plan is implemented.
 - Council is well-informed, reads, comes to work sessions prepared to discuss, and through this process the obvious decision is clear.
 - Sometimes under pressure. Advocacy group(s) develop an idea or a response to something proposed by the City or a developer and push politically until successful. Corollaries to this are: squeaky wheel gets the grease, or a recognized champion leads the discussion.
 - Durham CAN convenes a come-to-Jesus event, makes sure there is a huge turnout with a moral overtone, and conveys the message that there will be hell to pay if Council doesn't do the right thing.
 - Durham is based on civil society. We work together to come to consensus. The take-no-prisoners model is not viable here.
 - The City goes through the annual budget process, which is department-driven, but informed by the comp and strategic plan, the affordable housing plan, and annual citizen surveys. Staff and Council hold a retreat, hold public hearings, you figure out how much can be spent on affordable housing in that year without raising taxes, weigh trade-offs, and decide.
 - It is transactive and penetrable. City staff and elected officials are accessible to the public, sometimes they reach out to individual members of the public for input. "This is the issue, What do you think, This is what I think..."
 - People who have lived here for a long time, have served in some public capacity, are respected in the community, know others of like kind well and share values, meet and discuss in an ad hoc way, move things forward, come to some agreement on what should happen, and set about making it happen.
 - With caution, trepidatiously.
 - We muddle through.
 - The production of affordable housing is complicated. Together, as a community, we have learned, developed an agreed-upon base understanding, and sort out what to do based on what the reality is, adapting as necessary.
 - I listen to the facts but if truth be told, I do what I was going to do anyway.
 - We do better when we have smart, assertive, inquisitive reporters tracking the issue.

- The public must ensure that its people are housed. This is a moral imperative. That's why there's so much faith-based involvement in this issue.
 - It's all about the market and available funding. We have very little control.
 - Decisions are made behind closed doors, by staff and the developers. Council only hears about them when they come to work session.
 - None of these is exactly right. If I could combine or restate ____ (choose amongst above), then it would best represent how I make decisions about affordable housing.
 - Something else altogether.
9. Now I'm going to change the subject a little. And this may seem like an odd question. Given what I told you about the Democratic Designers group, are there lessons or observations from Durham that you think might be useful to them?
10. I'm not sure how many people I'll end up interviewing but if there is someone in particular you think is a must-interview, I'd like to know.
11. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me that I didn't ask you about but that you think I need to know?

Participatory Designers Exercise Big and Little Power

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Abstract

What do participatory designers need to do to create a more effective and democratic relationship among citizens, institutions, and the government? At the center of participatory design and democratic practice is the issue of power and how we either serve to enlarge or shrink the political, economic, and social capacity of citizens. Power is the energy that enables complex and shifting ensembles of individuals and groups to organize their common life together. Questions about how power is used, at which scale, and toward what goals, are some of the most important questions we might ask in order to better understand the possibilities of democratic design at the local community level and beyond. The proposed paper advances a view of power as resource in the designer's toolkit that can be exercised in little and big ways, from gentle activism to outright confrontation, depending on which community is being served, what impact is desired, and the scale at which action is needed. We make the argument for an explicit acknowledgment of the political conditions, openings and closures, in the assessments, imaginings, and actions of citizen-driven place-making.

Keywords: power, participatory design, democratic practice

The Role of Professionals and Artists in Asia's Emerging Civic

Urbanisms: Case Studies in Hong Kong and Shenzhen

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Abstract

Hong Kong and Shenzhen are very different cities: Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region in China, a post-colonial capitalist city learning to re-integrate with a socialist market economy under an autocratic state; and Shenzhen is one of the first Special Economic Zones in China, an 'instant city' that has experienced rapid economic growth in the past four decades. Using a framework that differentiates the nature of the states in the two cities and through representative case studies, this paper examines the roles of professionals or intellectuals within the government, in the private sector and in the third sector as well as the grassroots communities. The case of Pang Jai, a fabric bazaar, is examined in Hong Kong. The fabric bazaar has been an indispensable facility for generations of design students and fashion designers. Professionals including designers, planners and architects etc, have collaborated with the hawkers and volunteers to negotiate with the government officials as they would like to remove the bazaar to make way for housing. The professionals have helped the hawkers to envision transforming the dire crisis into an opportunity of establishing a social enterprise that would enliven the local community with special character. However, the bottom-up efforts have met with lukewarm responses from the government. Civic activism is little known in Shenzhen, a 40-year old city since China adopted an open door policy in 1978. However, in 2016, an alliance of artists and professionals had worked together to save the Hubei Village that has existed since the Ming Dynasty in the 15th century. The village is a living museum of people's lives and livelihood for the past 500 years. 'SOS Hubei—Hubei Old Village 120 Public Plan' represents an emerging civic urbanism led by professionals that try to persuade an economics driven autocratic state and profit-maximising developers under a socialist market economy to balance economic growth and heritage conservation.

Keywords: Built environment professionals, civic urbanisms, state typologies

Introduction

This paper attempts to compare and contrast two social movements led by professionals and activists (art activists) in Hong Kong and Shenzhen respectively. The case in Hong Kong involves a 40 years old temporary fabric bazaar, 'Pang Jai' (meaning a shed), whose fate has become uncertain as the government announced its intention of removing the bazaar to make way for subsidized housing in 2015. This decision has since triggered an alliance of professionals and activists to try to save Pang Jai, empowering the hawkers, enabling them to dream big as the government expressed its intention to relocate the bazaar to another temporary market site under a nearby flyover. The case in Shenzhen involves a more than 500 years old village named 'Hubei' (湖贝) which is not very different from other typical urban villages, having most of its buildings redeveloped. However, in the southern portion where their well-maintained ancestral hall can be found, there are 440 human scale buildings lining 'three north-south and eight east-west lanes' with an intact traditional road networks. When the village was included in the city government's redevelopment programme from 2010-2016, professionals and activists set up 'Hubei 120' (meaning 'SOS Hubei' as '120' is Shenzhen's emergency number) to persuade the developer and government the historic value of the site.

The following first outlines the theoretical framework of the comparative study, followed by an abridged narrative of two cases. The third session investigates the roles of intellectuals in the two narratives, evaluating if their actions have transformed the modes of governance in the two cities. The paper closes with some remarks on the roles of professionals and activists in the evolving modes of governance in Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

Theoretical Framing

Governance practices are historically and spatially constituted, often through 'all kinds of synergistic encounters, contradictions, conflicts and active struggles' (Gonzalez and Healey, 2005, p.2056). According to DiGaetano and Strom (2003, p.365), modes of governance involve governing relations among different stakeholders, governing logic of decision-making mechanisms, key decision makers and tangible or intangible political objectives. In the course of planning and development, different stakeholders interact and encounter one another in a power structure with 'different spatial imaginations, geographical languages, urban narratives' (Gonzalez, 2003 cited in Gonzalez and Healey, 2005, p.2058). In Asian cities, governments often assume a central role in governance, having 'interesting' relationships with private sectors when civil societies are either absent or inactive. Table 1 tries to outline the relationships of various stakeholders in a spectrum of reactive to progressive societies.

Table 1: Roles of different stakeholders in different modes of governance:
from growth-oriented to progressive

from growth-oriented to progressive						
	Dominant interest	Within government	Professionals in private sector	Professionals in third sector	Professionals with high-standing in third sector	Relationship with community members
<div>Capitalist hegemonic growth-oriented state</div> <div>↑</div> <div>transitional state</div> <div>↓</div> <div>Progressive state</div>	Government & business	Bureaucrats	Profit-driven	Pro-establishment		Little
	Emerging elite-led civil society	Professionals	Tokenistic responsibility	Professionalism	Professionalism & authority	Advocating for their rights
	Active civil society	Bureaucrats Smugglers? Idealists?	Re-commoning? Possible?	Re-problematising, reframing	Idealists?	Close relationship, co-identifying their rights
	Public-interest	Rational calculators	Social and environmental corporate responsibility	Promoting cutting-edge professional practice	Jealously guarding professionalism	Engaging and tapping into their place-based knowledge

Source: authors.

The formal and informal institutional encounters may perpetuate an established power structure but sometimes agents through episodes of events may ignite changes and transformations in the institutional setup. How could this happen? We try to adapt Coaffee and Healey's 2003 framework (Table 2) to analyse the two cases, from specific episodes, governance processes and 'mobilisation of bias' (to justify certain discourse) to governance cultures. The focus is on the agency, especially the roles of professionals and activists who are perceived as intellectuals or elites.

Table 2: Analysing Governance

Specific episodes
Actors: key players
Arenas: institutional sites
Ambience and interactive practices: metaphors, narratives
Governance processes through bias is mobilised
Networks and coalitions
Stakeholder selection processes
Discourses: framing issues, problems, solutions, interests, etc.
Practices: routines & repertoires for acting
Specification of laws, formal competences & resource flow principles

Governance culture
Range of accepted modes of governance
Range of embedded cultural values
Formal & informal structure for policing discourses and practices

Source: Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p.1983.

The natural question is who are the professionals and activists or simply intellectuals. Fink et al (1996, p.14) regard intellectuals as special custodians of justice and truth, jealously guarding moral standards often ignored by powerful government and market forces. However, Rousseau (1984) is skeptical of the use of 'reason' and scientific knowledge to improve society, especially when such intellectuals (professionals) work for the establishment. It is true that intellectuals could serve power or contest it (Kramer, 1996). In this paper, we have adopted an eclectic approach in defining professionals and activists as intellectuals, seeing them as both 'critics' and 'experts', with rich experiences, practices, traditions and concerns that could be evolving in tension (Fink et al, 1996). Similar to Gramsci, we have identified professionals and activists who carry out 'on the ground practices' as constructor, organizer and permanent persuader (Crick, 2006, p.129). To us, professionals and activists are those who are proactive, speaking truth to power, exposing lies and making normative claims to lay bare mechanisms of power and control (McCutcheon, 1997, p.443).

A key role of intellectuals is 'to reinterrogate the obvious and the assumed, to unsettle habits, ways of thinking and doing, to dissipate accepted familiarities, to re-evaluate rules and institutions and, on the basis of this reproblematisation, to participate in the formation of a political will' (Foss and Taylor, 1984, p.30, citing Foucault). Professionals and activists should endeavour to 'create institutionally embedded spaces of resistance' to sustain debates on possible alternatives and actions (Oslender, 2007, p.118). Their vocation is to use their special expertise to influence cultural habits and institutional practices, especially in terms of solving longstanding and pervasive problems (Crick, 2006 and Kramer in Fink et al, 1996, p.38). For the Chinese, intellectuals share a similar life calling: to critique a society without the 'way' and use the 'way', the highest ideal, to judge the right and wrong of society (He, undated).

Pang Jai, Hong Kong and Hubei, Shenzhen: A Brief Overview

Before analysing the roles of professionals and activists, the following paragraphs canvass briefly the two cases.

Pang Jai, Hong Kong: an Overview

Pang Jai came into existence in 1978 when the British colonial government of Hong Kong cleared 170 fabric hawker stalls to make way for the construction of the mass transit railway. After 40 years of operation, only 53 operators are now selling excess fabric stock, cloth related products and accessories to a diverse group of individual customers including ethnic minority women, fashion designers, design students, theatre and film producers, DIY-ers, and even housewives making clothes and cloth products for their families.

The temporary market was built on a piece of public land zoned for residential purposes since 1981 (Figure 1). In August 2015, the hawkers received a notice from the Government informing them that the current site would be resumed at the end of 2015. The reason for resumption had not been clearly stated. However, the volunteers later found an official document in 2013 stating that the site would be used to build 200 subsidized housing flats.



Figure 1: Pang Jai in Hong Kong (source: authors).

In October 2015, the hawkers formed their own concern group and started to work closely with a group of volunteers coming from diverse backgrounds, including urban planners, architects, students, community organizers, university teachers, designers, fashion business people, etc. After many rounds of negotiation, in February 2016, the Government provided an

option for the hawkers without licence (the government has stopped issuing hawker licence since the 1970s) to move to another temporary market but few details were then disclosed.

Pang Jai is more than just a local fabric bazaar, it is a place full of collective memory, especially for those in the fashion and design related industries. The fabric hawkers have been the design students' best tutors as they would advise and recommend fabrics to fit the needs of their design. Throughout its 40 years of existence, Pang Jai has become a community. The Government has given 'tacit consent' to the fabric sellers without hawkers' licence to operate at Pang Jai. The Government has practised a laissez-faire policy and left the hawkers to take care of the place. Hawkers used to hire security guard to look after their goods, pay to restore the place after fire or natural hazards and manage the electricity supply on site in the past even when it was managed by the government in name. Pang Jai has been a peaceful 'autonomous area' for a long time and its eldest member is more than 84 years old!

Different stakeholders have played key roles in Pang Jai's development (Table 3).

Table 3: Roles of different stakeholders

Individual/ Parties	Engagement activities that show courage
Hawkers and volunteers	<p>The hawkers, with or without licence, have determined to act in solidarity, petitioning, negotiating, participating and co-organizing in all sorts of activities and signing or not signing documents in unison. This requires courage especially for those who have license as they may lose everything!</p> <p>The volunteers have helped organize various events such as Fabric Handicraft workshops and Fashion Show to bring out the value of Pang Jai and the hawkers, they are working on the Pang Jai Story House Project to record the history of Pang Jai, as part of the history of the cloth industry in Hong Kong. The volunteers need courage to organize the local markets which actually could be seen as illegal.</p>
Architects and planners	<p>Provided critical research as well as running design charrette and community planning workshops (Figure 2) to encourage the hawkers and designers to dream the impossible dream even in face of a rather hopeless battle as there was no legal ground for the hawkers to continue their businesses in Pang Jai.</p>
Artists, volunteers and fashion designers	<p>The artists and designers have communicated their love of Pang Jai through arts installation, sketches, photography, fashion shows and exhibitions, film-making, cosplayer fair, and training workshops, and disseminate these events through social media. They have been very brave to use art forms to fight for social justice.</p>
Councillors: Legislative Council and District Council	<p>District and legislative councillors have initiated discussions in their own meetings and have tried to pressurise the Government to implement the bottom-up proposal. They need courage to go beyond political divides and work together to help Pang Jai.</p>
Customers	<p>Customers have tried to join the community planning workshops and stakeholder's meetings and provide inputs to the bottom-up proposal.</p>



Figure 2: An Engagement Workshop held in early 2016 (Source: authors)

Originally, the hawkers did not want to move to another temporary public market under the Tung Chau Street Flyover especially when the Government's original plan was to allow them to use only three out of its five blocks of vacated space. However, after working together with different stakeholders, the hawkers gathered the courage to develop their dream plan! Instead of having a place to relocate the fabric bazaar, the hawkers would like to dream big! They would like to see not just a new Pang Jai Fabric Bazaar. Instead, they would like to seize this opportunity to develop a creative hub for nurturing new possibilities, allowing fashion design students to make use of it as a resource centre, conducting fashion shows in public space as well as creating a community space for the collective use of different groups of people. For example, the former factory workers in the garment industry could continue to use their skills for a living. Hence, they would like to have all five blocks of the vacated temporary market for their dream plan.

One key feature of the dream plan is the idea of developing a Pang Jai Community, Fabric & Fashion Hub (PJCFH) as a one-stop service centre providing a co-working and connection space for the fabric bazaar, practitioners from fashion/creative industry and local community members. PJCFH aims at providing a set of supportive services to the target customers,

from fabric and accessories sourcing, fashion designing, sewing, to finished products. Meanwhile, PJCFH facilitates individual designers, sewing workers, tutors and other NGOs to conduct fabric handicraft and cloth-making workshops to the general public.

The events are still unfolding. The Government has practised restraint and there could be possible policy breakthroughs such as offering hawker assistants licences in the future relocation policy, granting of sites for social enterprise operation inside public markets, extension of removal deadline and provision of financial compensation, and treating hawkers as part of a local economic development policy. Spatially, the car parking space within Pang Jai has been transformed into a public realm with social capital accumulation and multiple usage. Activities organized there and beyond have raised the awareness of many stakeholders regarding fashion and creative industry, recycling stored clothes and D-I-Y culture, etc.

The whole movement has transformed a local incident of evicting hawkers in a temporary public market into a joint effort to reflect on the meaning of heritage, history, local community, local economic development, nurturing design industry, re-commoning practices and sustainable development. Most important of all, it has been a collective experiment to try to develop solutions that can tackle multiple urban issues, turning a dystopian situation into a utopia.

Hubei, Shenzhen

Hubei Village is located in Dongmen commercial area, Luohu District of Shenzhen. Its earliest southern portion was built in the Ming Dynasty, now consists of a well preserved ancestral hall, 440 traditional houses as well as the original lane structure of ‘three north-south and eight east-west roads’, and is currently the last remaining traditional village in Shenzhen’s central area (Liu, 2017) (Figure 3). During the 1980s, the physical environment of Hubei village began to deteriorate as local villagers rented their old village houses to the migrant population. Luohu district government included Hubei Village in the urban redevelopment plan as early as 1992, but failed to implement immediately due to its complex land ownership (Rao, 2014). Interestingly, with the Dongmen fresh market in the west, Hubei village has attracted a large number of Chaoshan tenants who are skillful in running seafood business. Hence, many of whom have lived in Hubei for a decade or two, gradually transforming it into a closely-knit community (Hubei 120, 2016).



Figure 3 : Hubei village in Shenzhen: southern portion (Source: Rao Xiaojun)

With rising housing prices in Shenzhen, in 2011 the Luohu Government, China Resources (the developer) and local villagers of Hubei joined as a growth coalition and started the momentum to redevelop the Village. According to Luohu government, the ‘old and messy’ Hubei area will be upgraded into an ‘International Consumer Center’ to revitalize the competitiveness of the ‘golden triangle zone’, providing approximately one million square meters of high-end economic space including shopping mall, headquarter office, conference and exhibition, 5-star hotel, etc. (Ding, 2017).

Almost simultaneously when the redevelopment news was released in 2011, a few sensitive local architects from URBANUS (a Shenzhen based architect studio) and teachers from Shenzhen University began to show their concern on the fate of the old Village. For them, firstly, Hubei Village witnessed the development history of Shenzhen, and it is the only remaining traditional village in the city center. ‘Preserving Hubei means our descendants can know where Shenzhen came from, and shedding its “cultural desert” and ‘instant city’ labels’ (Urbanus, 2016); Secondly, the affordable and human-scale space in Hubei is believed to have cultivated a lively migrant neighborhood with market services, which is not common

and hence valuable in the planned city of Shenzhen (Interviews with professionals in ‘Hubei 120’ in 2016).

Since 2012, the above-mentioned architects and university teachers tried to use their professional knowledge to persuade the preservation of the southern portion of Hubei Village. For example, Professor Rao and his team in Shenzhen University conducted a detailed architectural survey in Hubei in 2014, including its development history, lane network characteristic, architectural value of the 578 individual buildings, and suggested a protection boundary of 15,648 square meters, including all the 78 well-maintained high-value buildings. Besides, URBANUS held a series of designing studio with the attendance of local villagers from Hubei, China Resources, Urban Renewal Authority (Luohu), architects and urban planners, local historians, sociologists, artists, etc. During studios and workshops, the stakeholders (developer, villagers, and government) were called upon to balance heritage conservation and commercial interests, and a win-win design proposal was submitted to Luohu government at the end of 2014. It is worth mentioning that some invaluable historical and cultural values of Hubei were dug out during the studios as well, such as the close relationship between Hubei and the development of Shenzhen Market (墟 in Chinese), and several historical records of Hubei in China’s modern revolution, which all helped change people’s impression of Hubei as just ‘a common urban village’ (Hubei 120, 2016).

However, the developer China Resources then did not take the advice of the professionals. In May 2016, the planning proposal released by China Resources proposed off-site reconstruction to preserve the southern block with a protection area of just 6,000 square meters, just 38% of the recommended conservation zone. On 28 May 2016, when the Urban Renewal Authority (Luohu) held an expert meeting to review the proposal, experts from URBANUS and a few others strongly objected to the proposal, which then led to the struggle in the public arena (Figure 4). From 23 to 28 June, the intellectuals began publishing a series of articles on Hubei Village, encouraging more citizens to pay attention to the need of its protection.- -



Figure 4 : Designing workshop in “Hubei 120 Public Action” (Source: Wang Dayong)

Owing to a lack of further communication channels within the system, professionals from the third sector launched the ‘Hubei 120 Public Action’ on 2 July 2016. With the goal of preserving the integrity of the Village, they organized a workshop called ‘the possibility of win-win: Hubei conservation and Luohu revitalization’. Approximately 100 enthusiasts from different fields joined the discussion in order to find better design solutions and 16 architects and planners introduced their proposals to the public, brainstorming together ways to balance the commercial loss owing to conserving the Village and protecting the open space. Besides local built environment professionals, the ‘Hubei 120 Public Action’ also invited Prof. Ruan Yisan, China’s recognised ‘guardian angel of ancient cities’, to visit Shenzhen and attend the ‘Talk on Hubei’ activity. His involvement has helped scale up the protection of Hubei as a national event, attracting attention from high-levels (Interviews with professionals in ‘Hubei 120’ in 2016). Moreover, the public action released ‘the Hubei Preservation Consensus’, which was signed by more than 800 supporters.

Ten days after the ‘Hubei 120 Public Action’, on 12 July 2016, the Urban Renewal Authority (Luohu) held another expert meeting. Besides local experts, two inspectors from national

level and provincial level were also invited. In order to avoid delaying the progress of redevelopment progress, China Resources made a concession and agreed to expand the conservation areas from 6,000 square meters to 13,000 square meters. Beside the purple line (conservation line) of the ancestral hall, the original lane structure of the ‘three north-south and eight east-west rows’ was also preserved to a large extent. Although the protection area still fell short of the 15,648 square meters recommended by the ‘Hubei 120’ professionals, the concession could already be seen as a big success. For the first time, the supposedly 40-year old city has awakened to the importance of conserving its ‘forgotten’ heritage buildings (interviews with professionals in ‘Hubei 120’ in 2016). More importantly, two years later in 2018, the municipal government amended its urban renewal regulations, stipulating that ‘if historical buildings or historical areas are involved in urban renewal projects, research on historical and cultural heritage should be included in the renewal application documents’ (SZPD, 2018).

It is worth pointing out that, even though ‘Hubei 120 Public Action’ succeeded in preserving the physical environment, it is promoted largely by the built environment professionals, the current residents in Hubei village, in contrast, are not mobilized to fight for their right to the city. Up to this moment, ‘who is going to manage the site and how to revitalize the preserved southern portion’ remain as unsolved disputes in the redeveloping Hubei Village.

Roles of Professionals and Artists in the Two Cases

Table 4 below summarises the roles of professionals and artists in Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

Table 4: Analysing Governance Changes in Hong Kong and Shenzhen

	Hong Kong	Shenzhen
Specific episodes		
Actors: key players	SSP-FMPPP (10 groups), mostly outsiders, intellectuals and 'elites'	"Hubei 120" Urban Public Project, comprising local architects, planners, artists and university professors.
Arenas: institutional sites	At the local level, with marginal involvement of district councillors. Government plays the role of police and manager.	Officials never showed up in the project activities even when invited. Nevertheless, the city government played a role in balancing conserving and redevelopment of the site.
Ambience and interactive practices: metaphors, narratives	Transforming a dystopia into a utopia	Balancing the economics driven development with conservation through the use of alternative knowledge and narratives
Governance processes through mobilization of bias		
Networks and coalitions	Community based but weak vertical network, if any	Professional circle based
Stakeholder selection processes	Inclusive	Inclusive, but most of the affected tenants are absent
Discourses: framing issues, problems, solutions, interests, etc.	Intellectuals help reframe the discourse: inclusive, social capital, use values, community based economy	Intellectuals help value the unique and important history of the village. However, the rich social capital among current residents and the use values of the place have not been emphasized
Practices: routines & repertoires for acting	Local tours, local markets, workshops etc.	Design workshops, architectural surveying and mapping, media reports, public art activities, etc.
Specification of laws, formal competences & resource flow principles	Fighting for formal recognition of non-licensed hawkers	Fighting for regulations to protect historic buildings and neighborhoods, which constitute the main body of heritage buildings in Shenzhen
Governance culture		
Range of accepted modes of governance	From opposition to collaboration and dialogue	From growth machine to the emerging anti-growth elites
Range of embedded cultural values	Gradual acceptance of the right to the city	Awakening to the value of heritage buildings but not residents' right to the city
Formal & informal structure for policing discourses and practices	Community voice has continued to be ignored and sidelined, despite intellectual and professional help	Voice of built environment professionals outside the institution can be gradually absorbed in the practice and policy-making of the city government

Source: Items originated from Healey (2004, p.93): contents on cities by authors.

While both Hong Kong and Shenzhen are growth-oriented societies in transition, it is rather obvious that civil society, if any, is at most emerging in Shenzhen. However, the Pang Jai

case shows that the civil society in Hong Kong has been rather active. The professionals and activists, as experts and as critics, have also played very different roles in both cities. The professionals and activists in Shenzhen have invoked their knowledge and relationships with power holders to save heritage buildings in southern Hubei but their advocacy has stopped short of ‘saving’ the people who live there, contributing to the vibrancy and character of Dongmen Market. The story in Hong Kong is completely different. The involvement of the intellectuals has been related to conserving the hawkers and Pang Jai as a living heritage. It is true that in both cases, the governments have tried to avoid participating in activities organised by the intellectuals. The result of the Hubei case perhaps indicates that it might be easier for governments and developers to conserve physical heritage, rather than living heritage, as advocated by the professionals and activists in Hong Kong.

As specific episodes, both Pang Jai and Hubei are unique within their respective context. The case of Pang Jai probably is the first case in Hong Kong where a coalition of professionals and activists organise themselves with hawkers to fight for their right to use space for economic survival and social sustainability. Intellectuals working together and through their various connections to persuade government officials to save a historic village is a first of its kind in the short history of Shenzhen.

The mobilization of bias in the two movements has different emphasis. In Hong Kong, intellectuals help steer the discourse from ‘removing hawkers without licence in a temporary market to make room for much needed subsidized housing’ to the importance of nurturing local economic activities that do not only provide a livelihood but also creating a community with rich social capital, nurturing the wider spatial community. The movement has nurtured a network of stakeholders, densifying inter-group relationships and challenging certain government practices such as pressurizing the government to recognize the status of some hawkers who are without licence.

The case of Shenzhen is not focused on the people or the use values of the place. Rather the intellectuals are concerned about the conservation of historic buildings and a need to conserve the integrity and fabric of the 500-year old village. Hence, they have fought for modifying the regulations that protect historic buildings.

Have we seen transformation of the governance culture in both cities? There have been cultural changes in both communities. In Hong Kong, Pang Jai symbolizes the importance of local economy and every urbanite’s right to the city. In Shenzhen, people have now recognized that this 40-year old special economic zone has important and valuable historic heritage to conserve. Yet, unfortunately, it seems that inclusive social movement in Hong Kong has

continued to be sidelined by the government and in the case of Shenzhen, the government has been responsive in changing its regulatory framework to address the need of heritage conservation.

Conclusion

The two cases reflect the modes of governance in Hong Kong and Shenzhen. The former has a more active civil society and hence the intellectuals as critics and as experts have interacted closely with the local community in reframing issues and offering their expertise to explore feasible solutions. The process is more dynamic, involving co-production of knowledge, strategies and responses. The latter has intellectuals playing a stronger role as critical experts, speaking truth to power, reminding the government and the private sector the importance and historic values of heritage buildings. While they are also concerned about those migrants using and living in the buildings, contributing to the character and values of the place, they were not successful in persuading the developer and government to address these issues.

Nevertheless, these professionals and activists have played their roles as intellectuals. In the modern society of Hong Kong, the professionals and activists have succeeded in reproblematising the discourse of the temporary fabric bazaar, enabling different stakeholders to see the fabric hawkers as dignified individuals who have earned their deserved living, built a community, established strong relationships with their customers and harboured an honourable dream to use their trade to build an inclusive and participatory local economy. In the young city of Shenzhen, the intellectuals through their perseverance and expertise, reminds its inhabitants the city's long historical legacies. The 500-year old Hubei Village has witnessed the transformation of the legendary 'instant city'. As the only urban village in the city centre with intact historic street forms and building structures, both the private sector and the government have eventually agreed to conserve a sizable part of the physical structures. The case has also led to a mandatory requirement of incorporating historical, cultural and heritage research in urban redevelopment projects affecting historic structures.

These two interesting cases have perhaps shed light on the character of emerging civic urbanism in pro-growth transitional societies: maybe it is easier to conserve the built environment as this can be for adaptive reuse and enrich the character of a commodified place. However, it would be a challenge to invoke place-based knowledge and conserve the use values of a place, of nurturing a local economy that simultaneously enrich social relationships and build up people's governance capacity.

Acknowledgements

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After Landscape - An Exploration of Crossbenching as Contribution to Design Advocacy in the Tohoku Recovery Process

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Abstract

March 11th, 2018 marked the seventh anniversary of the Great Eastern Japan earthquake and tsunami. In the immediate aftermath of the triple disaster government-led reconstruction efforts were quickly established. But more than half a decade after the devastating Tsunami the region is still a long way away from rehabilitation and recovery. The long decision-making process, based on consensus building in Japanese society, and continuous tensions around the construction of seawalls has led in parts to a sense of stagnation and frustration regarding official reconstruction efforts.

While resident-driven community-building projects have been in the focus of numerous publications to date, this paper draws attention the role of the outsider in the recovery process and grassroots advocacy. Drawing on the concept of crossbenching, the paper argues for a realignment of short-term oriented ambitions of foreign design activism to a critical and ethical spatial practice built on long-term relationships with the community. Working with residents in Kesennuma, Miyagi Prefecture, the After Landscape project serves as a case study to reflect on long-term engagements and links between Australia and Japan, crossing research, teaching and cross-cultural exchange. The case study is discussed against broader ideas of design activism, placemaking and participatory processes. It highlights how the external (foreign) view and careful placement within a community and network of practice, offer valuable techniques for engaging with sensitive political, societal, and environmental issues, advocacy and spatial design in the local recovery process. This paper further situates the case study against other foreign community projects to discuss the critical role of funding organizations in providing opportunities for sustained exchange, research and collaboration.

Keywords: cross-cultural collaboration, design advocacy, critical spatial practice, Tohoku recovery process

Advocacy for fostering Kanazawa's Ra-shi-sa (uniqueness/identity) and culture-led Machizukuri (community planning)

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Abstract

Kanazawa, Japan, is known as a historic castle town and is famous for culture-led Machizukuri. After the arrival of shinkansen (the high-speed bullet train), the city had a large influx of tourists and investment, which caused the crisis of cultural authenticity. Members of "Syuto-Kanazawa", one of the biggest organizations working on community planning in the region, felt a sense of crisis in losing cultural identity due to the over-tourism and started an advocacy project to protect and foster Kanazawa's Ra-shi-sa, which translates to "uniqueness" or "identity" in English. The project includes having a series of discussions, hosting several symposiums, and making proposals. This paper examines how to preserve ra-shi-sa in a city with culture-led machizukuri through participant observation. I found that the processes, discussions, and publications for advocacy were accelerated by the shinkansen and tourism, and the NPO has worked as a foundation that makes people return to essential values and helps culture-led machizukuri become more sustainable without losing its authenticity.

Keywords: Identity, Machizukuri, Community

1.Introduction

Culture and "Ra-shi-sa" in a city

Culture has become the center of a government's planning strategy for developing city brands and creative city images. Colomb (2011) claimed that there are three types of relationships between culture and urban regeneration; "culture-led regeneration," "cultural regeneration," and "culture and regeneration."¹ Among them, she considers "culture-led" regeneration as the strongest relationship, using culture as an "engine" of regeneration. The explanation can be applied to machizukuri (community planning), which follows these types of relationships with culture. The strengthening of these relationships helps differentiate the city brand from

¹ Claire Colomb, "Culture in the city, culture for the city?" (2011)

other cities in an era of increasing inter-urban competition. Therefore, according to her definition, today's culture-conscious machizukuri can be considered "culture-led machizukuri," which means that culture "works as catalyst and engine"² to promote and strengthen machizukuri activities.

However, culture-led machizukuri sometime causes a large influx of tourists, and excessive tourism uses culture as a commodity. This often happens in tourist areas, which face the challenge of protecting the city's original identity. In response to this anxiety, cities like Kyoto, Ginza (Tokyo), and Kanazawa (Ishikawa) started discussing how to best preserve their identity. The areas use the term "Ra-shi-sa," which translates to "uniqueness" or "identity" in English, in the discussions about machizukuri.

There are certain patterns of initiatives for these ra-shi-sa discussions. One is a government-initiated discussion and the other community-initiated; Kyoto is the former, while Kanazawa is the latter, and Ginza is more mixed-pattern, initiated by community and established a collaboration scheme with the government.

Out of the above cases, this paper takes Kanazawa as a case study area and demonstrates community-oriented advocacy-type ra-shi-sa discussions in the context of culture-led machizukuri for practice among other communities.

This paper examines how to preserve ra-shi-sa in a city with culture-led machizukuri.

2. Case study: Kanazawa, culture-led machizukuri, and discussion of ra-shi-sa

Kanazawa, Ishikawa prefecture, Japan is a middle-sized city with a population of 460,000. It is known as a historic castle town from the 16th century when the Maeda family started to rule over it. The city is known for culture-led machizukuri and booming tourism after the opening of the shinkansen in 2015.

2-1. Culture-led machizukuri

The city has been known for its culture, one of which is kogeï (crafts), including gold-leaf work and kimono dyeing, fostered by the Maeda family since the Edo period. The other cultural asset is the historic townscape with its machiya (traditional townhouses), which remain intact because the city was saved from war damages in the Second World War. With these assets, the city initiated culture-led machizukuri, such as becoming a member of the UNESCO creative cities network in the category of craft, and building the Kanazawa 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art that is known for its innovative architecture and exhibitions, which bolsters the city's creative image. The museum influences art activities, including gallery openings and exhibitions of new kogeï.

² Colomb (2011)

2-2. Shinkansen effect and ra-shi-sa discussion

The biggest turning point was the arrival of the shinkansen (the high-speed bullet train), connecting Kanazawa directly to Tokyo in 2015, after over 40 years since the initial plans. The following effects were observed in the wake of the shinkansen's arrival. Tourism induced a lot of investment; a large part of it was for building hotels.

1) Tourism

As expected, the number of tourists increased after the arrival of the shinkansen. In particular, foreign tourists started to pour in and stay overnight, keeping pace with inbound effects all over the country. The number of foreign tourists staying overnight in 2017 was twice as many as in 2014, according to the city's count.³

In the tourist area in the city, a designated historic area, there have been an influx of investments even before 2015 in expectation of the shinkansen-effect. Right before the shinkansen, active transactions of lands were observed in the designated historic area with the expectation of an increase in the number of tourists.⁴

2) Investments

The construction of hotels is booming, and there might be more than 10,000 rooms in 2020 according to one estimate.⁵ Of these, 2500 rooms will open between 2016 and 2020. The station area undergoes more active transactions because of its convenience. As Figure 1 shows, property prices, which had been stagnant since the bubble economy burst, showed a sharp recovery from 2013.

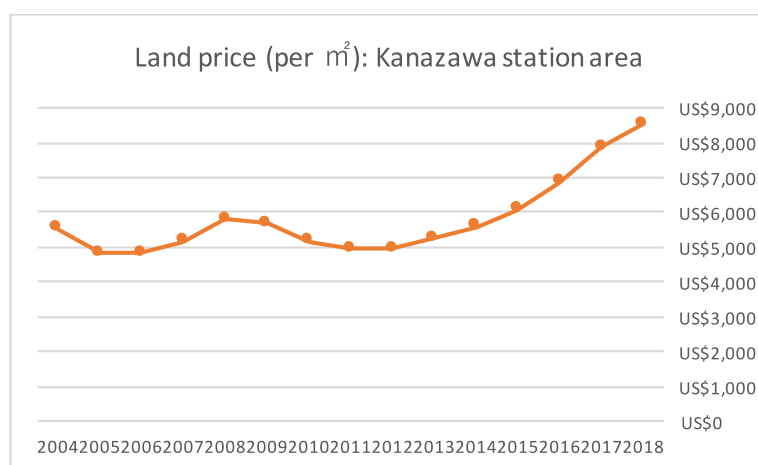


Figure 1. Change in land price in the Kanazawa station area (in US\$)
Data:-Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism

³ Tourism research (2017) by the city of Kanazawa

⁴ UCHIDA (2015)

⁵ Development Bank of Japan, Inc. (2017)

The shinkansen effect generated an influx of tourists and investments along with a reputation as culture-led machizukuri; it also made the community anxious that the change might destroy the city's "ra-shi-sa." This led to discussions initiated by the community regarding what defined Kanazawa's ra-shi-sa.

2-3. Citizen-led movement of advocacy for culture-led machizukuri and ra-shi-sa

While the shinkansen effect drove property prices up and caused the expected crisis of cultural authenticity, citizen-led movements had been speculating on the significant changes due to the arrival of the shinkansen since before 2015. This included the establishment and activities of a non-profit organization, "Syu-to Kanazawa," one of the biggest organizations working on community planning in the region. A sense of crisis was anticipated from loss of cultural identity due to over-tourism and an advocacy project was started to protect and foster Kanazawa's ra-shi-sa. The following are the processes of its activities over ten years.

1) Process of citizen movement:

-Establishment of non-profit organization

One of the founders of the NPO, and all-time chief director, Mr. Ura, an architect, recalls why he started the organization⁶:

I joined Kanazawa Junior Chamber, and started to have machizukuri experiences since then. I started to think that the top-down planning era had ended, and we needed to work together with a bottom-up approach in this low economic growth era. So, I thought we need to foster new leaders of machizukuri who can work through an open decision-making process with the community.

At that time, the Junior Chamber developed the "Syu-to Kanazawa plan" a year before the 21st Century Museum opened, a turning point for Kanazawa, I think. We thought machizukuri should be sustainable and endogenous, that is why we invented the word "syu-to," which means tasteful and one-of-a-kind city. It was like a slogan, making it easier for residents to understand.

After the plan, we started to hold a summer festival called "To-ryo-e" and established a non-profit organization to increase publicity. We also started a series of discussions on machizukuri in Kanazawa.

The NPO, Syu-to Kanazawa, was established in 2006 and works as a key organization with a bottom-up approach to raise cultural awareness in machizukuri in Kanazawa.

-Growth of membership and expansion of activities

Since its establishment, the number of members has increased to over 260 (in 2018). Members are diverse, which fosters creative ideas.

⁶ The interview was conducted in December 2014 by the author. All the records are on the web. (<http://machihitokanazawa.com/essay/>) (in Japanese)

As for the activities, 223 activities were counted according to the administration office of the NPO. In the first three to four years, they mainly comprised night lighting events in the city center, but the content started to have more variety as members diversified. For instance, more art and kogeï-oriented events, including uniquely-styled tea ceremonies, have been held in the last five years.

The NPO employed two types of methods for advocating culture-led machizukuri and ra-shi-sa, as follows:

2)-Method (1) Advocating proposals for culture-led machizukuri

Advocacy for promoting culture-led machizukuri started far before discussions on ra-shi-sa. As a method for advocacy, the NPO developed plans and policy proposals for machizukuri (see Table 1). The 2004 plan led to the establishment of the NPO, while another one in 2008 was developed after the NPO started. The 2008 proposal was developed right after the establishment of the NPO, so it served as a principal axis for future activities.

Table1: The components of the plans and proposals initiated by the private sector⁷

	Syu-to Kanazawa plan by Kanazawa Junior Chamber (2004) “Becoming a leader as a symbol of an independent local city”	Syu-to Kanazawa policy proposals by NPO Syu-to Kanazawa (2008)
General Remarks	-Creating the word “Syu-to” (a city, tasteful, and capital of culture) -Becoming a leader as a symbol of an independent local city	1) Becoming a world-class center of culture 2) Sustaining the urban economy with dignity 3) Encouraging responsible and motivated citizens
Specific Ideas	1. Establishing a local economic foundation (1) A project for improving local tourism -Building a convention hall at the former castle site -Hands-on tourism for traditional industry -Kogeï outlet mall -Locally named vehicle registration plate (2) Craftsmanship project harmonizing the modern and the traditional -Developing international sales channel (3) Local financial stability for a sustainable future -Objective tax for supporting creative activities	Machizukuri in Kanazawa: Walkable city for strolling and enjoying the night townscape Walkable built environment: -Utilizing the waterfront -Prioritizing pedestrians and public transportation Strolling with ease: -Making public transportation a place to communicate Enjoying the night townscape with lighting events: -Creating a unique night townscape
	2. Machizukuri, Kanazawa-model (1) A project for revitalizing the city center -Improving a core area as “Kanazawa city park” -Establishment of institutions for promoting city strategy in Kanazawa -Syu-to festival initiated by community (2) Promoting Kanazawa citizens who have grace and elegance -Talent bank system (3) A project to strengthen local community and collaboration -Strengthen the collaboration in Ishikawa central area	Human resource development: Benefitting others Promoting Kanazawa citizens Developing learning culture -Collaboration between community, community center, and school Empowering citizens
		Increasing cultural values: Promoting cultural values -Revitalizing and utilizing cultural facilities (i.e. museums) -Educating the next generation for cultural projects Utilizing cultural stocks and innovation -Combining traditional and contemporary events

⁷ All contents are cited from the original reports. Translated by the author.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Networking facilities with events -Establishing a flow of funds for supporting culture -Creating a cultural business market -Fund and bank for culture -Returning a part of the profit to cultural activities as tax
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A part of those plans and proposals were implemented either by the private or public sector, directly or indirectly.

(1) Implementation and influence of the 2004 plan

Above all, the 2004 plan led to the establishment of the NPO, Syu-to Kanazawa and to the realization of the following objectives:

- Localized vehicle registration plates: The plan demanded that locally-named vehicle registration plates with the city name “Kanazawa” instead of “Ishikawa” (prefecture’s name) were needed to promote the city brand. Accordingly, after discussions, the new localized vehicle registration plates began to be issued from 2006.
- International sales channel for arts: The plan claimed that the city needed to develop international sales channels. Finally, the Kogei Art Fair Kanazawa, which invites both domestic and international art galleries to exhibit and sell art pieces, began in 2017. Since it started 13 years after the plan, it is not directly encouraged by the plan. However, the influence of the 2004 plan cannot be denied completely either.
- Festival for and by community: The plan also suggested that there should be a festival initiated by the community, called “syu-to sai,” and the suggestion was directly transformed into reality, in the form of the “To-ryo-e” festival run by the Junior Chamber. It has now changed its name, “Kanazawa 21st century kogei festival”, and become a more collaborative series of events for promoting kogei. The plan also suggested another festival, “Hikari-kairou,” a lighting corridor, which began in 2007.

(2) Implementation and influence of the 2008 proposal

The 2008 proposal was developed at the time to kickstart the NPO’s work. It was a time when people notice the shrinking local population while the shinkansen loomed closer. The following aspects of the proposal were implemented:

- Walking tour: The proposal suggested that there should be a cultural walking tour by educated and motivated “Kanazawa citizen.” The organization started conducting a walking tour mimicking a famous TV show from 2015.
- Night townscape: The bylaw for creating a night townscape was already established in 2005, and the city kept working on improving the night townscape. In 2014, the city published “Improvement plan of night townscape in Kanazawa.” The proposal in 2008 also claimed that the city needed to develop a night townscape that reflected Kanazawa’s identity. Therefore, both the private and public sectors were in harmony regarding this topic.

-Collaborative events: The proposal claimed that cultural stocks should be used more, and to connect with traditional events. A number of collaborative events were organized, including “syuzen-syokusai” (2013~) (connecting event between cuisine and arts) and the Kogei trade fair (2017~).

-Flow of funds for supporting culture: The proposal suggested a flow of funds for cultural sustainability. The city decided to start levying an accommodation tax to be used for the promotion of culture (from 2019).

3)-Method (2) A series of discussions for ra-shi-sa

(1) Publishing the book *What is “Kanazawa ra-shi-sa”? (2015)*

Members of Syu-to Kanazawa felt a sense of crisis in losing their cultural identity due to the over-tourism and started an advocacy project to protect and foster Kanazawa’s ra-shi-sa, “uniqueness “or “identity” in English. The project included having a series of discussions with the former mayor and creating proposals for protecting ra-shi-sa. A part of the outcomes of the discussions were published as a book titled *What is “Kanazawa ra-shi-sa”?*

The discussions were held nine times between June and November 2013, and in the process, ra-shi-sa was discussed, as Figure 2 shows.

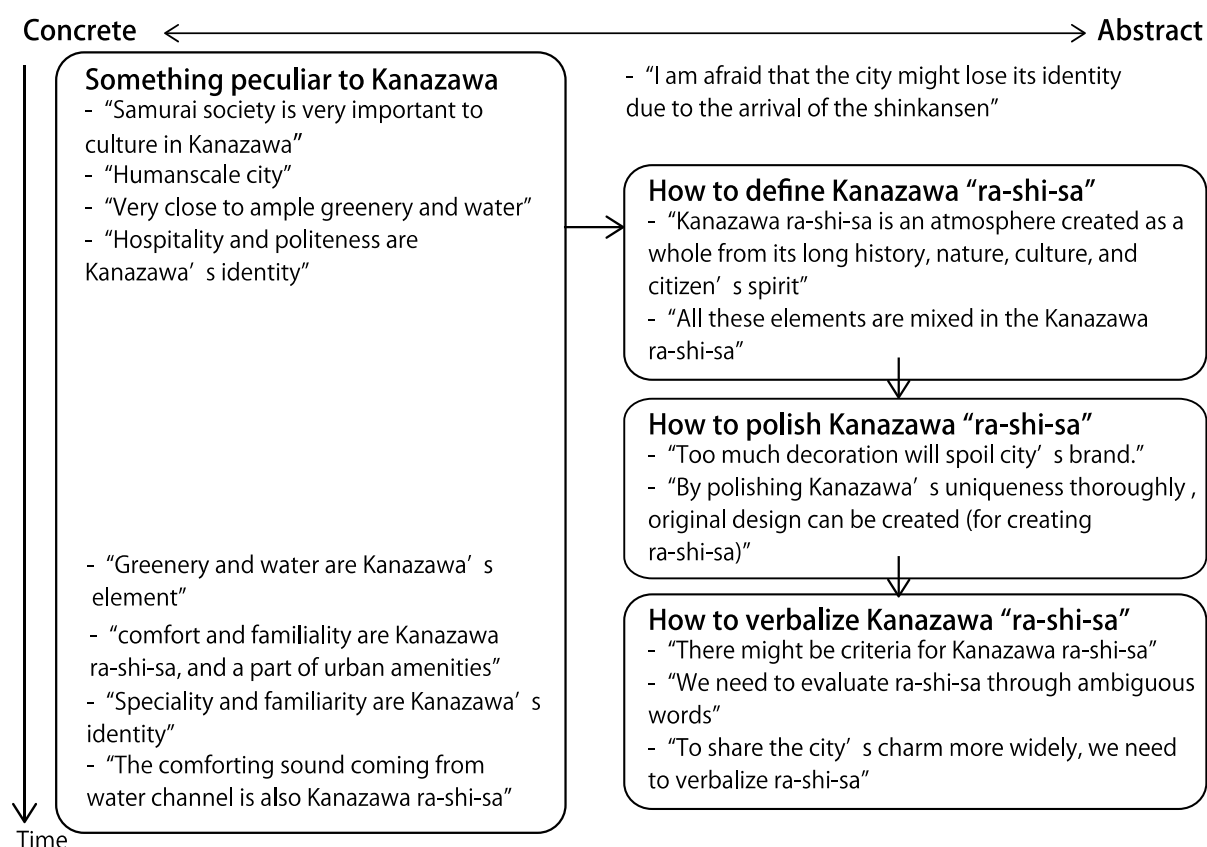


Figure 2. Ra-shi-sa discussion series

Data: Report of the series of discussions in 2013 edited by the NPO

The discussions were not only about what was peculiar to Kanazawa, but also how to uncover the ra-shi-sa. First, the main topic was how to define ra-shi-sa, and subsequently, as concrete ideas emerged during the sessions, they shared ideas on how to verbalize Kanazawa ra-shi-sa. A book was published after the dialogues, and it concluded that Kanazawa ra-shi-sa had four components: human scale spaces, hospitality, urban nature, and being professionals at creating something. The book helped promote the importance of the community's discussion on the city's identity and led to further discussions.

(2) Developing proposals for the future: Based on the ra-shi-sa discussion

Subsequently, in 2017, the NPO held seven open discussions, inviting members who had worked on the organization's activities. The topics of these discussions were as follows: "Machizukuri by NPO," "Industry-academia collaboration machizukuri," "Art and machizukuri," "Community and machizukuri," "Machizukuri with regional collaboration," "Culture and economy," and "Diversity of machizukuri." The goal was to develop a proposal called "Fifteen things should be engaged for Kanazawa in 2030" based on the practices and experiences of the organization; it was meant to be impactful for advocacy efforts to foster ra-shi-sa.

So far, the structure of proposal includes "Improving the quality of culture," "Connecting to the world as city with culture-initiated economy," "Creating tasteful city space," "Fostering creative community," and "Building strategic inter-urban relationship" (these contents are still tentative, to be discussed).

-Differences from the previous proposals

During the discussion, participants' remarks regarding ra-shi-sa were not only about which ones should be preserved, but also about being "local" as a part of Kanazawa ra-shi-sa. Some participants said that some sort of "slowness" is also part of the identity, compared to Tokyo, and these kinds of remarks reflect the fundamental change in the new proposal. Regarding culture-led machizukuri, some participants mentioned that the NPO could work as a platform for culture to both preserve traditions as well as welcome the outside.

Compared with the previous proposals, the issues including the flow of funds for the sustainability of culture, and connection-building through international sales channels continue to be discussed, but there are definite differences between 2018, and 2004 and 2008, as follows:

-Considering the value of culture, both tangible and intangible, not only in a material, practical way, but purely focus on the value itself. For instance, culture was strongly connected to tourism in the 2004 plan. In the current discussion, the view that "culture-led machizukuri is not for tourism, rather for culture itself" is predominant. It is because they underwent the ra-shi-sa discussion.

-More focus on community, rather than on fostering individuals called “Kanazawa-citizen” in the previous proposals. It is because the process of NPO activities made people grow.

-Claiming the importance of wider regional cooperation, not only within the Hokuriku region to which Kanazawa belongs, but a wider area. This is because the NPO experienced collaborative activities beyond the municipal border.

These differences stem from a more mature understanding of culture and human resource development through ten years of practice. The practice of collaborations changed the way of machizukuri along with dramatic social and demographic changes. However, these mature ways of advocacy would not have been developed without the coordinated efforts initiated by the previous proposals.

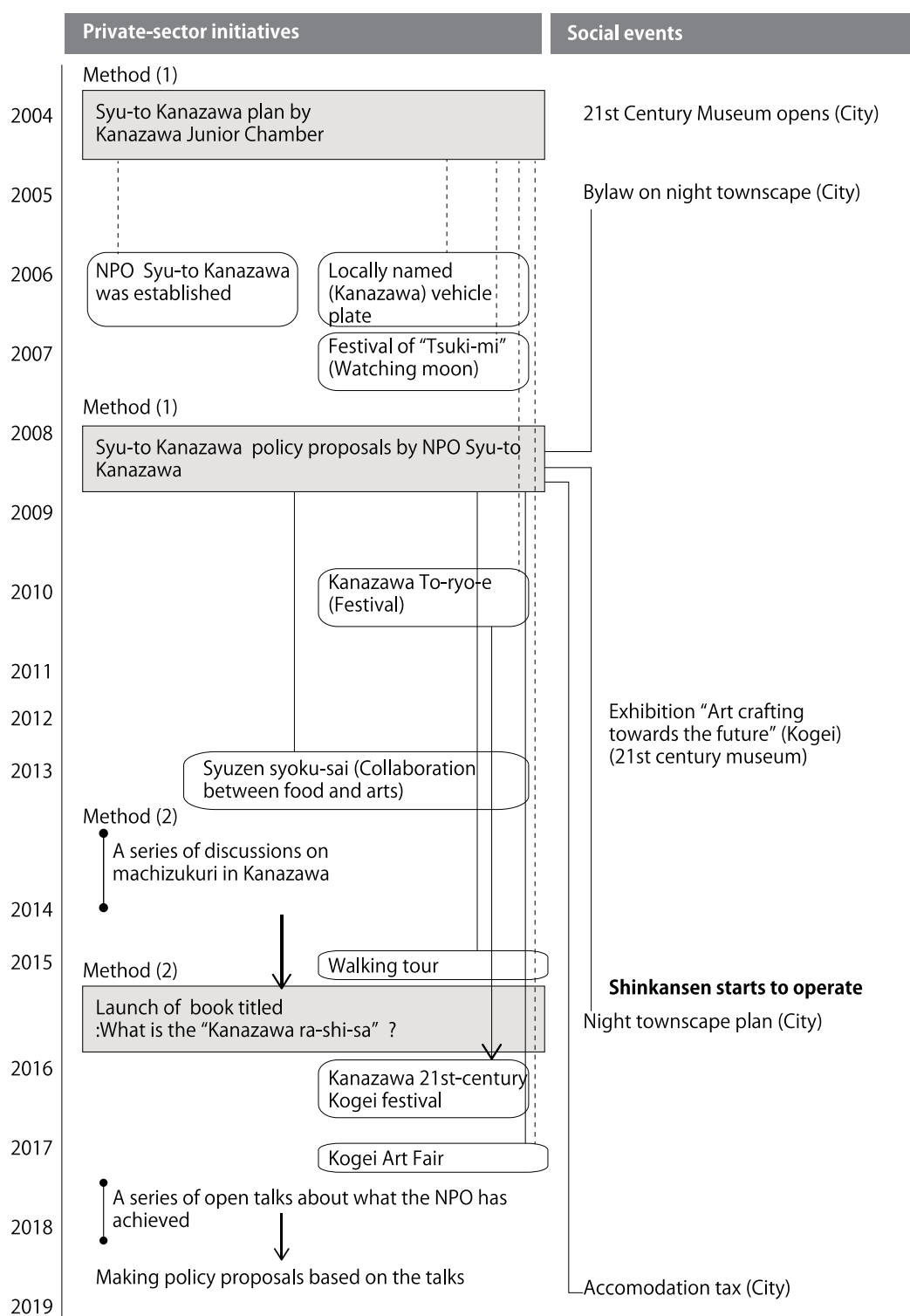


Figure 3. The interrelation of methods and social events

3.-Conclusion

Culture-led machizukuri originally enhances a city's assets and ra-shi-sa. However, the consequent excessive tourism may result in an identity crisis. In Kanazawa's case, the

discussion of ra-shi-sa was initiated by the community, which was anxious about social changes in the city.

The methods the community used were to share what they already had in the city and to verbalize ra-shi-sa by publishing proposals through discussions. The improvements from previous versions to the latest one illustrates the progress of the citizen's advocacy movement. The process changes the quality of culture-led machizukuri from a construction-oriented and practical way of thinking, to understanding culture itself more deeply and to be more conscious about the sustainability of culture. The advocacy is not only to the city government, but also to change the community's way of thinking. During the process, ra-shi-sa became the keyword to raise awareness.

These processes, discussions, and publications, were accelerated by the shinkansen and tourism, but the NPO has worked as a foundation that makes people return to essential values and helps culture-led machizukuri become more sustainable without losing its authenticity.

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I would like to thank the members of the NPO Syu-to Kanazawa, especially those who attended the series of discussions, and actively work on the issues related to ra-shi-sa.

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Revitalizing China's Countryside with NGO's Participation——A

Case Study of Yanhe Village, Hubei Province, China

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Abstract

Alongside the accelerated urbanization, China's countryside has been greatly impacted. This has caused many social problems such as rural hollowing, aging and left-behind children. Under China's current revitalizing countryside movement, actors have changed from single to plural. Previously, the rural governance structure in China is "township government—village/party committee—villagers". There lacks the management of public goods in rural areas, and the governance effectiveness at grassroots level is weak.

In this vein, the paper selects Yanhe Village as a case, and investigates the collaborative place-making process and mechanism. There are multiple actors throughout the revitalization. Besides local government and villagers, one important actor is an NGO called "Beijing Green Cross (BGC)". During 2003-2010, BGC has successfully collaborated with local government, and mobilized grassroots villagers to play roles. In result, the environment appearance of Yanhe has been greatly improved.

The process of Yanhe's revitalization is divided into three stages: (1) improving environment; (2) seeking production profits; (3) reviving folklore culture. During the construction, the government improves the physical environment; Villagers and tea traders lead industrial development; NGO provides professional planning and spiritual training. This pattern stands in sharp contrast to the traditional pattern. The research then reveals its indigenous implementation paths, such as searching for passionate village sages, skills training of villagers and the reconstructing cultural beliefs, etc. Finally, BGC's challenges when participating in rural revitalization is summarized. Empirically based and theoretically informed, the paper intends to put forward suggestions for collaborative place-making towards healthier and more sustainable villages.

Keywords: Rural Planning; Rural Revitalization; NGO; Multiple Participation; Collaborative Placemaking

Introduction

With the acceleration of urbanism in China, the countryside has been greatly impacted. The villagers are incapable and unconditionally continuing traditional agricultural production. More and more rural youth laborers are flocking to cities and places with relatively high dense populations and better conditions to make a living. This has led to many social problems such as rural hollowing out, aging, and left-behind children. It has been found that the government's promotion of rural construction pursues short-term economic growth while simplifying the rural structure. The endogenous model with people's development is the lasting driving force for regional development (Wang, Liu & Wang 2011). In the current practice of revitalization in China's countryside, the rural revitalization model has shifted from "external promotion" to "internal growth". In addition to the previously dominant government, companies, planners, villagers, and non-governmental organizations are also involved. To a certain extent, this aspect has solved the dependence of China's "township government-village/party committee-village" governance pattern. On the other hand, local governments and villagers lacks governance of public goods and the management at grassroots level is weak, more organized entities are needed to participate. The township construction process of Yanhe Village in Hubei Province adopted the cooperation mechanism of grassroots government, NGO and villagers and enterprises. From the environmental rectification, the local resources were effectively utilized and achieved good self-sustainability and development

1. Theory

1.1 Research on NGOs

Since the 1970s, the climax of research NGOs has been set up internationally. China has also conducted a lot of research on NGOs in the 1990s. The research results of NGOs at home and abroad have been greatly enriched and developed the related theory. Based on the research results of domestic and foreign "NGO" issues, the current research on "NGO" issues, especially the research on "NGO" issues in China, mainly focuses on the following aspects: (1) The organization theory and system of NGOs Research on internal operational management mechanisms and self-capacity construction, etc. (2) Research on the relationship between NGOs and governments, NGOs and markets based on "double failures" and civil society development; (3) Participation in social governance and NGOs Conduct research on related project activities. Few people have linked NGOs to rural development. Fewer people have linked NGO development to rural revitalization practices. Some of the problems and difficulties encountered by NGOs in participating in the rural revitalization process in China are even more unattended. Based on this, this paper attempts to analyze the necessity, status

quo and problems of NGO participation in beautiful rural construction with the guidance of endogenous development, and proposes relevant suggestions and countermeasures to solve the problem of NGOs participating in the construction of beautiful villages. In fact, it is expected to provide guidance and suggestions for NGOs to participate in rural construction, especially the revitalization of rural China.

1.2 Endogenous development as a model of rural development

At present, China has entered the stage of promoting agriculture through industry and promoting countryside through towns. Rural development faces enormous opportunities. However, the long-term development of external development relying on development assistance from the government and foreign companies cannot effectively solve the problem of sustainable and stable development in rural areas. Under this background, the endogenous development has become more and more obvious, and the theoretical basis and development mechanism of endogenous development are worthwhile to explore.

The endogenous development model originated in the 1960s and entered the forming stage after the 1990s (Guo, Liu & Li 2012). At the end of the 20th century, the theory of endogenous development in the West turned more to the development imbalance in the local area, especially the problem of rural development (Zhang & Teng 2013). At its core is the process of self-sustaining and development through local resources. Endogenous development is not a so-called "closed". It has a certain connection with the outside, emphasizes the autonomy of the transformation process of the local economic system, and development is not subject to external control (Garofoli 2016). At the same time, emphasizing the public participation of grassroots residents, the government should regard the ideas of local residents as the most important reference for formulating policies (Wang & Huang 2009).

2. Rural Revitalization in Yanhe

Yanhe Village is located in the southwest mountainous area of Hubei Province and is affiliated to Wushan Town, which is known as the "Top Ten Famous Tea Towns in Hubei". The village covers an area of 12 square kilometers, with 225 households, 910 villagers, 550 acres of arable land and 700 acres of tea gardens. At the same time, the Han River which near the Yanhe Village is a major water conservancy project in the middle line of the South-to-North Water Transfer Project (Hanjiang Section) and an important water supply area for Beijing-Tianjin region. However, with the economic development and population increase of the Han River basin, the Han River and its five major tributaries are seriously polluted. The mid-line water transfer has undoubtedly aggravated the pollution, and the region's ecology has deteriorated drastically. The local government hopes to promote regional ecological

environment management through the construction of two ecological communities in rural areas and cities, and resolve the ecological crisis brought about by the mid-line project.



Figure 1. Environmental conditions before and after the construction

Since 1992, Yanhe Village has started to plant tea under the leadership of the village collective, and has achieved certain economic benefits, but the overall environment of the village has not been greatly improved. In August 2003, BGC was invited by the local government and NGOS to visit the Hanjiang River Basin for four times. Finally, two villages in Wushan Town, including Yanhe Village, were selected as pilots for ecological rural construction. By then, the construction of a new socialist countryside has not yet begun, and the construction of Yanhe Village has not relied on special government funding. With the help of BGC, the local village committees launched a wide range of village self-government. In five years, the project greatly improved the village's environmental outlook (Figure 1), increased the income of the villagers, attracted the return of young people, created local cultural brands and reshaped the cultural ecology of the country. According to the survey, as of June 2005, 80% of the villagers' knowledge of waste classification has passed, and 30% of them have mastered the knowledge of garbage classification (Sun & Wang 2006). In 2017, the per capita income of Yanhe Village reached 22,000 yuan, which was 7 times higher than that at the beginning of construction in 2004. It received more than 300,000 tourists and the annual income of the collective economy was 1.8 million yuan. It has been rated as a national civilized village, a national green well-off village, the country's best livable village, China's most beautiful leisure village, national ecological cultural village, national agricultural tourism demonstration site, and China's rural tourism model village.

Endogenous development emphasizes self-sustaining and development based on local resources. This process is not completely closed and can be related to the outside world, but the place owns autonomy. In addition, improving cultural welfare, establishing diversified industrial linkages, and achieving residents' participation are also key points of the endogenous development model (Miyamoto & Pu 2004). Looking at Yanhe Village from the perspective of endogenous development model (Table 1), its development does not rely on the support of government funds and the involvement of external capital, mainly relying on local ecological environment resources and tea planting industry. The village committee and the

villagers made great contributions to the village construction. NGOs promoted the village environment, rural cooperatives promoted economic development, and local enterprises further accelerated village development. In the construction, traditional beliefs and folk culture were excavated, which enriched the local villages; relying on tea planting, it derived three-dimensional industrial forms such as agricultural product cultivation and eco-tourism; respected the needs and wishes of the villagers and called on the villagers to participate in the construction. In general, the internal elements of the village of Yanhe Village have been effectively integrated and their own development capabilities are strong, which is a successful practice case of the endogenous development model.

Table 1. Important Factors Affecting Rural Revitalization in Yanhe Village

Factors	Content	Exogenous	Endogenous
Policy	Construction of rural ecological communities	√	
Funds	Government funding support	√	
	Farmer's own funds		√
Resources	Agricultural resources		√
	Labor resources		√
	Cultural resources		√
Product	Attracting tourists from other places	√	
Market outcome	Villagers receive income		√
	The development of Luohe Village is in the forefront of Gucheng County	√	
Participant	Village committee		√
	BGC	√	
	Tea merchant		√
	Rural cooperative		√
	Villagers		√

3 Environment-Industry-Cultural

Yanhe Village does not have the advantages of transportation and resources, and the industrial development lags behind. The main problems in rural construction are:

(1) The overall ecological environment is poor and the villagers have low environmental awareness. The garbage in the village is everywhere, the sewage is flowing, and there is no hardware infrastructure such as garbage collection and sewage disposal. For the development

of the industry, all the trees on the mountain were cut down and the soil erosion was serious. At the same time, the sewage from many villagers' homes is directly discharged to the road. The villagers generally believe that the environment outside their homes has nothing to do with themselves, and there is no collective awareness to protect the village environment.

(2) The architectural style is disorderly and lacks local characteristics. The living environment of the villagers is poor, and some human and animal houses have not been separated. There are both damaged and red brick houses in the village, as well as renovated European-style buildings. The overall architectural style is uncoordinated and lacks localized architectural features.

(3) Living poverty, low level of education and entertainment. The village is mainly based on farming, and its income is meager. Most young people choose to go out to work. The education funds and teachers are seriously inadequate. Even the school principals go out to work, the teachers sell tea, and the education level is very worrying. The recreational activities of the villagers are also relatively monotonous, and the sound of playing mahjong can be heard everywhere.

After in-depth on-site investigations and residents' visits, the village committee and the GBC unanimously decided to adopt the construction mode of "first living and then production and started the construction of Yanhe Village with waste separation and recycling as the entry point.

3.1 Starting from environmental remediation

From 2003 to 2004, the rural construction of Yanhe Village was mainly carried out around environmental remediation and the improvement of residents' environmental awareness. (1) Waste separation and recycling. At the village meeting, the village rules and regulations were passed and a consensus was reached on "no garbage". The whole village advocates garbage separation and recycling and encourages each villager to make garbage classification for each household. Each household has its own garbage bins classified and then collected by the full-time cleaning staff of the village group garbage classification center. (2) Housing and production are ecological. With the construction of biogas, the condition of the kitchen, the toilet and the circle are changed, and ecological home is built. As the building materials, the kiln-fired clay bricks are rejected, and only environmentally-friendly and non-burnt bricks are used. In the cultivation of agricultural products, it is forbidden to apply chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and only bio-pharmaceuticals can be applied to ensure that all agricultural products are green and organic foods. (3) Supporting green public facilities. Establish a water reuse system in the west of the village and show the villagers the whole process of sewage treatment. Adopting the concept of eco-green building design, the village has successively built the Yanhe Tea House, a three-in-one canopy villa that uses living water, toilets and

organic fertilizers, as well as a library and night school for villagers. Plant trees and ecological forests such as camphor, weeping willow, bamboo, osmanthus, etc. are planted along the river and on both sides of the main road and in front of the villagers' houses. Solar street lamps are used to illuminate the main concentrated areas of the villagers. (4) Enhance environmental awareness. Training courses are set up in the village to promote the knowledge of waste separation and recycling and introduce some rural construction experiences. The BGC helps organize the village volunteer team to participate in the voluntary work of environmental remediation. The village charity team helps the neighbors to help and care for each other. After school, the children will become “Sanitation Guardians” to help promote environmental protection knowledge and supervise the classification of household waste.

3.2 Cultivation of ecological industries

Until the early 1990s, Yanhe Village was still a poor mountain: the village cut trees to buy grain. And the mountains gradually exposed and can cause flash floods when it rains heavily. Beginning in 1992, the village cadres began to lead the villagers to build tea gardens. In three years, they have developed 1200 mu of tea gardens, which has freed the villagers from poverty. Subsequently, trees such as *Eucommia*, cedar, Chinese prickly ash, chestnut, and Ouyang were planted, and various economic crops such as sweet potato, peanut, and rape were planted, and the aquaculture industry was developed. The three-dimensional comprehensive development of tea gardens was implemented, and the income of Muping increased by more than 800 yuan. In order to improve production and living conditions, the village raises funds to repair rivers and build roads. With the embryonic form of ecological tea gardens and ecological forests, it has brought opportunities for the development of the ecological industry in Yanhe Village.

The rectification of the ecological environment and the development of the tea garden have greatly improved the rural appearance of the village and attracted people from all over the world. Party members in the village took the lead in setting up farmhouse music and gradually formed a tourism industry chain of “tea garden-farm-house”. Under the support of the two main industries of tourism and tea industry, poultry breeding professional households came into being, and various supporting service shops were also built to provide jobs for left-behind elderly people and women. Yanhe Village also guides and cultivates local specialty brands, including organic tea “Jade Emperor Sword” and pollution-free food “Yuhexiang”, which promotes local tea, eggs, pig's trotters and wild vegetables. In October 2007, Yanhe Village established an eco-tourism professional cooperative, and organized every family in the form of a cooperative. Through the construction of a tourist reception center, Bairi Mountain, Deck Cave and other scenic spots is developed. Yanhe Village has initially formed three major tourism brands: Daoxiang Hunting Tour, Tan Xiangxiang Tour and Pastoral Scenery Tour. At

present, there are more than 180 households in the cooperative, and the dividend rate has reached 50%, directly driving more than 100 people to work.

3.3 Reshaping local culture

The “postmodern concept of village” believes that the rural world should reflect community, moral and cultural values. The BGC and the village committees also recognize that “belief is the solution to the eternal problem”. Therefore, attention is paid to the embedding of cultural elements in space places and buildings, such as the ceremonial tea altar. The tea altar is located on the hillside of the tea field. The base is a round stone lotus platform, surrounded by Qinglong, Baihu, Suzaku, Xuanwu altar, and 999 tea trees outside. In the middle of the tea pot stands a treasure trip. Under the Baoding, there is buried the soil of the five mountains, and the water of the five rivers is sprinkled around. There is also a heaven and earth frame on the tea altar. There are nine steps on the altar and the ground. There are 36 Shinto in front of the steps. There is a "Rage of Heaven" on both sides of the ladder. In the process of building the tea house (Figure 2), the construction workers are always required to work conscientiously, work finely, and respectfully. Some important construction steps are carefully studied and recorded. On the opening day of the tea altar, the locals elected two of the most highly anticipated tea people and unveiled them. The construction of the tea house made the villagers work more seriously and have a sense of ceremonies, which strengthened the self-discipline of the villagers. The design team also drew deep into the local architectural features, using blue bricks, stone, etc., to design a residential style with local style for the villagers.-



Figure 2. Construction of Tea altar

Since 2006, Yanhe Village has planned and organized a variety of folk activities to enrich the spiritual world of the villagers. Wushan Folk Culture Week provides a stage for various folk arts and crafts that have been lost for a long time to deepen the understanding of the villagers' traditional culture. The Wushan Scenery Painting and Calligraphy Photography Exhibition uses the brushes and cameras in the hands to record the beauty of the village and mobilize everyone's experience. Knowing the beauty of hometown; the Northwestern Tea Art Competition, which promotes Wushan tea culture, has attracted a large number of tourists.

4. Action Mechanism for Endogenous Development

4.1 Organizational structure led by the village committee

Leading by the village committee, the cooperation mechanism of NGOs, villagers and enterprises is the innovation point of Yanhe Village in the rural governance mechanism. The mechanism especially emphasizes the core guiding role of the village committee in rural construction. Sun Jun, the principal of the BGC, believes that “the selection and coordination of the village committee and the selection of village cadres will result in a 70% success.” The members of the village committee that lead the construction of the Yanhe Village have the characteristics of “in the township”, “leading the public” and “sentimental feelings”. “In the township”: most of the village committee members were born in the village and have a lot of experience in grassroots work. “In the township township”, they have a deep understanding of local resources, blood, marriage, interests, rights relations, and residents’ needs. “leading the public”, the village is an “acquaintance society”, the enterprise, the superior town government or the planning team as an “outsider” directly to guide the rural construction, lacking persuasiveness and binding force for the villagers. As the grassroots political organization of the country, the two committees of the village branch are elected by the villagers, have certain policies and control rights, and have certain authority and discourse power. “Sentimentality”, the members of the committee of the village branch take root, infiltrate the motherland culture of their hometown, plus the ambition of career work, “in the township for the township”, generally have the hope to promote the development of hometown through their own efforts. Under the participation and promotion of the village committees, the villagers' doubts and resistance to the BGC work have gradually weakened and the participation has been greatly enhanced (Table 2).

Table 2. Key Points of Village Remediation Action Plan

	main content
government	Organizing surveying and mapping work; Organize rectification planning and review; Organize funds and in-kind support; Organizational inspection and post-support.
Village committee	Discuss through planning; Coordination of actions in implementation; Organize village supervision teams; The location of the relocated households is mobilized for new work.
Villager	Progress supervision; Quality supervision; Material supervision;

	Financial supervision; Contributing labor.
acceptance	Professional acceptance; Village representative acceptance; The superior organization accepts the inspection.

The main tricks for the village committee to promote rural construction are: (1) Emphasizing by example, the village committee take the lead. "The cadres do to show the masses and take the masses to do" is the job slogan of the cadres of the Yanhe Village. The garbage classification and road construction in the village, the members of the committee are also solid participants in addition to the role of the organizer. "Party members take the lead, demonstration drive", when there are some new construction actions or industrial development ideas, villagers fear that their own interests are not daring to try, party members take the lead in practice, and when they achieve certain results, they will promote and impart experience to the villagers. When the villagers encounter difficulties during the construction process, they will seek help from the secretary. The secretary uses his own social resources to solve the difficulties for everyone. In the industry, village cadres make suggestions for everyone, register trademarks, contact merchants, and sell them. The village cadres benefited the villagers and gained extensive trust from the villagers. (2) Respect the villagers' suggestions and formulate villagers' conventions. At the beginning of the construction, the village committee convened a village meeting to discuss and approve the village agreement, forming a consensus on caring for the environment and mutual assistance. (3) Improve the supervision mechanism, with equal emphasis on rewards and punishments. Under the premise of the Convention, a set of governance reward and punishment mechanisms has been established to ensure the effective implementation of actions. The village conducts a monthly survey of farmhouse health, from one star to five stars, each with standards, from rewards to punishments, very strict.

4.2 Accompanied by a professional planning team

Another important subject of the construction of Yanhe Village is the BGC Beijing Green Cross was founded in 2003 and registered as an official non-governmental organization in June 2004 at the Civil Affairs Bureau of Yanqing County, Beijing. It takes environmental protection as its starting point. Over the past decade, it has carried out various modes of new rural construction and has now grown into a professional rural construction organization in China. Although the local village committee has deep understanding and construction enthusiasm for the local community, it lacks planning and construction expertise. BGC helps the government to change the concept of development, use its social resources to contact experts and designers, and provide a large amount of technical support for the local

government: In the sewage treatment, they invited the experts of the Environmental Protection Agency and propose to set up water recycling in the village. The device enables the water to enter the buried pollution-free treatment under the action of gravity; use a group of excellent designers to design houses according to the actual conditions of the village and formulate scientific and reasonable village planning. The recognition of the BGC by the government and the village committee also ensured the smooth implementation of the project and provided certain funds and policy support in the later period. NGOs trained villagers from a professional perspective, made suggestions for industrial development, and promoted environmental construction and industrial cultivation. Tea-tea merchants have increased their knowledge in construction education and invested in it. At one time, the number of “tea brokers” in Wushan Town reached more than 400, which greatly promoted the local tea brand and promoted the industrialization of tea production. With the improvement of environmental governance, villager autonomy and other mechanisms, the BGC has gradually changed from the initial leadership and overall planning to recommendations and consultants. This also ensures that the villages reduce their dependence on external organizations and enhance endogenous development capabilities.

4.3 Extensive participation of villagers

Participation is a core concept of development and has been widely recognized as the minimum requirement for success and sustainable development (Matthew 2009). During the construction of the village, the two committees and the BGC encouraged the villagers to participate and played an important role. Although the villagers do not have the expertise of village construction, they are full of desire for knowledge and have given recognition and support to the construction work. The methods for enhancing and ensuring the participation of villagers in Yanhe Village are mainly as follows: (1) Understand what the villagers think. At the beginning of the project investigation, the villagers' families were thoroughly investigated to understand the villagers' psychological thoughts and neighborhood relationships, so as to select those families with high acceptance of transformation as model households to drive the overall transformation. (2) Cultivate the ability of villagers to participate. BGC is responsible for the construction of the peasants' spiritual civilization. By organizing the form of training courses, the General Assembly emancipates the mind and the small meeting solves the



Figure3. Rural people's town hall

problem. (3) Set up the participating places. The “People's Great Hall of the People” was built using the public space in the village for gatherings and exchanges of village construction opinions (Figure3).

Though financial resources are limited, the people are infinite. Yanhe Village pays attention to the devolution of construction responsibility, and each villager has a “task” to strengthen the villagers’ sense of collective participation. In environmental remediation, unlike some local governments that provide garbage collection devices, Yanhe Village encourages villagers to use their own barrels, bags, etc. to prepare for recycling bins for dry, wet, and hazardous waste. Some villagers think that clean the waste in front of their own homes is hygienic formalism and waste time. The village committee does not insist on it. Instead, they first guide villagers to plant some flowers in front of their houses. Afterwards, the villagers feel that the garbage affects the beauty and they consciously clean the waste. Under the organization of the BGC, the children in the village became “green guards” after school, and they gathered together in the villages to collect garbage from roads and rivers in the village. This not only reduced the environmental pressure of the village committee, but also enriched their after-school life and cultivated their environmental awareness. The government's finances are not enough to build infrastructure. The village builds the village's main roads and river embankments by raising labor and building and sharing. In the cultivation of industry, it is always emphasized that the industry must have a relationship with the villagers. From the cultivation of tea, the processing of pollution-free food to paper-cutting, and the opening of farmhouses, the villagers' main skills are mainly related to the villagers' original life, and local resources are transformed into capital. Culturally, it is not the pursuit of the snow in the spring, but the choice of the villagers. The books in the library in the village are mostly related to agricultural production, and the villagers are also familiar.

5. Conclusions

5.1 Summary

The construction of Yanhe Village not only realized the beautification of the environment, but also ensured the sustainability of planning and construction from the industrial and cultural aspects. The centralized planning and construction of Yanhe Village has been carried out for five years. Compared with some rural planning in China, it is slow, but it is this slowness that ensures the construction work is solid and effective. Sustainable human development requires economic and social sustainability, which means that poverty, livelihoods and guaranteed rights can still be eliminated after the project (Sudhir & Sen 1996). In Yanhe, the development concept of “being living first and then producing” starts with the small things that affect the life of the villagers – environmental beautification and launches a wide range of villagers to

participate in the first step of rural construction. Relying on local resources, the village established a three-dimensional integrated planting model, introduce tourism development, handicraft production, and export of agricultural products to enrich industrial forms, increase villagers' income, and realize the second step of rural construction. Then pick up local cultural characteristics, start a variety of recreational activities, shape local cultural beliefs, enrich the spiritual world of the villagers, and achieve the third step of development.

Table 3. Comparison of different rural construction models

model	Representative case	Advantages	Disadvantage
Government-led	Fucha town Linghua town Xiaogang town	Strong execution and short-term results	Easy space homogenization, continuity is not strong
Capital-based	Maweiyi Zhuquan village Hong village	The village mechanism is preserved intact	Rural space alienation
Village-autonomous	Yuanjia village Huaxi village Yonglian village	Meet the needs of the villagers and adjust the interests of the villagers	Need a strong leader

At present, rural construction (Table 3) in China can be divided into government-led, capital-based and village-autonomous modes due to different participating entities (He & Wu 2017). The traditional top-down rural planning is difficult to implement and becomes a major difficulty. The “beautiful villages” implemented by the government rely on the government's financial support, and the industrial development is unsustainable. The pattern of capital settlement and self-organization of villagers also has problems such as excessive commercialization and difficulty in promotion. As a successful case of rural construction, the value of Yanhe Village lies in the fact that the implementation of the project does not depend on the government's financial support and special geographical location. The guidance of NGOs, the leadership of village cadres, and the participation of villagers are the core factors that have contributed to the completion of the project, which makes the construction model of Yanhe Village have strong reproducibility and promotion. The Rural Revitalization Strategic Plan (2018-2022) proposed the establishment of a leadership responsibility system for implementing the rural revitalization strategy, and clarified that the secretary at all levels is the starting point for rural revitalization. In the rural construction, the main body of the committees is guaranteed, and cultivating their leadership is the key to rural construction and sustainable development. At the same time, the accompanying construction of the professional planning team and the participatory planning of the villagers provide a scientific basis and driving force for rural construction.

5.2 Difficulties in the development of Yanhe

Due to the different demands of different stakeholders, rural construction is also a process of constant game and trade-off. First, each level of government is under the leadership of higher-level government and is under pressure from the performance indicators. It is difficult to completely transform the concept of government development, slow down GDP development, explore new models of industrial economic development, and seek long-term green development. Second, the village can influence the cooperation model and content of the professional planning team's concept recognition. If there is a difference of understanding in the cooperation, the planning team needs to adjust the goals and interests of all parties and refine the construction work. Third, a small number of people do not understand the meaning of garbage sorting work, and the degree of cooperation is not high. At the same time, environmental remediation work is not done overnight, and it requires the long-term persistence of the villagers. Fourth, design and construction opinions are difficult to unify: the design of the tea alter has been changed to countless highs, and each revision will cause disputes among investors, tea garden teachers and construction teams. Fifth, BGC has used a large amount of related resources in rural construction, and it has become more and more "human debts." The local government could not provide support fund which made BGC difficult to pay the designer fees on time, and their operation was getting bigger and bigger.

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Measuring Social Impacts of Homelessness Grassroots Activism

Abstract ID # pGA15

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Abstract

Background: Established in October 2015 by a group of urban designers, students and homelessness frontline workers, Advocacy and Research Centre for Homelessness (ARCH) is a unique organisation in Tokyo aiming to change the city and its people's perspectives about homelessness. This aim is based on the organisation's belief that trying to support those in need in a community strengthens the community itself, and that local communities need to be cultivated in that way so that they become capable of being "home" for diverse groups and individuals. One of the major actions of ARCH is the Tokyo Street Count (TSC). It is a participatory night-time survey of street homelessness in central Tokyo and has been carried out bi-annually since January 2016. The program has generated the participation of more than 500 citizen volunteers and has revealed that around 2.5 times more people are found at night time compared to the official count conducted during the day. Significant media coverage and advocacy actions of the organisation followed, yet it has not made enough social impact to affect any official decisions regarding homelessness. Against this background, ARCH carries out the 6th TSC in summer 2018 with 1,000 citizen volunteers and for the first time prepares a clear logic model to cause its desired social impacts.

Purpose: This article aims to (1) develop a social impact measurement system for TSC and measure the defined impacts; (2) consider ways to increase the impacts either through an improved TSC program or an alternative program; and (3) discuss the validity, effectiveness and difficulties of measuring social impacts that grassroots activism creates.

Methodology: Impacts of TSC on participants, organisers, sponsors and local communities will be measured based on both pre-defined metrics and monetisation methods. The authors have been involved in developing the organisation's logic model and social impact measurement system, and therefore are in a position to be able to collect information needed for the measurement.

Possible outcomes: The article will demonstrate how processes of defining desired social impacts and measuring them could affect social organisation's strategies and activities. It will also provide a discussion for applicability of social impact approaches to the area of grassroots advocacy and activism.

Keywords: Homelessness, advocacy, Tokyo Street Count, social impact

A Case Study of the Community-based Disaster Prevention Activities with People with Disabilities in Sendai City

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Abstract

For people with disabilities, cooperation within communities, in addition to the support from caregivers and self-help prevention for disasters, is essential for preparing for natural disasters. However, while the Great East Japan Earthquake occurred in 2011, inclusive community-based disaster prevention has not been promoted in Japan. It appears that this has occurred due to social prejudice, lack of relationships within neighborhoods, and unsure of methods for participating in community-based disaster risk reduction programs.

Using a case study of a community-based project in Sendai from 2017-2018, this study aims to clarify the problems faced by people with disabilities when accessing disaster prevention programs. Moreover, this study suggests a trial program that people with disabilities can use to empower themselves with regards to disaster prevention and develop opportunities for building relationships within their community.

The research was a collaboration with the Center for Independent Living for people with disabilities in Sendai, and it was divided into four phases. First, we analyzed how each member currently prepares for emergencies at home. Second, using a hazard map, evacuation routes to shelters were individually analyzed for avoiding predictable dangerous points and ensuring safe transportation. Third, a field survey was conducted to check the suggested evacuation routes to shelters and to assess whether the shelter could be used with wheelchairs. Finally, we will participate in community evacuation drills and share the outcomes from the first three phases with the community members to collaboratively consider resolutions to these problems. (Figure 1)

Depending on the level of resolvable measures, these issues can be divided into three types. The solution at a basic level is to focus on self-help activities. Through these activities, people with disabilities can not only arrange for materials or prevention measures, but also empower themselves for disasters. The next is based on the support from caregivers or the neighborhood. These issues are likely to be caused by the characteristics of the disability. Last, support shortages for people with disabilities within the social system also creates disadvantages for their safety when a disaster occurs. (Figure 2)

To conclude this project, we are going to organize interview surveys with participants, including community members, questioning their awareness of disaster prevention and how their impression of each other has changed. The predicted outcome is that there will be an increase in the conception of the importance of community-based disaster prevention.

Keywords: disaster prevention, community-based activity, people with disability

Figures



Figure 1. Project Process



Figure 2. Project Concept

References

Jhalukpreya Surujlal and Rolf Gaede (2013). "Participatory strategies for raising the preparedness of persons with disabilities during crises, conflicts or natural disasters" In David Mitchell and Valerie Karr (Eds.) *Crisis, Conflict and Disability, Ensuring equality*. NY: Routledge, pp42-48

Measuring Social Impacts of Homelessness Grassroots Activism

Abstract ID # pGA15

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Abstract

Background: Established in October 2015 by a group of urban designers, students and homelessness frontline workers, Advocacy and Research Centre for Homelessness (ARCH) is a unique organisation in Tokyo aiming to change the city and its people's perspectives about homelessness. This aim is based on the organisation's belief that trying to support those in need in a community strengthens the community itself, and that local communities need to be cultivated in that way so that they become capable of being "home" for diverse groups and individuals. One of the major actions of ARCH is the Tokyo Street Count (TSC). It is a participatory night-time survey of street homelessness in central Tokyo and has been carried out bi-annually since January 2016. The program has generated the participation of more than 500 citizen volunteers and has revealed that around 2.5 times more people are found at night time compared to the official count conducted during the day. Significant media coverage and advocacy actions of the organisation followed, yet it has not made enough social impact to affect any official decisions regarding homelessness. Against this background, ARCH carries out the 6th TSC in summer 2018 with 1,000 citizen volunteers and for the first time prepares a clear logic model to cause its desired social impacts.

Purpose: This article aims to (1) develop a social impact measurement system for TSC and measure the defined impacts; (2) consider ways to increase the impacts either through an improved TSC program or an alternative program; and (3) discuss the validity, effectiveness and difficulties of measuring social impacts that grassroots activism creates.

Methodology: Impacts of TSC on participants, organisers, sponsors and local communities will be measured based on both pre-defined metrics and monetisation methods. The authors have been involved in developing the organisation's logic model and social impact measurement system, and therefore are in a position to be able to collect information needed for the measurement.

Possible outcomes: The article will demonstrate how processes of defining desired social impacts and measuring them could affect social organisation's strategies and activities. It will also provide a discussion for applicability of social impact approaches to the area of grassroots advocacy and activism.

Keywords: Homelessness, advocacy, Tokyo Street Count, social impact

A Case Study of the Community-based Disaster Prevention Activities with People with Disabilities in Sendai City

Abstract ID # pGA17

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Abstract

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Figure 1. Project Process

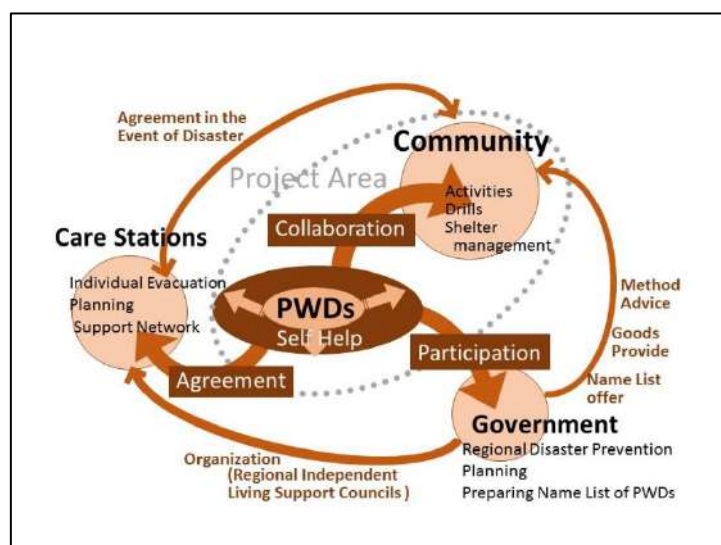


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Thematic Working Group Session

Saving Black-faced Spoonbills in the Era of Conflict of Greens

Organizer:

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Proposed Sub-Theme

GA/ Grassroots advocacy and activism

Abstract

This working group proposes an in-depth discussion to develop new strategies and tactics of community participatory design in dealing with unconventional battles against the widespread wicked problem of commercial-scale renewable energy facilities proposed on habitats essential for endangered species and multiple ecological services.

Over the past 20 years, SAVE (Spoonbill Action Voluntary Echo) International has been promoting the protection the endangered Black-faced Spoonbill (*Platalea minor*) and its habitat throughout its flyway in East Asia. As an NGO of concerned designers, planners, activists, and citizens, SAVE has advocated alternative economic development strategies that accommodate the needs of spoonbills and long-term sustainability of the communities, including establishing a fishing, cultural and ecological tourism industry to replace the Bin-nan petrochemical development proposed in prime habitat in Taiwan in 1997.

In the past 10 years, SAVE's battles have become more challenging, dealing with "green" development proposals on critical spoonbill habitats. To mitigate climate change, national governments set ambitious goals to significantly increase renewable energy generation, and critical habitats for spoonbills have been designated as ideal sites for world-largest tidal power stations in Incheon, South Korea (2007-2012) and commercial-scale solar energy development in Southwest Taiwan (2016-present). Local communities' expectations have considerably changed and the power relations among local communities, decision makers, and advocacy groups have become much more complicated than the previous battles against dirty industries. SAVE has been collaborating with UC Berkeley, National Taiwan University, National Cheng Kung University and the University of Oregon to provide project critiques and alternative plans but finds an emergency for developing effective strategies dealing with these unprecedented challenges.

The working group will include an introductory presentation of the increasing Conflicts of Greens between critical habitats and commercial-scale renewable development and the general attributes of the green battles derived from several case studies from California, Hawaii, and Korea. The presentation will be based on a paper prepared by Ko, Wang, and Dodd for the Conference to share case study alternatives, the recent green conflicts in Southwest Taiwan, and SAVE's efforts through partnerships with community groups. The presentation will conclude by posing a series of key questions of how we should proceed as planners and advocacy groups. The invited panel of experts who have been involved in relevant issues in Taiwan for the past 20 years will respond to the questions and develop strategies. The outcome of the working group will include the strategy findings from the panel discussion and will be added to the initial paper for publication.

Participants

- Confirmed: Randy Hester, Marcia McNally, Jeffrey Hou, Wan-Chih Yin
- To be confirmed: John Liu, Fuchang Tsai, Shenglin Chang, Wenling Tu, Masato Dohi
- Hsaio-Wen Wang, Adrienne Dodd (Cannot attend but contributed to the paper and the presentation)

Urban development and identity between modernity and tradition in the global oil city of Doha, Qatar

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Abstract

Today, Doha is a cosmopolitan city of about two million inhabitants with more than a hundred different nationalities within its borders. However, the speed and intensity of this urban development have favoured a model of 'fragmented' city, characterized by a low population density, social polarization, and based on the use of the car. From a spatial point of view, Doha presents advanced infrastructures and spectacular architecture, but, also, enormous corridors that fragment its urban fabric into 'islands'. Also, due to the rapid urbanization, many historic buildings have been demolished to give way to new residential towers and shopping centres causing the loss of important historical roots. A permanent conflict, thus, afflicts the growth direction of the city: on the one hand the formation of a new postmodern identity and international status, represented by spectacular mega-projects and state-of-the-art architectures; on the other, the need for a redevelopment of the ancient urban fabric and its historical architecture, in an attempt to establish new connections with local culture and traditions. In the debate between innovation and tradition, this article presents some urban projects recently concluded and highlighted essential issues regarding the processes that affect the urban development of Doha.

Keywords: Doha; conservation; identity; oil cities; sustainable urban planning

Introduction

Located between the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia, the small state of Qatar is among the countries with the fastest urban development of the entire Asian continent. Its rich reserves of oil and natural gas have made it the state with the highest per capita income in the world and have encouraged the start-up of many ‘spectacular’ infrastructure and real estate projects located mostly in Doha, capital and major urban centre of the country. The city was a tiny, sleepy urban settlement with an economy based on fishing and pearling until the 1970s when the discovery of oil and natural gas triggered unprecedented and rapid urbanization. During the second half of the 20th century, Doha transformed itself from a small village to an emerging international urban centre with a population of two million people. After this first urbanisation process, linked to the increasing oil production, Doha is now facing a second urban transformation led by a new development strategy, which has been implemented to diversify its economy.

This rapid urbanization has led to an unprecedented economic development, along with rapid urban growth and motorization. Together, this has created new social and business opportunities for the local populations but also important challenges for the local governments, especially with regard to sustainable development. Urban sprawl, lack of planning, harsh weather conditions, the absence of pedestrian walkways, and — until now — an absence of public transport are among the main problems that Doha currently faces. The city has almost quadrupled in terms of population size over the past two decades, growing from around 450,000 people in 1995 to almost 2 million today (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2018). This rapid population expansion has led to a vast urban growth, with the construction of new neighbourhoods, spectacular architecture, shopping malls, and other amenities, and completely reshaped the city.

Along with Doha’s rapid urban growth, an increasing interest in the conservation and rehabilitation of the Qatari national heritage has been emerging in recent years. In the struggle for the construction of the new city, the two opposite directions of expansion have generated a permanent conflict, between the construction of a new, modern identity and the safeguard and regeneration of the traditional local architecture (Mazzetto, 2018). How to avoid the loss of cultural heritage and historical identity while nurturing the value of its new condition as a global city strongly projected internationally? How to combine modernity, tradition, social inclusion, and sustainable development? Through the analysis of three projects, namely the redevelopment of Souq Waqif, the regeneration of degraded urban fabrics in Msheireb, and the

restoration of four Heritage Houses, we will show how, under the pressure of the strong impact of spectacular architecture that enhances the new image of Doha, the attention to local traditions and historical roots have gradually increased.

Doha's urban form and planning practice

Doha is a young, rich, and booming city that is struggling to manage its rapid urban development and planning system. The speed and intensity of this growth have led to a massive fragmentation, not only in spatial terms but also social and managerial (Azzali, 2017a). From a spatial point of view, Doha, like other oil cities, is made up of urban clusters (Azzali, 2017b). It is a city of islands, characterised by many polycentric centralities — isolated zones and neighbourhoods — that are not connected to each other and are experiencing extremely rapid horizontal growth. Its rapid expansion, accompanied by a lack of strategic vision and a comprehensive master plan, has led to the development of a cluster of themed islands, creating a fragmented and dispersed urban fabric. Indeed, each district has a dedicated function, and mixed-use areas are extremely limited. Figure 1 shows the massive zoning of Doha and how the city is segmented into themed areas (Aspire the sports district; Education City, the research centre housing all the university campuses; Souq Waqif, an area dedicated to leisure; Katara, the cultural district; and West Bay, the business centre). This phenomenon of polarisation, or clustering, is accompanied by some functional issues, which are emblematic of all Gulf cities: scarcity of parking areas and alternative streets, traffic congestion, and pollution.

Likewise, Doha is socially fragmented. Being Qatar's major urban centre, it is a multi-ethnic city with inhabitants of more than 100 different nationalities. It is home to a large community of expatriates, primarily from India (545,000 residents), Nepal (400,000 residents), the Philippines (200,000 residents), and Egypt (180,000 residents). Doha has the world's highest ratio of migrants to citizens: foreigners make up around 86 per cent of the city's overall population, while the number of Qatari nationals is about 300,000 (Jure Snoj, 2013).



Figure 1. The city of Doha: selected current and future mega-projects (Azzali, 2017b).

The commodification of public spaces is another characteristic of this segregation, with the city's rapidly proliferating shopping malls being effectively off limits to low-income foreign labourers. In fact, the Central Municipal Council introduced a regulation to limit access to these privately-owned public spaces to nationals and the high-income strata of the population through the introduction of family-only days, which discriminates against foreign labourers who are bachelors or who have left their families behind in their native lands (Fahmy, 2015). Indeed, it is not unusual to spot armed security guards at these spaces firmly escorting those of South Asian appearance towards the exits. Parks or other open-air public spaces are scattered around the peripheries, disconnected, and too limited in number to serve the needs of the growing population. Often, parks are also inaccessible to low-income migrants as there are no public transport options to access them.

Finally, with the aim of rebranding its image internationally and modernising and beautifying its centre, Doha is investing heavily in mega-projects such as five-star hotels, high-rise towers, and shopping malls. The result is that the physical appearance of the city is a metaphoric display of significant cases of goods (Fahmy, 2015). The new city's appearance has generated some conflicts of identity, arisen from the construction of the contemporary architecture, and causing

a huge feeling of extraneousness to the place of origin. The extensive construction of contemporary projects has entirely transformed the nature of Doha. The old city centre, dedicated in the past to the commercial activities, is now a fascinating construction site, where most of the high-rise buildings do not have any link with the local tradition and the memory of the site (Mazzetto, 2018). Cultural heritage is a non-renewable resource. Identity, artistry, local traditions, architecture and memory are society's cultural values, which are embedded in the urban built heritage of cities. The contemporary urban growth progress has obviously produced a loss of identity and has negatively affected the spontaneous evolution of the urban fabric, damaging the historical remains as the few surviving evidence of the past Qatari tradition (Carter, 2012).

Doha and the conservation of its historical heritage

In the past years, the local administrations of Doha city, have given very little relevance to its cultural heritage, due to the absence of any laws or regulations for their safeguard until as late as 1980. Recently, in 2005, the Qatari government has established two governmental institutions responsible for the protection and safeguard of the existing heritage: the Qatar Museum Authority (QMA), which is formed by three departments (Conservation, Archaeology, and Tourism) and the Private Engineering Office (PEO) in charge of protecting the properties of the Qatar Emir. Both QMA and PEO are responsible for an extensive projects range including the architectural restoration and urban rehabilitation of historical buildings and urban areas, with the aim of integrating the preservation of heritage into new construction projects (Petrucchioli, 2009). Nowadays, in Qatar, the legislation to safeguard the heritage includes every testimony of past culture older than 40 years old. Although the Qatari governmental laws and institutions are currently actively working for the safeguard and conservation of the local, national heritage, there is still a need to develop further information exchange and cooperation between organizations (Mazzetto and Petruccioli, 2018), to enhance the dialogue and raise standards in conformity with the international rules, with the aim of facilitating the interaction between institutions (Bianchi and Tonner, 2013).

Qatar's National Vision determines the framework within which national strategies for urban planning and regeneration must be addressed until 2030. The act envisions the construction of a modern state while conserving culture, heritage and traditional values. The program is based on four pillars: human development, social development, economic development, and environmental development (Jodidio & Halbe, 2015). The regulations and restrictions for the safeguard of heritage, imposed by the Qatari institutes on the urban scale, have permitted to control the widespread demolition phenomenon, with the aim of revitalizing the abandoned

urban fabric by reusing the areas as new entertainment places. This began with the commencement of many restoration projects such as the redevelopment of the Souq Waqif located in the historic centre of Doha, the regeneration of degraded urban fabrics in Msheireb area, and the restoration of four heritage houses that are some of the most significant interventions in Doha. The project of the Souq Waqif, supervised by the Private Engineering Office (PEO), was launched in 2004 and completed in 2008. The main aim of the intervention was the redevelopment of the neglected area by reusing the existing buildings and recovering the abandoned historical urban fabric located in the centre of Doha. Most of the ancient buildings were entirely preserved (Radoine, 2010) and some of the late elements, typologically inappropriate, were removed or transformed to be adherent with the logic of the conservative intervention. Many systems were upgraded; new light fixtures were installed on the public streets and the market spaces, protective layers of insulation against the extreme heat were introduced, together with traditional ventilation, and air conditioning systems. The Souq Waqif redevelopment intervention affected a vast portion of Doha's city centre rejuvenating a vast dismissed area (Figure 2). Many traditional functions were re-introduced, such as commercial spaces, and permanent exhibitions. New contemporary uses have also been added such as music events, and sports facilities in the new entertainment areas.



Figure 2. The completed redevelopment project of Souq Waqif.

The regeneration of degraded urban fabrics in Msheireb is another significant example of urban reconstruction where the design criteria have been developed from the analyses of the historical remains of the urban fabric. The wide-ranging urban upgrading programme denominated “Msheireb Downtown Doha” (Msheireb Downtown Doha, 2016),-which extends over a large portion of the historic centre of Doha, is currently nearing completion under the direction of Msheireb Properties. Msheireb project is based on advanced sustainable design principles and techniques, which have been combined with recent methods of heritage conservation. The intervention aims to regenerate and reuse the old Doha commercial centre, enhancing the values of its architectural characters rooted in the traditions (Figure 3).



Figure 3. The historic centre of Doha, an early view retrieved from the video of the Msheireb project (Source: <http://catnaps.org/islamic/islaqatold.html>)

The adopted contemporary design language is inspired by the Qatari architectural heritage, by creating a visible link between the ancient and the new architecture, bringing back to life the local history and culture. The project adopted the most advanced sustainable technologies and materials, proposing a new model for the urban development of Doha, based on the safeguard of the traditional values. The design is deeply anchored to the enhancement of the natural site characters, by using the natural ventilation and shadow design techniques, and by enhancing the identity of places recalling the traditional geometrical proportions of historic buildings and the re-use of traditional materials. The aim is to regenerate the abandoned commercial district of Doha and to prevent the extensive demolitions phenomenon that took place in this area in the last decades.

The recently completed project of the Heritage Houses Quarter is another crucial example of restored historical buildings, which have been brought to a new life. The houses are located the historic centre Doha and are part of the “Msheireb Downtown Doha” programme. The

intervention started in 2006 and was completed in 2015 under the Private Engineering Office supervision. The four historic residential buildings dated back to the early 20th century and are characterized by the local architectural typology, which was safeguarded and restored with particular attention to the reuse of constructional materials and the replacement of any missing element. The interventions were executed adopting both sustainable design and traditional constructive approaches to adequately preserve the value of the existing buildings by respecting the historical transformations happened during the last decades.

The four houses, Bin Jelmoood House, Company House, Radwani House, and Mohammed Bin Jassim House (Figure 4) are currently opened to the public and are re-used as museums dedicated to the history of old Msheireb Quarter and the history of local traditions. Particularly, Radwani House provides visitors an insight into how family life evolved in Qatar over the years. The house showcases not only the manner in which it changed over time, but also how domestic family life was transformed in Doha; while Bin Jelmoood House aims to raise awareness and play a pivotal role in the global abolition of human exploitation.

Recently the National Msheireb Museums has been instituted by the Qatari government to promote awareness of the restored architectural heritage, providing services and information for tourists and enhancing the appreciations of the restored buildings' values.



Figure 4. Mohammed Bin Jassim House.

Conclusions

Under the pressure of the substantial impact of spectacular architecture that enhances the new image of Doha, the attention to local traditions and historical roots have gradually increased, defining a new approach to built environment and inspiring a new vision of urbanism.

The need to preserve the cultural traditions of Doha is strongly related to the search for a new architectural identity that could emphasize the value of the local traditions. The paper presented some significant restoration projects, recently completed in Qatar, showing how these regeneration interventions could provide some possible options for the growth of the city, respecting and preserving the existing architectural culture.

All the completed projects have the primary intention of safeguarding and protecting the value of the Qatari heritage with the aim of passing it to future generations. The main aim is to develop an hypothetical totalitarian approach for the conservation of the Qatari architectural heritage, opposed to a policy of intervening on a case-by-case basis, by integrating the heritage preservation with the urban development plan of the city, and by creating protected conservative parks and areas, where the individual restorations projects are part of an organic vision in terms of roles, practices of intervention, and assessment criteria.

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The Spatial-Consciousness Dialectic for Heritage Conservation — From the personal experience becoming the owner of the 160 years old house

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Abstract

This paper aims at making clear the relationship of the people's consciousness and the place(space) in community design in heritage conservation. For that, firstly the citizen movement concerning historical townscape conservation is overviewed. Secondly as a case, my personal experience becoming a owner of 160 years old traditional house is reviewed. Finally I will try to analyze and discuss about the relationship of consciousness and place.

Keywords: Heritage conservation, Community Design, Traditional House, Dialectic, Identity, Sustainability

1. Introduction

How is the relationship of place and consciousness? Why the historical place is needed to be preserved for our life? What is the ground motive of the citizen movement preserving historical townscape? Immanuel Kant said "space and time are both *pure forms of intuition* and *pure intuitions*"ⁱ (Immanuel Kant, 1781). Japanese famous philosopher Kitaro described that "Time and Space : the field rise above consciousness"ⁱⁱ (Kitaro Nishida "Place" 1927). So, time and space is the basic matter for our consciousness.

This paper aimed at making clear the relationship of the people's consciousness and the place(space) in community design in heritage conservation. For that, firstly the citizen movement concerning historical townscape conservation is overviewed. Secondly as a case, my personal experience becoming a owner of 160 years old traditional house is reviewed. Finally I will try to analyze and discuss about the relationship of consciousness and place (space).

2. Identity and Sustainability as the Meaning of Conservation

Kevin Lynch (1960)ⁱⁱⁱ takes the view that the image of a place consists of 3 constituent factors, namely identity, structure, and meaning. These factors are always expressed simultaneously. Of the three factors, identity represents an individual or a single unit, expressed by Lynch as follows: "A workable image requires first the identification of an

object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separate entity.”(Lynch, 1960, p.8) Further, because the meaning assigned to “identity” will vary from person to person, it is important, Lynch says, that at the initial analysis stage, its meaning is clearly separated from its morphology, and concentrated research is carried out on identity and structure. At this point, Lynch coins the term “imageability” to explain the physical characteristics unifying the two concepts of identity and structure. He maintains that through the use of this term, an applicable image of the environment can be formed, combining the brightness of the concept of identity and the strength and power of the concept of structure.

Spatial sustainability of the kind referred to here is closely connected with the formation of identity, depending on the ability to identify and preserve a vital elements which may have the potential to become a powerful images (having high imageability). (Lynch, 1960).

E. Relph (1976)^{iv} takes the constituent factors of place identity as comprising physical factors, human activities, and significance, and by using accumulated investigations carried out from the perspective of both “internality”, which is rich in internal experiences, as well as from that of externality, puts forward the view that “identity” does not only consist of the enumerated constituent factors, but is also structured within a framework of social relationships.

As contextual background for his views, Relph posits the issue of “placelessness”. His presentation of this term can indeed be seen as a very meritorious achievement, since it was a result of Relph’s coinage of the term that concepts such as the identity of place or the sense of place became matters for global debate. Relph points to a trend towards homogeneity in the world and says that placelessness cannot be denied. The question that we now have to face is how “place identity” can be acquired within this framework.

Townscape conservation has meaning within this framework as a struggle to preserve local identity and place identity for local sustainable development against the power of the global economy accompanied by a high consumer society which overwhelms the local place, converting it into a state of placelessness.

3. Overview of Japanese Movement of Heritage Conservation

1) Background of the Movement of Historical Townscape Conservation

In Japan, the movement of townscape conservation (町並み保存, *Machinami Hozon*) began in the economic development age after the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964. Before that, no one wondered about building highways that destroyed historical spots such as Nihonbashi. That well-known point in Hiroshige's famous Ukiyoe painting, had a very important meaning as the beginning of the main street in Edo (now Tokyo), and many things began from this place in the Edo era. The paradigm of urban planning in 1964 was

centralized around the idea of scrap & build with regard to developing a new city. In that time of development, urban planning was placed within the scheme of economic development, with a goal of proliferation in the building industry.

In the 1970's, the age of the former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's Policy, "Nippon Retto Kaizoron 日本列島改造論(Reconstructing the Entire Japanese Archipelago)" was said to be symbolized by a bulldozer, and included plans to construct industrial complexes in rural areas and connect those rural areas by bullet train (Shinkansen). As some positive aspects of this development, the convenient traffic systems and infrastructures were made, and people's lives were modernized. On the other hand, centralization and standardization escalated, and as a result, many rural towns were rebuilt in a likeness of Tokyo, losing their own cultural identities. This can be seen, for instance, in traditional vernacular architectural styles, of which the building skills and systems for construction have been lost. Many people in all over the country dreamed that Tokyo would come to live in, and Tokyo was transformed into an enormous mega city including surrounding Kanto area. The desire to become like Tokyo also swept all over the country, as the name Ginza, the central part of Tokyo, was affixed to local town center street names, such as Shimoda Ginza, Iida Ginza, etc. and became the name of town center streets everywhere.

Over time, more and more uniformity and standardization has continuously spread all over Japan, as seen in the chains that are convenience stores and malls, fast food places, and family restaurants, and along roadsides in single-family homes created by real estate developers and pre-fabricated house manufacturers. This trend is still being sustained by the economic development ideal of that high consumer and high information society.

However, there have been alternative movements to preserve local identity against the homogeneity of modern development. Some of those movements originated with small groups in the 1960's. This was the age of bottom up citizens' movements, and brought forth *Machizukuri*. This participatory process, began in 1962 in Nagoya, whence the word became popular; *Machizukuri* – community design and bottom up community development by citizens themselves through participatory involvement.

In the 1960's, there were different types of citizens' movements, such as the Anti-environmental Pollution Movement, the Protection of the Right to Sunshine, the Citizens' and Students' Movement Against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, etc. This time in the 1960's was a time in which Japan faced an identity crisis under rapid environmental change. All of the movements might be said to have been side streams, which could not change the main stream, but whose contradictions might have become the causes for subsequent paradigm shifts, as a dialectic process gradually began to move forward at a slow pace, lying under or beside the main stream to build today's citizen participatory community design, collaboration of NPOs and local governments, and private and public partnerships (PPP), etc.

The movement of conserving historical townscape has been developing in such way for as many years.

2) Overview of Citizen Movement of Historical Townscape Conservation

In local historical towns of Japan, the movements of townscape conservation have been led by citizen groups. One famous success case is Tsumago in Nagano prefecture, in which the citizens organized a kind of association coined “I love Tsumago” in 1968, initializing a project to renovate and preserve the traditional townscape along the old main street. Their principles were “don’t sell, don’t rent, and don’t demolish”. Arimatsu in Nagoya City and Imai town at Kashiwara City in Nara prefecture, followed the example of Tsumago by organizing citizen groups to conserve historical townscapes, and those three groups organized a coalition of townscape conservation in 1974 which was referred to as “Machinami Hozon Renmei” (Machinami Conservation and Regeneration)^v. The organization has held yearly conferences since the first one in 1978, “Zenkoku Machinami Semi”, and their latest conference, the 38th, was held in 2015 and involved 68 organizations (places).

The conference has been held on an actual site for townscape conservation every year in different places. For the organizer of the conference, this means a good chance to promote the townscape conservation with support from participants gathered together from all over Japan. In addition, the participants are not only citizen movement activists, but also professors, architects, planners and other professional peoples, together with the officials of local governments. They share issues which they face for the aim of conservation and discuss how to finalize projects, by giving proposals and agendas to the government and society. The contribution of this coalition and network of citizen groups in townscape conservation is profound and noteworthy in the history of Japanese townscape conservation.

On the surface, it appears to be a good partnership of the government with citizens, but there have been many conflicts on the micro level between these groups along the way.

In today's Japanese society, it is said that we are within an age of partnership, with the collaboration of local government, citizens' organizations and private sectors. However, the partnership of government and citizen sides in townscape conservation might never have been created without the pertinacious citizens' groups aiming to preserve their historical townscapes and struggling against rampant development, gradually bringing about a paradigm shift which has led to the present age of partnership community design.

3) The Legal System of the Conservation

On the other hand, through the stimulation of these citizens' movements and local municipalities, projects like Obi Historical Castle Town conservation in Nichinan City, the necessity of the legal system to conserve the traditional townscape had been discussed and a

new system called Groups of Traditional Buildings (Dentouteki Kenzobutsugun Hozon Chiku) was established in 1975 through the amendment of the law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. It mandated the protection of groups of traditional buildings which, together with their environment, form a beautiful scene. At the moment of August, 2018, 118 districts have been classified as Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings (Juyoo Dentouteki Kenzobutsugun Hozon Chiku) in 98 municipalities^{vi}.

By order of article 134 of the Protection of Cultural Properties, local municipalities designate the Groups of Traditional Buildings under the scheme of urban planning system or other local ordinances. Among those districts, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), designates the Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings, through article 144 of the Protection of Cultural Properties.

Thus, through their application of the articles, the role of local municipalities is very important. In the fact, key local municipality officers contributed to coordinate the bottom up approach through the consensus building between property owners and the regulatory system by communicating with prefectural and national administrative offices.

If the district is designated to the Important Preservation District for Groups of Traditional Buildings, there is a subsidy for the restoration of a façade from the government. For the restoration of façades to their original historical townscape design, about 50 % of the cost is subsidized by the national government and about 30% is subsidized by local governments. Furthermore property taxes and inheritance taxes are reduced. However, the buildings are prevented from renovation into a modern style façade, so some owners are not willing to designate their buildings to the Important Preservation District, despite abundant financial support. For example, if the windows are Renji window, which is a type of window with closely put thin bars made of wood or bamboo, owners are not allowed to use a curtain, and the inside of the house may be dark. Traditional houses are inconvenient and uncomfortable to live in for today's young generations. If the regulations are strong, it might be difficult to obtain consensus from the owners. However, de-regulation is not so easy when applying designation and getting the subsidy. Therefore, the officers of local governments who coordinate between the owners and the MEXT, often meet this kind of dilemma within the conflicts regarding details when pursuing historical conservation.

In this way, the amendment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was done for the traditional townscape preservation. However, the single properties which are valuable but hard to be designated Important Cultural Heritage have been disappearing. The requirement as the condition of the designated Important Cultural Heritage was hard to satisfy and also many restrictions for its usage make the properties owners withdrawal. This issue has been discussed for long time and finally in 1996, the new system of Registered Tangible Cultural Heritage started. This system is managed not to be designated but registered, therefore the responsibility of the government was reduced and the conditions to

be registered are deregulated so that many cultural heritage would be encouraged to be registered.

Now the registered tangible cultural heritage buildings are counted as 11,762 (Nov. 1. 2018) .It was 7,407 in 2009 (March 1st.). About 500 buildings have been registered every year in an average.

However, much more historical building have been disappearing. The reasons we know and talked are as followings. 1) The old buildings don't fit to the modern living requirements such as insulation, brightness, privacy, etc. 2) In case you need the building permission when you renovate the old building, the requirements by modern building standard law will become a higher wall to overcome, and sometimes it may destroy traditional building arts. Especially earthquake resistant structure doesn't fit to the old traditional wooden structure. Even though those old wooden buildings lasted longer than 100 years, new buildings, which are said last about 30 years because the cheap artificial materials were used, are apt to replace the traditional old houses. 3) People's consciousness, which mostly thinking the new is better than the old under consumer society, sustain demolishing the old traditional houses. 4) Economic development, which has been sustained by real estate business as well as housing and construction business, encourage the scrap & build to demolish old traditional houses. To consider this situation, the legal system is still not enough to preserve the old traditional houses.

The issue of the registered cultural heritage is the maintenance and usage after registered. Most of them are not so much opened to public. There is not enough support for renovation to open to public. Man power for the management is also serious issue in rural area, though some heritage buildings are uses as a cafe or exhibition space.

4. From the Experience Becoming An Owner of Old Traditional House at Kambara in Shizuoka City, Japan

1) After I bought the 160 years old house

I bought the 160 years old house in June, 2017, which is locating on the historical post town of Tokaido, Kambara in Shizuoka city where is known by the Hiroshige's Ukiyoe of "Kambara in Snow".

Though I have been advising to preserve old traditional houses in rural areas, but suddenly for the first time I became the owner by myself. It was totally different to be a subjective actor than the outsider. Nishida's philosophy stated that the fact is in the predicative world integrating subject and object by predicate act (Nishida, 1927)^{vii}. I realized how it is difficult and a hard work to keep the cultural heritage. I experienced the issues of the legal system, tax system, traditional skills, material resources, etc., which usually may make people think it may be easier to demolish the old house to build a new house to avoid such

troubles. For the preservation of old traditional house, you need a strong consciousness to fight against such a consciousness most people may have nowadays.

The real estate market system forced the old traditional houses being demolished when the houses became empty. For instance, when I tried to get housing loan from the main bank, I was rejected by the reason that the site is difficult to be as security for loan, because it might be difficult to make a new housing lot by demolishing the house. Therefore I changed the main bank to a new one which kindly accepted to organize the housing loan. However by the tax reduction system for housing loan was not accepted because of the reason of the oldness of the house.

The site was about 1000 m² with a main house, Kura (warehouse), annex house and a garden and another house across the street in backside(south part). The main house was built in 1858 (Ansei 5) with the floor of 165 m². The Kura was built in 1926. The annex house was moved to build in 1924 from the Japanese house part of the villa located on hill side of Kambara, which was owned before by the founder of TEPCO (Tokyo Electric Power Company). This annex house is surrounded by Japanese garden with pond. This garden was made in 1942 from the images of a small tea house of Ryoanji in Kyooto, stone garden of Kenchoji in Kamakura, and the pond in the scene of Genji Story written by Murasaki Shikibu in 1008 which pond surrounded the terrace of the villa. However, the garden was cut in modern age by the new street in south part, and later at the site of the south part across the new street a small house was built for young family of the former owner in 1988.



Fig. 1 The house (inside and outside) I bought which was built in 1858.

The main house is a big town house to compare with the other town house, which is 10.8m x 16.2 m composed of Doma (earth floor corridor, court, working place) and 6 rooms.

The high beam and thick pillar made by zelkova tree, and typical traditional beam structure sustaining roof shows the traditional art of building, which we cannot see anymore today. Actually the structure shows traditional art of wooden house (picture 1). The annex house is also very specially made with the big room of 41 m² surrounded east and south side by Engawa (edge corridor to connect outside as a in between space) facing the garden.

This property was introduced by my friend Mr. K who was the director of NPO Kurashi Machi Keisho Kiko (Organization for Succession of Traditional Life and Town) , intending me to buy for my second life after my retirement. He knows I want to start Indigo dying after my retirement. The reason why he asked me to buy is the next post town from this Kambara is well known Yui Shosetsu Indigo Dyer's house was. This organization had used their money to buy a big heritage property at that time, actual intention is for the preservation of this house. Generally, if this kind of wide property will come to the real estate market, the site might be divided for selling as housing lots, after the old houses were demolished. In Japanese real estate market, the value is counted how the house is new, without considering the historical value and craft men's work.

As a professional work, I often advised to preserve the traditional houses, but for the first time I met such a case I was asked to be the owner to preserve it. Of course I don't have money enough to buy and it looked hard work for maintenance. However, the houses and garden fascinated me strongly. And also I was moved by the story that the place was the spot the Tokaido Adventure Tours for foreign tourists visited in 1960's on the way from Tokyo to Kyoto. This happened by coincidently when the bus stopped because of some trouble and the tour company looked for the place the guests of bus tour took rest and at that time Mr. Iwanabe offered the place for the guests to take rest. The guests were very much excited to see this old private house and garden. This good reputation made the travel company ask the owner to get agreement to involve this house in the tour program. In 6 years, about 13,000 foreign tourists visited from all over the world. After Shinkansen (Bullet Train) was built, this tour ended. However, this story moved me to get this house for the visitors of my friends in the world . And also some kind of inspiration came into my head that it would be a good resource for rural community development by the internationalization.

After I bought this house, I met the key persons of the community. Firstly, I met coincidently by eating Sushi, Mrs. Y who is an Madam of Sushi restaurant, serving halal food making matt for pray by recycling Kimono for Moslem people. Sushi is based on local fishes but her productions are very international.

Secondly, the group composed of mostly women titled "Kyu Igarashi Tei wo Kangaeru Kai (The Organization Thinking of Old Igarashi House)" who have been managing historical house which was the dentist house. At first, they started their movement for Kambara town to buy this old house when it became empty to avoid it was demolished. Their movement succeeded for the town to buy this property to become a Registered Tangible

Cultural Heritage and after that they have been undertaking its management to organize exhibitions and other events. Through this group I could develop the human relationship in this community.

Thirdly, Mr. M who is the leader of the community having been organizing network of the neighborhood associations and NPOs in Kambara town area. In 2006, old Kambara town was integrated to Shizuoka city. At that time he was the head of the coalitions of neighborhood associations in Kambara, and he worked to keep the local identity of Kambara in the crisis of losing the local independent governance. In place of administrative governance, he organized the network of the neighborhood associations and all of NPOs in Kambara counted totally more than 100 organizations.

Mr. M is living 100 m distance from the Old Iwanabe House I bought. He became a trusted person to manage the house when I was absent. He got an idea to call people to support the management of the house for the garden work weeding and trimming. On January 27th, about 60 people gathered for the new organization which is named “Kyuu Iwanabe Tei (Kinoshita Tei) Wo Tanoshimu Kai (The Friends club Enjoying the Old Iwanabe House (Kinoshita House))”.

2) The usage of old house

The cafe using old house is getting popular in Japan. In the fall in 2017, Mr.K asked me to organize a temporary cafe using this house by his organization to appeal the importance of old traditional house and show its usage. I agreed for them to use. It was the starting point the people think to use this house. Previously this house was not open to local people. There were many visitors especially from the local people nearby, and the cafe was opened second times again. That was the reason why so many 60 people gathered for the friends club, which Mr. M organized. In February, the third one day cafe was opened by this friends club.



Fig. 2 One day Cafe, Nov, 2017

And also from the member of this friends club, the film crew took scenes using this house and garden coming for three weeks, which film was made internationally by USA, India and Japan. A Japanese popular star came to take some shots.

In the middle of March, my Swiss friends came to live about for three months. It was a good opportunity for local people to understand my intention for the community to be internationalized, through face to face communication. It is also because of my friends contribution who are so social as extending their friendship by active communication. Through their communication, a girl of senior high school made a remarkable development in her English speaking ability. Kimono remake was encouraged through women's communication. Baking lessons became popular, etc. While their stay many friends of them visited from the world. There were many international influence to local people. After they returned to Switzerland, one resident went to visit them in Switzerland.

From July in 2018, one student K of Shizuoka Prefectural University has been living a house of the south part with the condition that the renting fee is reduced if she will work for the maintenance or usage of the old house and garden, as well as community development. She got an idea to organize a cafe monthly at the weekend of the last week of each month. It started from September. And in the November, she opened every weekend the cafe because that there is an art biennale festival.

From September 2018, the young couple T and Y have been living using the rooms on Kura. T grew up in this Kambara town and left when he studied university in Nagoya and lived in Gifu starting organic farming. They thought they liked to live in the old house and in future come back to his home town. He found my announcement looking for some one to rent rooms. When they came to see the house, soon they decided to live. Now they are farming the land which was abandoned for long time in the hill side of Kambara town.

Once I was invited to primary school when the 6th grade pupils gave the presentation as their comprehensive study result about the revitalization of Kambara town. They studied history of Kambara and today's situation. Decreasing younger generations population and increasing vacant houses are serious issues they found. One of idea is the usage of the vacant house for cafe and guest houses for international tourists. Another idea is making a QR code so that the foreign tourists who cannot read Japanese can connect by smartphone to the site of information written in foreign language in English, Chinese, Hangul, etc. Their ideas were praised and encouraged to be realized. After that the meeting of children have been held for following up to realize those ideas at my house, which will become children and junior community design club.

5. Discussion about the Place and Consciousness

Though those experiences, I have found(felt) by living there that the place history has public meaning rather than the value as a private property. Though the property is owned privately, the people in the community are enjoying its usage to be opened. This is the meaning of cultural heritage. The place itself has longer history than me. Its history even though it might be by former land owner, but the memory of those past time are now worth to be shared in public. Why people liked to come in this house and join in the friends club? The space atmosphere expressing the history may attract and fascinate people. And some people might be inspired to do something like cafe, film taking, exhibition, etc.

From this experience, I was inspired to think about the relationship of the space and consciousness. The late Kiyonori Kikutake who was well known architect advocating metabolism in the modern development age suggesting the spatial dialectic “仮 Ka”(image), “型 Kata” (pattern), and “形 Katachi”(form) ^{viii}. On the contrast, I advocate the dialectic of people’s consciousness as “意 i (meaning)“, “意志 ishi (Will)” and “意識 ishiki (consciousness)”.

The problem of today’s situation is that the traditional houses have been disappearing because of the “form” follows the “consciousness” led by commercialism of mass production under consumer society. The traditional “pattern” of building art has been disappearing as well. For the conservation of the cultural heritage, we need to start from the “image” of the place by finding its “meaning” to get the “will” to revive or recreate the “pattern” of the heritage as well as changing the public “consciousness” for the heritage conservation.

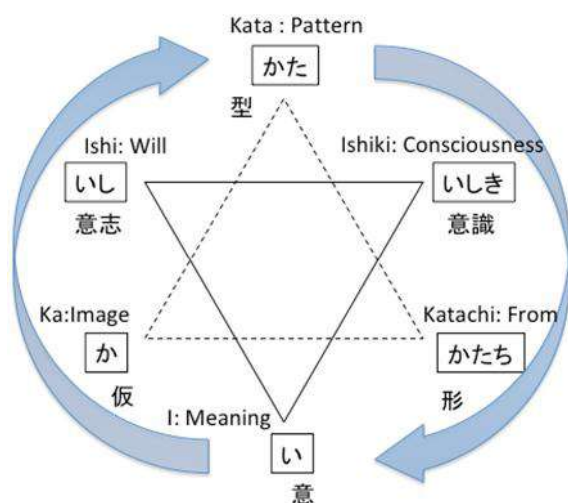


Fig. 3 The dialectic of spatial consciousness based on Kikutake’s Metabolism diagram

In the old house, there are many “forms” which attract and fascinate people to see, and if

you look carefully them, you may find the “pattern” which old traditional art had, which also make people feel the “image” and “meaning” of cultural identity. Those feelings make people move to do something with their “will”, which motivates people to be conscious of the succession of cultural heritage. In this way, the Tangible Cultural Heritage is important for the succession of local culture in community design,

8. Conclusion

As the citizen movement of traditional townscape conservation made change of the legal system, the people’s consciousness about the traditional old house could be raised. Though it is not so easy to change the social system already economy and politics connected, there may be a meaning to try to make a new space which reminds people of the meaning of time and space. As a strategic model of place making using the cultural heritage, the dialectic of spatial consciousness based on Kikutake’s Metabolism diagram adding I (意 meaning), Ishi (意志, Will), Ishiki (意識、Consciousness) dialectic development might be effective way for the heritage conservation.

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Spirits of the Fringe: Spirituality and Peri-urban Development of a Changing Village in Hà Nội, Việt Nam

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Abstract

In M Trì village in peri-urban Hà Nội, landless rice farmers no longer tend to paddy fields. Instead, many have converted their residential spaces into a small factory for producing the artisanal rice product, c m (young rice). This village-based industry has garnered national demand for the product, drawing the attention of central policymakers who want to preserve the craft as a cultural relic of Hà Nội. But without agricultural land, c m production is largely driven by the outsourcing of grains, the use of inventive new machinery, and most importantly, a widespread and contagious spirit— of fierce pride in the village craft. M Trì’s landscape has also recently gained the attention of urban developers who have transformed the once extensive paddy fields into new government buildings and lavish commercial spaces. In tandem with these urban developments, the village’s 3 temples, guarding M Trì’s tutelary spirits, remain intact, some of them even improved, within the new urban spaces. These village tutelary spirits protected critical village spaces and rituals from the same forces that changed their agrarian land and economy. This paper examines the critical role of the village craft “spirit” and the village’s tutelary spirits, as two kinds of affective forces, that work in distinct but complementary ways, to subvert urban master plan strategies while adding to larger national policies. The case of M Trì’s spirits helps to show how village cultures, economies, and spaces become redefined in the process of becoming integrated into the urban master plans of Việt Nam, and potentially, other Asian contexts.

Keywords: peri-urbanization; villages; craft village; spirituality; land use change

Introduction

On September 9th of this year, M Trì villagers welcomed the beginning of the new lunar month with fire and fragrance. Within the narrow alleyways and cramped homes of this urban village, which is located in the Western part of Việt Nam’s capital city of Hà Nội, former rice cultivators who have lost their land to urbanization are now meticulously tending to their large wood fire stoves. In the deep cement and stone structured pans that hover above the wood fire, freshly harvested green young rice grains, or “c m,” are being roasted and stirred, continuously for two hours in many batches throughout the day. These roasted rice grains perfume the village with a delicate nutty aroma, reminiscent of a field of mature rice paddies— the familiar scent of the returning autumn in Hà Nội. On the occasion of the new lunar month, M Trì’s “c m” producers prepare extra amounts of “c m” to use as offerings at

local shrines. In the evening time, after the wood stoves have all been extinguished, the c m producers join their relatives at the temple, located across the busy boulevard from the village gateway, bringing fruit, sweets and neatly packaged c m to accompany their prayer-filled tributes of lighted incense sticks. With these offerings, the villagers ask the temple's ancient tutelary spirit (*th n linh*) for good health and favorable business in the new month. Enlivened by the blessings and support of this local spirit guardian, the villagers enter the eighth lunar month— as with every new month— feeling stable (*n nh*) and assured of their new businesses and new non-agrarian livelihoods, in c m production, house renting, and otherwise.

In the densely populated capital city of Hà N i, which is often regarded as a city of villages (Papin, 1997), spirituality is an important cultural and historical component of social organization and economic livelihoods for Hà N i's villages as well as for the city as a whole. Even as urban growth continues to promulgate extensive agricultural land recovery in the city's peripheries (DiGregorio, 2011; Labbe, 2011; Bousquet, 2016; Harms, 2016), spiritual practices not only persist, but they have also been revitalized— tailored to the new structural circumstances of Vi t Nam's increasingly urban orientations in both space and economy. This paper narrates a history of M Trì village transformation, taking spirituality as a point of analysis for underscoring the relationship between village society and urbanization in Vi t Nam, with implications for other Asian contexts. It examines the critical role of the village's craft "spirit," of diligent labor and fierce pride in the village craft, as well as the village's tutelary spirits — as two kinds of affective forces that work, in distinct but complementary ways, to subvert urban master plan strategies while also adding to larger national programs on cultural and economic development. It looks at spirituality not in its religious and ritualistic forms and practices, but as particular structures of feeling (Williams, 1977) connected to the village's emergent rural-urban identities and economies— that, rather than being in tension with or independent from the dynamics of capital and urban-oriented development, are in fact, characteristic of such changes.

Land Use Change in M Trì since the 1990s: From a Rice Pond to an Urban Dormitory

Before there was c m (young rice), M Trì's prestige in Northern Vi t Nam had come from the distinct fertility of its land—perfectly suitable for growing good, fragrant rice (*g o th m*). In the year 1004 AD, the village was christened by the Emperor as M Trì, meaning "rice pond" (*ao g o*) who also made the village into his personal rice provider (ng B Huy n T Liêm 2015). Since this time, M Trì's esteemed rice, a variety called *g o tám* or "perfumed rice," became imprinted into the folk history of Hà N i's heritage, and it is often depicted in well-known poems alongside Vòng village, where c m is believed to have first originated.¹ The royal *g o tám* was replaced with higher-yielding rice varieties during agricultural collectivization in the 1970s, and at the end of this era, most villagers continued to produce commoner's rice, *lúa t*, while supplementing their agricultural returns with income from

¹ As a popular folk poem goes, "*c m Vòng, g o tám M Trì, t ng b n, húng Láng còn gì ngon h n,*" meaning "Vòng's com, M Trì's perfumed rice, soy sauce and basil, is there anything more delicious?" (ng B Huy n T Liêm 2015)

other handcraft trades, such as producing noodles, tofu and c m. Nearly two decades later, the immense recovery and transformation of M Trì's rice fields left this once agrarian-based village searching for new livelihoods and ways of identifying with the expanded capital city.

As with the majority of rural villages in the outskirts of Hà N i, M Trì's trajectory of land and social transformation was stimulated by the major urban planning and land use policy changes that followed a critical economic reform period in Vi t Nam in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The i M i Reforms (1986) revitalized the role of free markets in the production and circulation of goods and services, encouraging foreign direct investments (FDI) in industry, trade and real estate. Subsequently, the Land Law of 1993 established transferrable land use rights certificates (LURCs) and set the foundations for the development of a real estate market (Harms, 2012). These land use policies triggered a "land fever" (*c n s t t*) in the early 2000s, drawing in massive amounts of FDI in speculative real estate development projects, particularly on the city's periphery—in areas like M Trì—where land prices remained relatively low because it was classified as "rural" at the time of recovery (see Labbe, 2011, Harms, 2016).

Since the late 1990s, Hà N i urban master plans have annexed M Trì's land as a key region for the development of several new urban areas (NUA),² including two major upcoming projects financed by the country's premier real estate conglomerate, VinGroup. Given its strategic location at the node of two important transportation axes,³ M Trì's land area is also becoming an important site for administrative and diplomatic activities (Nguyen, 2011). It currently houses prominent buildings such as the National Convention Center, the Military Head office, and the upcoming Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Up until 2006, over 2 million ha of land was recovered for 39 projects such that the percentage of M Trì's agricultural land decreased from 60% to 36% between 2000-2006 (ibid, p. 6-7). Agricultural land recovery led to major livelihood changes for M Trì villagers, the majority of whom are now unable to continue growing rice. Because the labor transition that followed land recovery was mostly favorable to those under 35 years of age (those with both the skills and willingness to take on wage employment at factories, supermarkets, and offices), the former agricultural breadwinners of the family were significantly handicapped by new urban occupational opportunities.

As Nguy n Th H ành (2011) shows in her study of M Trì's labor transition in the early and mid 2000s, few M Trì villagers reinvested the money they received from land recovery into new vocations, but rather, most of it was spent on lavish purchases of motorbikes, cellphones and new furniture, and on building and rebuilding homes (Nguyen 2011, p. 11). About 48% of village households reinvested in supplies for setting up new businesses, such as food stalls,

² Formal urban master plans to build "new urban areas"(NUA)³ in the urban peripheries became part of the official method of city development in the 1990s and draw primarily on models from neighboring Tiger countries to fit the new urban aesthetics of a post- i M i civilization and to appeal to foreign investors (Waibel, 2006; Labbé, 2014; 108; Labbé and Boudreau, 2011, p. 280).

³ One axis goes north-south towards Noi Bai airport, and the other goes east-west on the Lang Hoa Lac highway.

producing cốm, and renting rooms to students and migrant laborers (ibid). To the present day, renting boarding rooms and houses (*nhà/phòng trọ*) has become a major source of income for M Trì's former rice growers, such that villagers now often proclaim that the entire village lives off of the room and board of outsiders (*sống bằng trọ*). In Việt Nam's metropolises, the same processes that sparked feverish FDI in peri-urban land also fostered the growth of a market for renting residential spaces in these peri-urban regions. While the system of LURC precludes land ownership, Việt Nam's Constitution allows individuals to own homes and buildings that sit on top of the land itself (Harms, 2012, p.432). As such, many peri-urban households who have lost access to their agricultural lands have found profitable opportunities in redeveloping their residential homes and spaces and transforming them into rental units to house the influx of migrant laborers and students from the surrounding provinces (Leaf, 1999; Labbé, 2014; Bousquet, 2016).

In M Trì, some villagers can earn up to 20-30 million VND (approximately \$856-1,285 USD) per month from rentals alone. Nevertheless, renting rooms is not a viable occupation for a large number of villagers given their already cramped residential spaces. A large number of villagers who do not have the possibility to build boarding rooms/houses but who have also chosen to forgo wage work have instead set up food stalls, kiosks, and tea stations, or they gone to the market (*ích*) to sell produce and other items.⁴ Those villagers who made the calculated decision to produce cốm as their main occupation poured their compensation money, energy, and passion into the work, starting in the late 1990s. One and a half decades later, with nearly all its rice yielding lands consumed by urban development, M Trì's title as the royal rice pond of *gò tám* has become mere folklore, and instead, the village has gained a new recognition, as an official Cốm Craft Village of Hà Nội.

The Industrious “Spirit” of Cốm Production

Preservation through Innovation

M Trì villagers voluntarily admit that, the craft of making cốm was either “borrowed” (*mượn*) or “stolen” (*chộp*) from Vòng village, located five kilometers north of M Trì. In fact, because of the historic representation of Vòng's cốm in urban folk literature on Hà Nội, to this day, the majority of Hà Nội residents living nearer to the city center⁵ recognize cốm as a distinct product of Vòng village. According to one popular story told by M Trì villagers about the history of their cốm, over a century ago, a M Trì woman married a Vòng man, learned the village craft of producing cốm and subsequently brought it back to M Trì. M Trì households have produced this borrowed/stolen craft product for at least four or five generations, mostly as a supplemental trade (*nghề phụ*) during the Fall season when the land is best suited for growing particular varieties of sticky rice (*nếp*) used to make cốm. Given their closer proximity to Hà Nội's center, Vòng's rice fields were quickly annexed into urban

⁴ Asked why they have not sought wage-earning work, my village informants often responded that they preferred independent work, “*nghề tự do*.” One reason why villagers prefer this kind of independent work may be because the job requirements and time schedule align with agricultural work, which was flexible and self-determined—never dictated by a rigid timeline or the commands of another party.

⁵ Using Hoàn Kiếm Lake as a core point.

master plans in the early 1990s and villagers were left without land to grow sticky rice as inputs for cốm production. As such, cốm production waned in Vòng village even while their reputation persisted. Around this same time, Mĩ Trì villagers had already begun concocting new methods to refine and expand the craft through machinery and new grain sources. Learning from the experiences of Vòng village, Mĩ Trì villagers were finding ways to cope with impending land use change by turning an agrarian-based craft product into a more industrialized and commercialized urban delicacy.

Until sometime in the 1990s, this delicate artisanal rice product was produced through entirely non-mechanized methods (*thủ công*). In September through November, farmers harvested young sticky rice from nearby fields and carried them back to their homes where they would then thresh and wash the grains before putting them onto a large cast-iron wok to roast. In the past, the villagers would stir the roasting grains by hand for several hours, enduring both heat and smoke from the wood fire. After cooling the roasted grains, the villagers used a large wooden mortar and pestle device to pound the grains until they became delicately thin. To operate such this device required at least 3-4 laborers: 1-2 crouching at the mortar to scoop and stir the rice grains; and 1-2 at the other end alternating turns to power the pestle with their feet. Villagers sifted the flattened cốm through large rattan trays to remove any remaining husks and straw and then pour it back into the mortar for further processing. In the early 1990s, a group of villagers drew from existing technologies in rice processing to design and adopt machines that would replace their labor with electrical models. The introduction of electricity powered roasters, grinders, and mortar and pestle devices significantly reduced the labor required for producing cốm, such that production teams now only consist of two main laborers to process the cốm (which entails the steps of harvesting, grinding, roasting, pounding, and sifting the grains), with potentially one or two additional hands to weigh and package the final product. In the past five years, the addition of an electric sifter, large freezers, and vacuums further decreased the cốm processing time while also enabling producers to preserve the fragile product for longer periods. These labor-saving machines and preservation methods also allowed Mĩ Trì's cốm producers to raise their daily production levels from 2-3 kgs to 15-20 kgs. However, to reach such high production levels, the producers also had to overcome their limitations in grain inputs, particularly since land recovery was already beginning to occur for road building in the mid 1990s. Mĩ Trì outsources grains from rural villages within a radius of 20km from Mĩ Trì. To retrieve the grains, a household member will drive a motorbike directly to the rice producing village to collect bags of already harvested, separated and packaged young rice. Each cốm producing household has at least 5 grain providers from various villages in Hà Nội's periphery, and even while they recognize the inevitability of land use recovery in these villages, Mĩ Trì producers confidently note that they will expand their network of grain sources to even more remote regions in the near future.

Although there are only about 80 cốm producing households in Mĩ Trì, the villages' capacity for production has grown to such an extent that this once rare ceremonial gift item has transformed into a seasonal but common artisanal snack (*mứt cốm*). Producers no longer have to carry large baskets of cốm into Hà Nội's markets to sell; instead, each household now has

at least 4 or 5 retailers who re-sell c m in markets as well as through online delivery services. Since 2013, M Trì's success in c m production has gained the attention of Hà N i's Ministry of Culture Sport and Tourism and Ministry of Industry and Trade, who have together endorsed M Trì as an official "*làng nghề c m*" or c m craft village of Hà N i. While the endorsement does not entail major subsidies or capital support, it has instead worked to reify M Trì's role as a c m producing village in narratives of Hà N i's culture and economy. As I will show in the later analysis, this official recognition has come to symbolize part of the village's claim of belonging to the extended metropolis.

Preservation through Industrious Spirit and Pride

When finding explanations for their recent economic successes, M Trì c m producers often emphasize the laborious elements of the craft, highlighting their ethic of hard work and distinct ability to endure the physical demands and conditional hardships of performing this craft activity. C m production requires that the producers rise early to collect the grains from the peripheral villages and to prepare the products for retailers to sell at the morning markets. As encapsulated through the brief narrative account from one producer below, c m production is not a craft that any villager can perform merely through knowledge of the technique and/or access to machinery; rather, c m production requires the possession of distinct mental and physical strength:

If you don't work hard (*ch u khó*) then you cannot make it. Firstly, you have to stay up late, wake up early, but you have little resting time[...] Firstly, you have to be patient in order to do it, secondly you have to work hard, thirdly, you have to have good health. But not everyone can make it. [...] In fact, this craft is very strenuous (*v t v*). If one of our kids can endure hard work like us then they will do it. But if they cannot accept hard work, then there is no way they can make it. (Mr. T⁶, personal communication, March 14, 2018)

As shown above, c m production is described as a physically rigorous (*v t v*) and time-consuming form of labor: each of the steps of this daylong endeavor poses serious demands on the physical body of the producer who must always be moving, whether to and from the paddy fields or between the various machines to ensure the quality of the finished product. What's more, the craft engages the producers' exceptional mental rigor: it requires the producer's dedicated hard work (*ch u khó*) and perseverance through its challenges. In fact, the Vietnamese term *ch u khó*, if directly translated in its verb form indicates the subject's "acceptance" (*ch u*) of hardship (*khó*), therefore pointing to the mental fortitude of the subject who "works hard."⁷

⁶ The names of interview subjects have been changed in this paper.

⁷ As it turns out, the mental and physical qualities that constitute "hard work," such as endurance, patience, and diligence, are also those that producers described as necessary for the even more laborious, "miserable" (*kh*), occupation of wet-rice agriculture, given that "com" is an agricultural trade (*c m là nghề nông*). Thus, it was truly the unique traits and attitudes that the producers gained through the villages' long history of growing rice that allowed these landless farmers to triumph over the urban changes that would otherwise marginalize agrarian production and people

Hard work and strength of character set the foundations for M' Trì c' m producers' legitimate recognition by the city government bodies as a traditional craft village of Hà N' i in 2013. Since its official endorsement from Hà N' i, the village was provided a unique village logo reifying the place-based and historical connection between M' Trì and the artisanal product. The logo provides a way of branding M' Trì's c' m as a traditional, safely produced (*an toàn*) and pure/original (*m' c'*) product, for the purposes of commercial expansion in Vi' t Nam, with the potential for future exportation of c' m abroad. M' Trì's c' m producers are uniformly in favor of the branding of their c' m, given that the commercialization of their product will increase profits; meanwhile, a high and steady demand for com will incentivize future generations to continue producing c' m. Thus, the hard work that triggered commercialization now feeds into the long-term sustainability of c' m production in M' Trì village. However, this is not to dismiss the fact that the producers' hard work and mental perseverance is also supported by their strong feelings of love for the craft as an inherited trade. As many of the younger generation M' Trì c' m producers have insistently shown me, such love of trade (*yêu ngh'*) is integral to the preservation and development of com. Although the majority of villagers no longer produce com, their sentiments of pride and attachment towards this craft have grown particularly strong as M' Trì's c' m gains further success and distinction in Hà N' i. Many non-producing villagers living next to c' m producing households sell c' m—whether at the market or through their own personal Facebook pages. Even young people who have never engaged in c' m production themselves take part in the celebration and dissemination of c' m as a distinct marker of the village's current and historical identity. As one young M' Trì's native explained to me, “even though my family has never made c' m, I still feel it is linked to the tradition of my village. If I go outside [the village], I usually brag that my place has the specialty of c' m” (P., personal communication, July 1, 2018). As I will show later, these sentiments, which I call the village “spirit,” comprised of an ethic of hard work as well as fierce pride in the craft, have shaped certain citywide programs on heritage preservation that also come into direct tension with urban development.

The Spirit of the Lagoon Temple Through Urban Change

Alongside of c' m, the village's temples stand out as another critical source of spirituality that enlivens the village with strong shared sentiments, of fear and respect, towards their guardian ancestors. A number of studies on ritual and spirituality in contemporary Vi' t Nam have shown the ways in which ancestors and the world of the dead intervene into the present day lives of Vietnamese people and the political practices of the socialist state (Endres, 2002; Jellema, 2007; Malarney, 2007; DiGegorio & Saleminck, 2007; Ngo, 2015). These works point to the ways in which people living in the precarious economic and social contexts of Vi' t Nam's urbanizing post-reform society have drawn on the spirit world, so that “the existential ontological political and economic uncertainties in this life are ritually offset by a firm widespread belief that the dead exert deep influences over the living, and by wavering and uncertain attempts to the turn the dead into allies” (Digregoro and Saleminck, 2007, p.433). Drawing from a case study of a temple in M' Trì village, this paper suggests that, in addition to spirits of real blood ancestors, the spirits of village tutelary gods, represented by historical figures or animistic deities, also have an important metaphysical influence over

current day understandings of economic success, morality and virtue— of both villagers as well newcomer residents and workers. This revitalized spirituality, in turn, acts as an affective shield that compels urban master plans to accommodate spiritual sites. M Trì village contains three temples that worship three separate tutelary gods; however, for the purpose of this short paper, I focus on only one of these temples, the Temple of c Thánh m (DTD).

Among Hà N ians who live and work in the area surrounding M Trì, the temple of DTD is perhaps the most well-known of the three temples, given its prime location. DTD's simple altar and stone stele sit within a serene meadow behind a busy boulevard, shaded by the colossal J.W. Marriott Hotel to the northwest and overlooking a scenic S-shaped lagoon on the grounds of the National Convention Center to the east. According to the village legend, the temple was historically erected on a mound in the exact same position, over one thousand years ago, to pay reverence to the holy saint of the lagoon (or, c Thánh m). One folk tale on the temple's history describes how the Water God, Thu T , built the hills and lagoon that surround M Trì when he was searching for his lost son in the abyss of trees and bushes next to the village. In a second but interrelated folk story, a childless fishing couple in M Trì had found an egg in the same lagoon that later hatched and turned into a white snake. The couple raised the snake as if it was their child, but eventually, the snake ran away and went back to the lagoon and was never found again. Mourning the loss of his snake son, the elderly man went out the lagoon and asked the spirit of the snake to give him success in fishing and his request was subsequently granted. Other villagers followed suit and built a temple mound near the lagoon for worshipping this snake. They soon recognized that the snake of the lagoon was the lost son of Thu T . Since then, the ancestors of these villagers continued to pray to snake deity, the Water God's son, for rain to quench their paddy fields during times of drought.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the National Convention Center recovered hundreds of acres of rice paddy fields surrounding the Temple of DTD, including the lagoon. The new urban constructions left the tutelary altar in its former position but improved its surroundings significantly, turning the lagoon area into a tranquil and scenic sanctuary that matched the design visions of the National Convention Center and the JW Marriott Hotel. Developers in charge of the National Convention Center reportedly invested around 20 billion VND (\$862,000 USD) into redeveloping the paddy fields around the temple and re-configuring the vast lagoon into its current S-form—to match Vi t Nam's territorial shape. No longer enclosed within extensive paddy fields, the temple has become a welcoming and accessible place for visitors.

In the past, very few people went to the temple, except on the first day of the lunar month, and even then, only male heads of households would make the long trek across the paddy fields to give offerings at the temple. Villagers regard the temple as an extremely sacred (*linh thiêng*) and supernatural (*liêng thiêng*) place, an place that enlists the respectful and astute comportment of all those who enter, given the capacity of the tutelary saint to bestow either good fortune or harm upon its worshippers. In the past twenty years, since development began, many of the taboos related to the Temple of DTD have waned. These days, on the first

of the lunar month, the temple is often crowded of visitors, both men and women, villagers and outsiders. When explaining the enduring but extended sacredness of the temple, villagers refer to Vietnamese adage that goes, “have altars, have sacredness, have taboos, have health” (*Có th có thiêng có kiêng có lành*). Anthropologist Phillip Taylor (2004) has noted that, at the individual level, contemporary Vietnamese engage in transactions with “spiritual agents” for economic benefit and existential conciliation” (p.85) and temple offerings provide a way for non-villagers to pay respect to the spirits that guard the land upon which they now work—to ensure success and prevent future harm. These days, the Temple of DTD is no longer a place to pray for rain, but instead, for health, good grades, and success in one’s (typically, entrepreneurial) affairs.⁸

Villagers also recall that the period of construction for the National Convention Center was an unusually supernatural time, during which a number of peculiar events occurred that can only be explained as resulting from the sacredness of the temple. For example, villagers tell of construction workers who fell sick—or even worse, dead—after being ordered to move certain items and trees from the temple area during the construction process. In another story, a villager had been transporting dirt and sand from around the Convention Center one night when his automobile began to suddenly sink into the mud as it got closer to the temple, eventually becoming immobilized. There were also rumors of accidents as well as a fire that killed numerous construction workers, but which were kept from public knowledge.⁹ Stories of modern spiritual enchantment like these are not limited to M Trì or even Vi t Nam; scholars of China and Southeast Asia have also pointed to the presence of spirits and ghosts who enchant urban infrastructure, suggesting that ghostly spirits of the modern world are in fact born out of the rationality and order that urban planning professed to bring (see, Johnson 2014; and Nick R. Smith’s paper for this conference).

Despite the extensive land requirements of the National Convention Center, urban developers never attempted to move or destroy the temple, largely due to fear and respect towards this spiritual site.¹⁰ Villagers note that, they were never concerned about the fate of the temple, given that its spiritual status would have alone protected it. As one villager explained to me, before construction even began, the developers invited a geomancer to inspect the area; however, because they could not possibly destroy the temple, the developers had to re-plan the area, beautify the site, and build the quiet path going into the temple from the main road.

⁸On the first of the lunar month, on the eve of the Lunar New Year, or prior to important conferences at the National Convention Center, high-ranking convention center staff along with city officials also reportedly hold their own private rituals and ceremonies for the deity of DTD, barring entry to villagers.

⁹ As one villager explains, while many people are aware of these deaths and accidents, in general, “no one speaks much about these issues because [people] are afraid when they say too much,” particularly given the linkages between these unfortunate events and the sanctity of the temple (Mr. and Mrs. N, personal communication, March 4, 2018)

¹⁰ Christina Schwenkel (2017) consideration of a pagoda in Vinh City (Vi t Nam) as a “haunted infrastructure” encapsulates the agential force of village spiritual sites that lie within changing urban landscapes. In her work, Schwenkel suggests that, enchanted/haunted spaces, that are co-produced by spirits and modern infrastructures can sometimes resist urban renewal. Ngo (2015) observed a similar phenomenon in the sacred geography of Hanoi, where urban construction has become embroiled in stories of paranormal accidents when they are built on top of ancient cemeteries and altars.

Several M Trì villagers recalled that, prior to the project's commencement, the "big men" (*ông to*), including members of the Politburo and the President of Vi t Nam, had come to the temple at night to do a ceremony (*làm l*), for the purpose of asking the saint of the lagoon for permission as well as success in constructing the National Convention Center. Ultimately, the spiritual force of the temple not only protected the site from urban destruction but it also encouraged developers to engage the participation of villagers in its reconstruction, whose input helped shape the way in which the surrounding urban project could be developed.

Spirits as Affective Forces of Urban Change

In the context of urbanizing Hà N i, spirituality often comes into direct tension with urbanization on the issue of defining and preserving the city's cultural "heritage." It is precisely in these moments of friction that spirituality becomes a powerful affective force in urban transformation. The case of M Trì shows that the less tangible but strong emotive qualities of a social atmosphere—such as sentiments of commitment and pride, or fear and respect—can instigate very tangible social and spatial changes. These potent emotions, which I call "spirit," are analogous to Raymond Williams' (2007) "structures of feeling" —the pre-conscious, internal and nascent meanings and values that are being actively "lived and felt" by its subjects (p.132). Williams contends that, these "structures of feeling" can "exert palpable pressures and set effective limits on experience and on action"(ibid), and can thus contribute, in the case of M Trì, to the village's emergent rural-urban spaces and livelihoods. Concerns for heritage (*di s n*) preservation in Hà N i reveal the agency of these complex and powerful feelings—these *spirits*—in the process of realizing an urban master plan upon village land.

As shown in M Trì, as well as in many other Hà N i cases (see, Ngo, 2015), state institutions may sometimes intervene in urban master plans to advocate for the preservation of certain spiritual locations, especially when they are considered as important heritage sites. Since the Doi Moi Era, Vi t Nam's socialist state has systematically revived and recognized village-based rituals in spiritual sites¹¹ in their efforts to address capitalism's new social evils—namely, individualistic, profit-oriented, and corrupt behaviors (Endres, 2002, p.315). Mr. Tr n Duy, the Director of Architecture Center No.5 of Hà N i Urban Planning Institute (HUPI) noted that, "in principle, [urban developers] are not given permission to touch upon vestige sites," in fact, such sites are given special consideration in urban master plans during the construction and planning process, even while they may not appear in the plans themselves (Tr n Duy, personal communication, October 16, 2018). Exceptions to urban development due to spiritual matters point to the negotiations that must be made between the state's dual goals of urban planning and heritage preservation, particularly for an expanding capital city that represents the cradle of Vietnamese culture and history. Since Hà N i's 1000 years of history and culture is inextricably tied to its peri-urban periphery,¹² as peri-urban villages are incorporated into urban administration, certain aspects of their history and culture

¹¹ sites or what they considered their nation's 'beautiful customs and worthy traditions' (*thu n phong m t c*)," (Endres, 2002, p. 313)

¹² particularly those villages in the southern parts of the Red River Delta which are now the urban districts of Thanh Xuan and Cau Giay, as well as Bac Tu Liem and Nam Tu Liem (where M Trì is located).

also become recognized as protected heritage, and are thus subject to special urban provisions.

Hà Nội's heritage is managed by the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism and the Ministry of Industry and Trade, mainly through programs that rank (*xếp hạng*) Hà Nội's tangible heritage sites and recognize (*công nhận*) its intangible culture, such as art, festivals, rituals, and crafts. Under these conditions, the state gives ranked heritage sites official protections from all threats of destruction; meanwhile, they catalogue, record, and then promote intangible heritage, often by organizing district and city-wide fairs to celebrate the unique culture of Hà Nội. Heritage experts and state policies typically frame the work of heritage protection as consisting of the development (*phát triển*) and promotion (*phát huy*) of the heritage subject in question for its preservation (*bảo tồn*). This shows that the state's goal of heritage preservation is to support, rather than impede, urban development, even though in practice, the two projects may not immediately coincide. Thus, heritage preservation of spiritual sites and spirited crafts obliges urban developers and ministries to rethink and re-arrange the shape of its master plans.

Conclusion

The example of M Trì showed that, concerns surrounding the preservation of the village's craft and spiritual sites—fueled by the affective energy of craft producers and temple worshippers—worked to redefine the role of M Trì village in Hà Nội's history, culture and landscape. In M Trì, peoples' sentiment-filled everyday practices of adapting to and negotiating with urban-oriented changes in their land and livelihoods helped to turn this former "rice pond" into one of Hà Nội's most prized craft villages. What's more, M Trì's redefined village identity made a significant imprint on the village's economies and spaces. Yet, the increasingly industrial methods for preserving M Trì's craft as a heritage product will ultimately put heritage preservation at odds with urban development once again, given that craft producers will need space (land) in order to expand their productive capacity. At present, Hà Nội's urban master plan does not contain any special spatial provisions for craft villages; eventually, urban planners and ministries will need to negotiate further adjustments to make room for its heritage to prevail amidst urban development. The case of M Trì's spirits thus shows that peri-urban village land and histories play a precarious but vital role in the post-reform development of Vietnamese megacities, whereby urban socio-spatial change is not only fostered by the global circuits of capital, but also by peoples' contested understandings of heritage, inheritance to, and belonging within the expanded metropolis. Moreover, the case study highlights the shifting but continually significant place of village-based livelihoods and spiritual life in shaping processes of urban-oriented economic and land use change.

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**Rebuilding Ah Ma Drink Stall on Ubin: A design and build project
to revitalize a community**

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Abstract

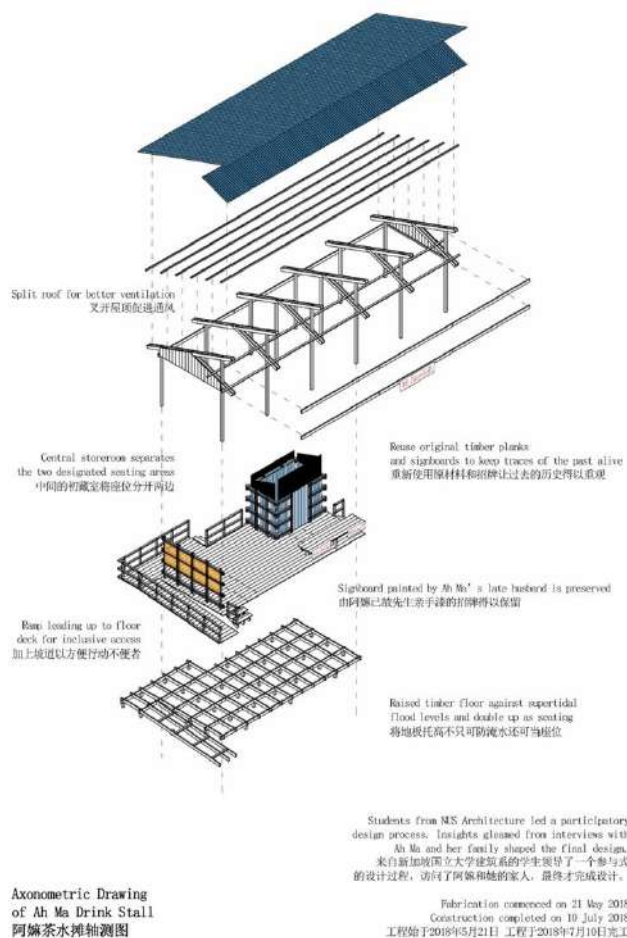
Ah Ma Drink Stall Project is a timber design and build reconstruction project on Pulau Ubin, a small island off mainland Singapore. The population on Pulau Ubin dwindled from a thriving community of 5,000 population to 38 residents (2015, Today Online) with the closure of the granite quarries in the 1980s. The remaining islanders still live a kampong (Malay word for ‘village’) lifestyle that no longer exists in mainland Singapore. The project is part of a larger initiative to revitalise Ubin kampong life. It serves as a testbed for future restoration of kampong houses as building codes and regulations used in the mainland may not be relevant for a kampong setting. It is possibly Singapore’s first public structure designed and built by student volunteers working together with villagers. Although the original stall is not a building of great architectural significance, it is a familiar landmark on the island and of sentimental value to Ah Ma’s family and people who often visit Pulau Ubin. The 23-year-old original drink stall was a makeshift construction by Ah Ma’s late husband and family, but deteriorated into a structurally unsafe building due to ground settlement. The reconstruction helps the 80-year old Ubin resident, Madam Ong (fondly known to visitors as Ah Ma, a Chinese term for ‘grandmother’) to continue her resilient and independent lifestyle on Pulau Ubin.

The design of the new structure invokes the look and feel of the old stall. The authors engaged Ah Ma and her daughter in a participatory design process and the construction involved villagers transferring vernacular construction knowledge to students. Original spatial arrangement and pitched roof language are adopted. Some original timber planks (blue in colour) are reused to keep traces of the past. Signboards written by the late husband were restored. The new roof’s colour echoes the blue colour used in the original stall. A raised deck addresses the occasional flooding due to its location next to a river. At one end of the stall is a heritage wall that displays the stall’s history and its surroundings, the rich biodiversity of mangroves and the reconstruction process. The exhibits are a collaborative effort with contributions from Singapore Heritage Society, NUS Architecture, Restore Ubin Mangroves Initiative, Sea Angel and supported by NParks. Ah Ma is very happy with the completed drink stall. She finds it safe and comfortable, airier, and more sheltered from the sun and rain. Regular customers also enjoy sitting at the drink stall.

Keywords: Grassroots Advocacy & Activism, Cultural Heritage, Community building and engagement

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<https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/nhb-commissions-study-ubin-residents>



Design features of the new drink stall



Participatory design process between authors and Ah Ma



Old sign boards written by Ah Ma's late husband restored. Some old planks reused.



New drink stall retains essence of the old stall.
Photo credit: Alina



Heritage wall with exhibit of history and mangroves around the drink stall



Student volunteers constructed the timber structure



Traditional interlocking timber joint

Transforming Space: the Curious Case of *Choto Katra*

Abstract ID # pH17

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Abstract

The curious case of *Choto Katra* (small inn) evidently presents how Mughal architectural buildings in Bangladesh, having tremendous heritage and touristic value at present era, have fallen victim to urbanization due to high demand for living spaces and lack of effective heritage conservation laws. The paper seeks to bring to the fore a critical conversation on the proper use of space with historic preservation through public involvement and adaptive reuse; its importance and relevance in the context of old Dhaka, 400 years old and the starting point of the city. It elaborates on heritage based tourism and effective use of space as a possible method of rejuvenating historical edifices within the urban contexts.

Situated within the densest part of a burgeoning population density, 7% in 1971 to 28% in 2016, the *Choto Katra* is presently in shambles, completely hidden from view by parasitic illegal construction. The caravanserai was built by the Mughal Subahdar Shaista Khan to host tradesmen travelling from India to Bengal during that time. Overtime, this space has accommodated various functions of trade and production. Presently it is only a clutter of unplanned urban amenities. Encroachment is evident in maps of spontaneous growth that have conquered much of the *katra*, leaving a limited area of land accommodating the mausoleum of *Bibi Champa* (supposedly the daughter of Shaista Khan) free. Investigation reveals an entire level of the built structure submerged underground leaving many potential spaces of the *katra* inaccessible.

Katra has every opportunity to be opened up into a breathing area, a central urban space for the congested community. Presently, conservation is inevitable if one seeks to retain the age old culture and essence of place. However, displacement of the 'parasites' is socially unethical. This paper challenges conventional conservation policies explaining techniques of possible balance through proper use of space between heritage, people and future development.

Keywords: Historical Conservation, Urban Heritage, Adaptive reuse of heritage site.

Publicness of streets in informal settlements:

The case of Indonesian *kampung*

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Abstract

The boundary between public and private space is often blurred and contentious. It is not only defined by spatial boundaries and physical features of the space, but also by invisible social systems and collective values practiced and perceived by particular societies. Therefore, the publicness of a space depends on how societies define and perceive the space at specific moments and places, which is shaped by social practices and norms that are constantly transforming the nature, manifestation, and meanings of public space. While it is commonly argued that streets are the most pervasive public space in the city, the publicness of streets is constantly contested and negotiated, and power dynamics played out among various actors determine the degree of publicness of streets. Drawing upon this argument, this paper seeks to examine the publicness of streets in the context of informal settlements, where complex social and political relations exist. By looking at streets in Indonesian *kampung* in Yogyakarta, it would like to argue that despite being shared and used for public interests, the publicness of streets in *kampung* is largely relied on the tolerance and consensus among actors, and landowners have a greater power and control over the publicness of the streets. Consequently, the role of streets as public space is vulnerable to conflict and very much rely on social and power relations among residents.

Keywords: Streets, informal settlements, publicness, public space, *kampung*

Introduction

The boundary between public and private space is often blurred and contentious. The process of creation and demarcation of public spaces is very fluid because they are defined not only by its spatial boundaries and features, but also by invisible social systems and collective values practiced and perceived by societies which “are constantly transforming the nature, manifestation, and meanings of public space” (Tornaghi & Knierbein, 2015). Hence, public space needs to be understood not only as a physical product of the design process, but also as a result of dynamic social and political forces attached to and influencing its production

process. However, these dynamic social and political forces are often ignored when understanding public space.

Drawing upon this argument, this paper seeks to examine the publicness of a public space in informal settlements, where complex social and political relations exist. It particularly focuses on the street because the street is the most pervasive and important public space in the city (Jacobs, 1961; Kostof, 1992). Despite that, many studies on streets mostly concentrate on the physical qualities of streets, focusing on the design aspect of streets as a channel of circulation, or as a walkable and liveable public space inspired by the vision of capitalism to regenerate the city centre. There is a lack of discussion on social and political aspects of streets as a public space, especially of ordinary streets in the organic urban form of informal settlements. The attention of academic discussion is mostly directed to the major commercial streets or historical and cultural streets that play a significant role for a large proportion of urban residents and attract the attention of public authorities and professional urban planners and designers. In fact, it is also crucial to understand the publicness of ordinary streets in informal settlements because they are highly contested by the residents. Some residents are more powerful than the others, and because of this, the less powerful and more vulnerable ones in the settlement could have limited access in using the street for their everyday life; yet this power dynamic does not get enough attention.

Instead, despite functioning as an important public space for communities, streets in informal settlements often have to deal with pressure from city authorities. Informal settlements often become a subject of slum clearance policies by the government as they are often considered chaotic and associated with poverty (Dovey & King, 2012; Lombard, 2014), and their streets often become the focus of slum upgrading programmes. However, when upgrading programmes are delivered and the streets are transformed, power dynamics shaping and defining the publicness of the streets are often overlooked. Consequently, the upgrading programmes and street transformation often result merely in the improved mobility and cleanliness of the neighbourhood, but fail to provide just and accessible public space for vulnerable and marginalised groups in the settlement. Therefore, this paper will provide an important opportunity to advance our understanding of the publicness of streets in informal settlements, where informal actors, process and procedures, and mechanisms will take part in defining the publicness of streets.

This paper is based on a study conducted in the City of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The combination of its long history, distinct morphology, and socio-cultural and political dynamics gives ground for the selection of Yogyakarta as the site of this study. Two urban *kampung* which represent two contrasting communities were then selected and further investigated. One case is a high-density *kampung* located in the city centre, that has a prolonged history and a more complex street network covering larger area of riverbank settlements; and the other one is a low-to-medium-density *kampung* located at the city border which emerged more recently,

whose street network is simpler covering smaller area of riverbank settlements, and that has undergone change through redevelopment and an influx of new occupants.

The data are largely based on the interviews conducted to key informants (including local leaders, senior residents, heads of districts, and heads of neighbourhood units) which are accompanied by site observations. The data were then analysed qualitatively to produce several themes of discussion presented in this paper.

This paper is organised in the following way: it will first introduce a theoretical debate of public space, between formal physical space and perceived social space, followed by a discussion on publicness of space. Afterwards, a brief overview of two study sites will be provided, which is helpful to understand the context of the study. Lastly, the result of the study will be presented, focusing on two main themes defining publicness of streets, namely the use and social and power relations manifested in the form of control, contest, and conflict over *kampung* streets.

Defining public space: between formal physical space and perceived social space

Despite being a growing cross-disciplinary interest, there is no consensus among scholars regarding the definition of public space. The use of various terms which are closely related and sometimes interchangeable, such as ‘public space’, ‘public sphere’, and ‘public realm’ often complicates the definition of public space. In addition, the vague and overlapping meaning of ‘public’ and ‘space’ which may include a vast array of meanings may also contribute to the complex definition of public space (Varna, 2014), which reflects the complexity of the concept. Despite that, public space is usually discussed under two conceptual frameworks, namely as a physical space and a social space, which view public space differently derived from the difference in academic traditions and approaches in defining and perceiving the space (Brown, 2006; Gehl & Matan, 2009).

As a physical space, public space is often defined as physical manifestation of public life, an arena usually with identifiable boundaries, where collective culture and values are developed and shared. This notion of public space is often the interest of architects, urban designers, and planners who are more interested in exploring the materiality of the relationship between people and space. They focus on the physical design and the use of public spaces as a container for activities, and seek the ideal criteria for the ideal quality of “good public space” (Gehl & Matan, 2009). As a physical space, public space is often designed as a place for social interaction, relaxation, and recreation “that produces aesthetic experiences for those who move through and occupy them” (Miller, 2007; p. xiii). It puts emphasis on the importance of physical boundaries of public space, and the quality of spatial features and activities within the space through the design process, to meet the demand of its users (Miller, 2007, Shaftoe, 2010; Gehl, 2010).

However, the concept viewing public space merely as a physical space has been challenged and criticised as it contains a cultural bias and is largely inspired by the image of fixed and formalised public space in cities of the global north, particularly in Anglo-American and European cities (Drummond, 2001; Brown, 2006; Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013; Varna, 2014). The concept is too narrowly defined to be appropriate to cities in the global south (Brown, 2006). This criticism highlights the nature of public space as a social space, in which its function and significance are assigned by humans through institutional agreement (Madanipour, 1999; 2003), which could be interpreted differently in different social and cultural contexts. In fact, in many cities in the global south, the reality of public space is far from the image of ideal public space portrayed by many architects and urban designers, because the use of this space is more related to adaptive behaviours of its users rather than design-driven (Oranratmanee & Sachakul, 2014).

As a social space, public space is viewed as constantly changing and negotiated, produced by interactions of various social forces that exist in a web of social relations. Although public space is manifested in the form of fixed and stable material space, it is actually produced and reproduced through dynamic non-physical practices and values circulating among actors beyond its physical boundaries. The conceptualization of social space puts the emphasis on human practices that create and make use of distinctive conceptualization of space, and not on the space itself.

While interacting in a particular space, various actors define some places as private and others as public through a complex system of signification and distinction in a specific social context. This complex system is expressed through spatial and social arrangements that enable them to control access to the space. A particular space can be considered as a public space when it is situated out of the control of individuals or particular small groups, and expected to be accessible to everyone for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes (Madanipour, 2003). In reality, however, many places in the city are ambiguous because they are not clearly demarcated as public or private, or because they become an object of overlapping controls exercised by multiple individuals and groups.

By reflecting on the context in the developing world, Brown (2006) attempted to resolve the ambiguity of the demarcation between public space and private space by offering a working definition of public space. She defined urban public space as:

“... all space that is not delineated or accepted as private and where there is at least a degree of legitimate public or community use. This includes formal public space in parks, squares and streets, and also space at the margins – between the pavement edge and building façade, on road reserves or riverbanks, or in vacant and unfenced lots – space where public access is possible but not formalized. The definition is independent of ownership, as such space may be in government, private, communal

or undefined ownership, but implies some sort of accepted communal access or use right” (Brown, 2006; p. 22).

This definition implies that people’s perception of a particular space could also underlie the demarcation between public and private space in a particular social context, regardless the ownership and status of the space, which are often associated with control. Public space is shaped through a perception of community members that they have a sort of right and legitimacy to access and use that space, even if the access to and use of the space are often not formally entitled.

Despite different interpretations and approaches in understanding public space, there is one thing that can be agreed upon, that public spaces “are those common sites at which people gather in public, [...]” (Orum, 2010). However, with the tension between the physical and social conceptions of public space and the growing concern to provide just and inclusive space, the fact that people gather in a particular space does not fully explain the complex empirical reality of whether and how such space becomes public. It is necessary to understand what lies beneath the surface of material and tangible form of public space, that is how social institutions in a specific social context produce public space and regulate the access to and use of public space that define the publicness of a public space.

Publicness of public space

Publicness is a multi-dimensional concept (Varna, 2014), which changes between societies, cultures, and time. As it is a subjective and relative concept, it is suggested that the notion of publicness is considered more as a relative concept, not an absolute one (De Magalhaes, 2010; Nemeth & Schmidt, 2011). Many scholars have tried to conceptualise the publicness of a particular space, and develop and employ models to measure it (see Madanipour, 1999; De Magalhaes, 2010; Varna & Tiesdell, 2010; Nemeth & Schmidt, 2011; Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013; Mehta, 2014; Varna, 2014; Ekdi & Çıracı, 2015). Although they may use different terminologies, they also share some similarities. In general, publicness is most often related to four main dimensions, namely ownership, accessibility, management, and inclusiveness of space.

Ownership is about the legal status of a place (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013; Varna, 2014), which can be classified into public ownership and private ownership. This distinction follows the tradition of economics and liberal political theory, in which the public is associated with the state and its administrative functions, while the private is the realm of the market (Weintraub, 1995 in Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007). Therefore, public space is associated with sites owned by the state or a public body (De Magalhaes, 2010; Varna & Tiesdell, 2010; Varna, 2014), while private space is owned by a private actor or body.

However, in today's public space, ownership cannot be taken for granted to distinguish public space from private space, because a single dichotomy of public-private ownership does not capture the reality of complex forms of public-private governance (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013). Some scholars relate ownership status to other aspects, such as operation (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2011), and function and use of the space (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010), trying to capture the grey area of publicness for a particular place. For instance, with regard to ownership, Nemeth and Schmidt (2011) considered the most public space is the place owned by the government and operated by public bodies, while Varna and Tiesdell (2010), considered the place "owned by a public body, mandated to act in the public/collective interest and that is accountable to elected representatives of the community" to be more public.

Another dimension used to measure publicness and become a concern of many urban scholars in prescribing an ideal public space is accessibility. Accessibility constitutes the ability to reach space and the ability to enter and use it, which are related to the physical design of the place (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013; Mehta, 2014; Varna, 2014), as well as rules and mechanisms enforced to regulate individuals' access to enter the space, use facilities, and confirm symbolic functions (De Magalhaes, 2010). Therefore, it is argued that any intervention through physical barriers, isolation, or rules and social norms reducing the degree of accessibility to the public space can affect the quality of activities taking place in a public space (Whyte, 1980; Carmona et al., 2003; Varna, 2014).

Inclusiveness refers to "the degree a place meets the demands of different individuals and groups" (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013). This is related to what Varna and Tiesdell (2010) called as 'animation', that is "the degree to which the design of the place supports and meets human needs in public space, and whether it is actively used and shared by different individuals and groups". In Nemeth and Schmidt's (2011) argument, inclusiveness focuses on 'uses and users' of public space, describing what kind of activities and behaviours which are considered appropriate in public space, and who is allowed to perform them. Nemeth and Schmidt (2011; p. 12) suggested, it "can be measured both quantitatively, by the diversity of uses and users of the space, and qualitatively, by the behaviours and perceptions of the users themselves". Thus, it is argued that the more inclusive public space is characterised by a wide range of activities performed by a large number and diverse users (Varna, 2014; Mehta, 2014).

The management dimension refers to the maintenance and control of a place on a day-to-day basis (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013), specifically to "the methods by which owners indicate acceptable uses, users, and behaviours" (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2011). For Varna and Tiesdell (2010), management dimension is mostly related to 'control' and 'civility'. Control describes any measure to limit individual freedom and political manifestations of a certain social group when they are present in a public place (Varna, 2014; p. 40), and 'civility' refers to how a public place is maintained to cultivate a positive and welcoming environment. The way a particular place is maintained and controlled may encourage or discourage the

freedom of use, access, and behaviour of users in public space, and thus affects the overall publicness of a public space.

Despite its goal to resolve differences and cultivate a positive and welcoming ambience, the management of public space is often problematic in ensuring publicness in a public place. This argument, however, may not always be relevant in the contemporary public spaces. Many places considered as public are controlled and managed by private actors, leading to privatisation of public space. Alternatively, the responsibility to maintain public space is overlapping between city authorities, private property owners, and community members, which often creates ambiguity and overlapping claims over public space.

For instance, city authorities issue policies and ordinances to regulate sidewalks and street networks in order to avoid conflict on the use of the street and sidewalks (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Community members living in that neighbourhood may also exercise their control over the street to ensure the security of their territory by limiting access and use to particular groups, or performing community surveillance. Similarly, private property owners can also exercise their control over the street to regulate and modify a certain segments of the sidewalk in front of their properties (Francis, 1989), either directly such as chasing away beggars and homeless people, or indirectly such as planting a flower box, modifying the street façade, setting up furniture, or extending the pavement to the sidewalk. In some cases, private property owners and communities may even have greater control in managing the street, such as streets in a residential enclave or gated communities (Davis, 1992; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Leisch, 2002; Miao, 2003; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Landman, 2010). Therefore, it would be more useful to view the publicness of a space on the process through which the freedom of individuals in using and accessing public space is ensured, the variety of stakes are recognised, and conflicts between different stakes can be solved, not on the actor who manages and controls it.

Description of cases

To investigate the publicness of ordinary streets in Indonesian informal settlements, two contrasting urban *kampung* in Yogyakarta were explored. The selection of the two urban *kampung* is intended to engage with the diverse characteristics of the urban *kampung* in Yogyakarta, and hence increase its representativeness. For the reason of anonymity, the two *kampung* will be named as Kampung 1 and Kampung 2 respectively, and the description of each *kampung* is presented below.

Kampung 1

Kampung 1 is a typical urban *kampung* located in the city centre of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, which has been developed into a large and dense settlement over a long period. Kampung 1 is situated just about 1-2 km from the city centre of Yogyakarta, and covers a large area along

the riverbank of Code. It consists of 7 RWs (*Rukun Warga*, the larger neighbourhood unit). The history of Kampung 1 can be traced back to the history of Yogyakarta Sultanate, when the Sultan gave a piece of land to his servants, which later was developed and became a residential area for his servants. Since then, this residential area kept growing and evolving into a larger residential area. Later on, during the 1970s, following the increasing trend of urbanisation, migrants from rural areas around Yogyakarta came to find an opportunity to earn living in the city. However, due to their limited financial capacity, they ended up informally occupying the land on the riverbank, including the one which is adjacent to the former residential area of the Sultanate servants, and building their houses on it. Gradually, they turned vacant land on the riverbank into a large informal settlement, which later was incorporated into the existing settlement. During the 1980s-1990s, a home-based industry emerged in this *kampung*, which attracts more people to come and reside in this *kampung*.

Due to its prolonged history, Kampung 1 has evolved and been developed into a large and dense settlement with complex and interconnected street network, enabling residents to move around the *kampung*. In the informal part of the settlement along the riverbank, the street network looks labyrinthine, with narrow alleys that have no space between the street and the building. Nevertheless, they are partly accessible for motorcycles, although motorcycles have to slow down when passing through the streets. This configuration allows residents to interact and communicate with other residents from inside their own house.

With the shift in the government attitude towards *kampung* and government interventions to formalise informal settlements, a mixture of land tenure status exist in Kampung 1. Many of its residents have already held legal possession over the land as a result of formalization scheme. However, some other residents on the riverbank still live with unclear and ambiguous land tenure. According to the law, the riverbank is basically state-owned land, but the residents claim the land with no legal tenure. In addition, there are also a few households who live on rented land legally possessed by an individual (this practice is known as *ngindung*).

Kampung 2

Kampung 2 is a small pocket urban *kampung* located on the riverbank of Winongo at the city border, about 4-5 km in the north of Yogyakarta. Initially, it was a vacant land owned by only four persons residing in that area. It was first settled by squatters in the 1950s-1960s. In the 1960s, the government removed homeless people from the street and housed them in barracks in an institution adjacent to the site. A decade later, these people were evicted from the institution as the government argued that they wanted to make use of the land on which the barracks were located. As a consequence, these people had to move out of the institution and find another place to live. They later occupied the site, rented the land to the landowners, and built their houses. Over the time, the settlement grew, as there were more people who are

mostly homeless coming and renting the land to the landowners. Even though majority of the residents in this *kampung* are still renting the land (*ngindung*), there are some of them who are eventually able to buy the land from the landowners.

Because the area is rather small, Kampung 2 is structured by a simple street network. Houses are more scattered, and therefore leave more space between the street and the building. The streets are not well-connected and not well-defined, sometimes residents have to pass through others' front and backyard to circulate around the *kampung*. Despite being narrow, most of the streets are accessible for motorcycles.

Results

The result of the study is framed and presented under two main themes that interplay in defining publicness: 1) the multiple uses of *kampung* streets, and 2) control, contest, and conflict related to *kampung* streets.

Multiple uses of kampung streets

Based on the observations and interviews conducted to key informants, apart from playing a role as a channel of circulation, several types of uses of *kampung* streets have been recorded and classified as follows:

1) Ceremonial use of streets

In both study areas, *kampung* streets have been used for ceremonial activities. Various events and festivities that take place on the street in *kampung* have been reported by key informants. Community festivities, such as Independence Day celebrations, Ied celebrations, and community cultural parades are held on the street. One night before the Independence Day, *kampung* residents usually gather on particular spots on the street to commemorate the struggle and courage of all those who had fought for freedom and independence. Several games and races to celebrate the Independence Days are also organised and take place on the street. Some other activities related to individuals which involve a large number of people, such as wedding parties and funeral processions, are common on the street. These activities are held on the street because there are no any other reasonable places that can accommodate a large number of people to congregate.

The use of *kampung* streets for ceremonial purposes is usually accompanied by street closures. For communal uses, street closures can be implemented immediately without a need to consult to residents, because community consensus has been taken for granted. However, for individual uses, street closures need to be communicated to the neighbourhood leader who should take concerns from other residents into consideration before allowing the street to be closed.

2) *Social use of streets*

The social use of streets is associated with the role of the streets as a platform for social interaction, communication and exchange of information among residents. *Kampung* streets serve as a place for residents and strangers to meet and interact outside their private domain. Residents chatting with their neighbours and doing transactions with street traders, and women talking to female neighbours while feeding their babies are common scenes observed in *kampung* streets. There are few spots on the street that become places where people gather and chat to each other. These are normally spots with seating facilities placed on the street (e.g. wood benches, chairs, steps, etc.). They could be alley junctions, around someone's front yard or veranda, communal facilities such as communal wells and toilets and security posts. The presence of newspaper boards placed on the street where residents can read and discuss various issues also stimulates social interactions among residents.

Community gatherings, which are regularly held in *kampung* (usually monthly), are also commonly located on the street. When the gathering is held in one of resident houses, due to limited space inside the house, the streets is often used to accommodate the spillover of people attending the gathering.

Not only by adults, are *kampung* streets also commonly used by children as playing ground. In both studied *kampung*, several plays involving a number of children at various ages were observed on *kampung* streets and alleys. Games that are more sedentary are usually played in house verandas, or narrower and quieter streets, while games that need more active movement (e.g. chase games) are usually played in wider streets (which tend to be busier streets). Because of this, children playing on the street are more likely exposed to a risk of traffic accident.

3) *Economic use of streets*

As space is limited in *kampung*, residents always try to maximise any available space for their economic benefits. Some residents use streets and alleys as their economic space where they can earn their living. It is common to see residents that open small kiosks selling daily household needs in their houses. These kiosks are often located in the labyrinthine and narrow streets of *kampung* that have good accessibility and openness. Stuff for sale are usually placed inside the house or hung on the exterior side of the houses, which become the facade of the streets. Some other use benches and tables placed in the middle of the street in front of their houses for their kiosks.

4) *Domestic use of streets*

One practice of using the street which is prominent in *kampung* is the appropriation of street space for domestic uses. Despite being used for communal and public purposes, streets and alleys in *kampung* are also competed for various daily domestic activities, such as doing and

drying laundry, food preparation, and washing dishes. Residents also often use street space around their houses as storage space for their unused furniture, bird cages, and poultry cages. Although there is a sort of common understanding among residents for using the street for domestic uses, this type of use is the one that mostly triggers conflicts among residents. Few conflicts and disputes caused by the appropriation of street space for individual domestic activities are repeatedly reported during key informant interviews.

Control, contest, and conflict over kampung streets

Control, contest, and conflicts are at the heart of people's experience of public space. They have become common themes in the discussion of public space, and *kampung* streets are not an exception. According to the conversation with key informants, the narratives about control, contest, and conflict over *kampung* streets are mostly related to the land status where the streets are situated. Two main themes have emerged: control and conflict over 'rukunan' streets, and 2) control over streets in *ngindung* land.

1) Control and conflict over 'rukunan' streets

'Jalan rukunan', or translated into English as 'rukunan' street, is a term used in Javanese *kampung* to describe a type of street whose ownership is shared among *kampung* residents along the street. It is formed through a consensus among 'landowners' (who are not necessarily legal landowners) to voluntarily give a small portion of their land to be used as communal circulation space. Those small portions of land are combined together leaving linear space that collectively forms *kampung* streets and alleys. Nevertheless, landowners still maintain the ownership status of the land that they allocate for the street.

'Rukunan' literally means harmonious, implying that this type of street can only carry out its function when the harmony among residents sharing the street is maintained. In other words, any dispute or conflict undermining the relationship among residents could deteriorate the publicness of *kampung* streets and alleys. A landowner may reclaim the land and use it for his personal benefit, causing disruption to others. He can also exercise control over the land under his possession. Due to this characteristic, 'rukunan' street has become a subject of debate and often becomes a source of conflict in *kampung*.

Several key informants in Kampung 1 have recounted a story of a prolonged conflict in their neighbourhood related to 'rukunan' street. This conflict was sparked when a resident sold his land to a housing developer to be developed as a small housing complex. As the developer started the construction, one of his neighbours living in the same street started making trouble. Preceded by disapproval to the construction plan, that person deliberately instructed to erect a semi permanent building in the middle of the street, blocking access of materials and logistics to the construction site. He claimed that he had the right to do it because he had full control over his land that had been used for the street. Several key

informants who conveyed this story supposed that there was a dispute triggered by personal issues dispute between the two residents that culminated in this harsh conflict.

The conflict remained for about two years without any glimpse of hope of resolution, despite initiatives proposed by various stakeholders. Neighbourhood leaders and the head of district had attempted to mediate the conflict, but failed to bring reconciliation. Community members in the neighbourhood were also willing to share contribution to purchase the land for the sake of maintaining harmony in the neighbourhood, but the offer was also rejected. The tension was so intense that community members started boycotting him from any social and communal activities. The case was then brought up to the city authority who offered to acquire the land, but he insisted on not selling his land.

After a long process of negotiation involving various stakeholders, eventually there was a solution for the case. He finally agreed to release the land allocated for the street under one condition, that is he will be granted another piece of land of his adjacent owned by a relative of the person who sold his land to the developer. Despite being reluctant to give up the land, the neighbour finally agreed with the condition. The government then carried out land acquisition to the small piece of land used for the street, the person took a piece of land of his neighbour adjacent to his land, and his neighbour got compensation. Whether the solution is fair, it was able to bring the conflict to the end.

Although the conflict has been resolved, it shows how the status of 'rukunan' streets is potential to shape and transform the degree of publicness of *kampung* streets and alleys. The public status of *kampung* streets which has been perceived all this time by community members may be disrupted by a claim made by landowners to control the land where the streets are laid out. Multiple and overlapping claims over streets make streets contested, but a single claim over streets can also affect the publicness of the street, as the case of *ngindung* land.

2) Control over streets on 'ngindung' land

'Ngindung' is a term that refers to a traditional practice of residing on rented land that is privately owned by individuals. In *ngindung* system, land tenants pay a small rent to the landowner every year for the occupation of the land. These rents are very small, and are based on an agreement to many years previously, even from generation to generation. The house may or may not be owned by the tenants, but the infrastructure, including streets, should get permission from the landowner to be built on the land.

Due to this characteristic, publicness of *kampung* streets on *ngindung* land is subject to the attitude of landowners. For instance, as conveyed by several key informants in Kampung 1, there was once a *kampung* upgrading programme from the government that proposed to construct a new street in a slum neighbourhood situated on *ngindung* land, aiming to improve the accessibility of the neighbourhood. The existing street used to be unpaved but publicly

used by residents of the *kampung* for circulation and social place. However, as the land was owned by an individual, the construction project could not be executed if the person did not allow the project to be carried out on his land. Therefore, the project committee then asked permission of the landowner to start the project, but it was not approved. Driven by his suspicion that the project committee and the government would grab his land, he turned down the proposal and became reluctant for any negotiation.

The project was then delayed for about two years, but soon was put forward again when the situation changed. After the landowner passed away, his two daughters and one son inherited the land. The project committee then request permission of the new landowners to carry out the project. After a long process of negotiation, there was an agreement that convinced the landowners to allow the construction of a new street to be carried out on their land. This agreement says that the permission to publicly use and manage the street is granted for only 20 years. Despite being able to settle the dispute, this agreement might be problematic in the future, as no one knows the attitude of the landowners (or their predecessors) when the agreement comes to the end.

In contrast with the experience in Kampung 1 where landowners exercised their power to confront the government, power and control of landowners over the land in Kampung 2 was utilised to deal with potential resistance of tenants. Interviews with key informants in Kampung 2 conveyed a story when one of landowners of *ngindung* land exercised his power to execute street-widening project to address the problem of accessibility resulting from incremental and organic process of settlement development. Despite being affected by the project, residents could not resist the project affecting their houses. This fact indicates the powerful position of landowners over tenants' houses, let alone the street. They can control what can and cannot be done on the street, what kind of interventions are allowed to the street, and how the street is managed, which in turn will define the publicness of the street.

Conclusions

By reflecting to the case of two *kampung* in Yogyakarta, this paper would like to highlight the nature of the street in *kampung*, which is shared but contested. *Kampung* streets become public for they are used and shared for a variety of public and communal uses, and accessible for multiple users. Nevertheless, they are also contested for private and domestic uses encroaching on the street. The intrusion of private life to public sphere is one of distinct characteristics which are common for *kampung* streets but distinguishes them from other types of public space discussed in the Anglo-American literature.

Moreover, despite being shared and used for public uses, publicness of *kampung* streets is subject to the tolerance and consensus among actors, especially residents. Landowners have more power and control over the street to define its publicness. Consequently, the role of *kampung* streets as public space is vulnerable to conflict and very much rely on social and

power relations among residents. Government could intervene to minimise conflict by creating an even distribution of power, for instance through land acquisition, that will clarify the status of *kampung* streets as public property. .

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Community Participatory Edible Landscape:

EDIBLE WAY Project

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Abstract

The EDIBLE WAY project is a practical study that aimed at developing Edible Landscape in Japan and contribute to people's communication to create a social network for local resilience. The goal is improving the community and building Preventive Safety Network provides a feeling of reliance and a sense of security and will support people in the community during emergencies.

Action Research was used in this study. We established EDIBLE WAY. We started placing planter bags with vegetables in private spaces along the street in collaboration with the community. We did field work studies on the process, undertook interviews with local participants.

Results:

1. From September 2016 when we began, resident collaborators gradually increased through communications and connections in the community, there are currently 48 participants and 100 planter bags.
2. Findings; Through the action research, several ways, benefits, meanings and values of EDIBLE WAY were found with participants; Community improvement, Local food, Environmental education, Community care and Art.
3. EDIBLE WAY method has expanded to 5 other areas in Japan; other local communities followed our example in developing their own projects. In 2017, an EDIBLE WAY NETWORK started as a platform for sharing knowledge and information.

Conclusion: EDIBLE WAY is effective in connecting people and creating networks of relationships that can become Preventive Safety Network for future safety and peace for communities. It is an effective way of promoting Edible Landscape in Japan.

Keywords: Edible landscape, Communal meal, Urban gardening, Community participation, Preventive safety network

Introduction

In Japan, there are many problems related to aging and shrinking society such as vacant lots and houses, progressive isolation among people in neighborhoods. However, it is difficult to find out and solve each problem.

Society thus yearns for a new safety net outside the limitations of the market economy. In response, the strengthening of the network of relationships between people in daily life is leading to solutions for various problems, and is creating a Preventive Safety Network which will help people in communities during emergencies. (Hiroi, 2011)

There is rarely consideration of the “Food Desert” problem caused by urban poverty in Japan. However, constant food desert in aging society due to elder people without vehicles and occasional food deserts caused by natural disasters are inevitable problems in Japanese cities. It has been pointed out that urban agro-activities not only by farmers but also urban residents are possible solutions for producing food. (Yokohari, 2011) In response to the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, awareness of disaster prevention has grown. For example, due to people trying to accumulate foodstuff a few days after the disaster, even in Tokyo, many stores were left without sufficient stock. (Asahi Shimbun, 2011)

Recently, Edible Landscape ideas and activities have been increasing throughout the world. Edible landscape is the use of food plants as design features in a landscape. It covers a range of areas such as health, environment, encouraging new farmers, local food production, transport, social interaction and community engagement. (Warhurst, et. Al., 2014) (Hasse, 2014) Edible Landscape in housing areas create communication and contribute to building strong communities. (Kinoshita, 1999) However, it is difficult to develop Edible Landscapes in public spaces in Japan because of the criticism of privatization of public spaces. Japanese local governments emphasize equality among people; it is thus difficult to grow edible plants for a few people.

This project is a challenge to develop Edible Landscapes in Japan and contribute to people's communication to create a social network for local resilience.

Method

In this study, action research with four phases was used. Action research is a method which leads to a “social action”, through recurring cycles of actions and reflections (Levin, 1946) and contribute to improving some practices or solving the problem. In the first phase, we established a community participatory Edible Landscaping project “EDIBLE WAY” in Matsudo, Chiba, Japan to solve the social issues of contemporary Japanese society and improve the practice of Edible Landscape in Japan. During the second and third phase of the project, student-participants communicated with local people while undertaking regular walks in the area and maintaining the planter bags. They also noted the presence or absence of conversations with neighbors and strangers, and other information. After every walk, they

collected notes, classified them, and made reports. In the fourth phase, they started working with other student-group networks named “Green corridor Working Group”. The students continued with action research, undertook interviews, meetings, observation research, and filed work through our activities.

EDIBLE WAY project

1. Concept of EDIBLE WAY

Edible Way is a Community Participatory Edible landscaping project initiated by a group of graduate students at Chiba University in Japan. In collaboration with the community, planter bags with edible plants such as vegetables and herbs are placed in private spaces along the street at the border between public and private spaces. The “Way” of Edible Way means both the physical space of the street and methods of edible landscaping.

This project aimed as the following: 1: To find ways of developing and expanding the edible landscape in Japan in order to contribute to people's communication and beautification neighbourhoods. 2: To test realizing a common kitchen in vacant houses through co-eating activities which utilize products harvested in these planters.

As Ishige (1982), a cultural anthropologist, said “Humans are co-eating animals, sharing food is sharing the heart”. In the same way, communal meals contribute to communication and building a community through eating together, to share empathy.

The goal of this project is to create a common space between the public and the private spaces, which contribute to social interactions and communication through edible landscaping. Through this communication process, a kind of a Preventive Safety Network will be built. Consequently, this will provide a feeling of reliance and a sense of security, and will support people in the community during emergencies. (Figure 1)



Figure 1. Concept of EDIBLE WAY

2. Project site

We have chosen Matsudo city as the project site. It is not only the area where the university campus is located but is also one of the shrinking cities in Japan with increasing vacant houses and a community garden where planting vegetables is prohibited.

Matsudo is located 20 kilometers away from the center of Tokyo, and one of bed town for people working in Tokyo. In 2017, it had a population of 488,187 (242,838 males and 245,349 females), 242,838 households and 2.09 average of family members. The percentage of the people aged above 65 years (elderly) is 25.2%. By 2045, the rate will reach 36.4%, which means that among 10 people, 4 will be elderly. Older couples and old single families are increasing. As typical in current Japan, Matsudo has an aging population, isolated society, and increasing vacant houses.

The project site is located between Matsudo station and Chiba University that are one kilometer apart. Recently, there have been several projects in the community in collaboration with Chiba University. In 2007, a community garden was built in a vacant lot owned by Matsudo city in collaboration with residents and students. It is managed once a month since 2007. At the beginning of the project, some potatoes were planted in the garden as a community garden. However, a few residents claimed that this is not a farm, vegetables that only certain people can eat on public land is the personalization of public goods. As a result of the half-year discussion with residents, it was prohibited to plant vegetables in the garden. In 2015, a vacant house project started to create a satellite campus as “Center Of Community”. It was first used as a venue for a university workshop to plan for its usage. That triggered the EDIBLE WAY idea.

3. Potted garden



Figure 2. Potted garden in Tokyo



Figure 3. Using Potted garden

Potted garden is a traditional gardening way in urban areas in Japan. It is called '地先園芸' frontage gardening or '路地園芸' alley gardening, it is a way of urban gardening, a common practice. (Figure 2) Planters are put in front of houses at the boundary between private and public spaces.

Potted gardens are managed by residents around their individual houses. Residents therefore feel deep attachment as a symbolic green in daily life and contribute to communicating with neighbors. (Kotani, et. Al., 1997) EDIBLE WAY was developed as potted gardening by placing movable planter bags in private spaces along the streets. (Figure 3) It produced Edible landscapes through individual gardening activity.

Results

1. Process of the Edible Way

EDIBLE WAY consists of four phases. We developed the method of EDIBLE WAY project through Action Research interactive process as illustrated in table 1.

Table 1. Process of Action Research

			Action	Reaction of community	Act of Resercher
Phase - 1	APR 2016	Research, Plan			Plan a method of ED BLE WAY, Logo design, project meeting, search for collaborators
	MAY 2016				Planters are donated
	JUN 2016		Interview, Workshop (2016.6)	Interested in ED BLE WAY	
	JUL 2016				
	AUG 2016		Attend MTG of local association (2017.1)	ED BLE WAY is certified by local association.	
Phase-2	SEP 2016	Set planters After care, interview, field work	Set new planters (2016.9~11)		NEEDS knowledge of edible plants
	OCT 2016		Communication increasing	Some problems of plants happened	Learn about knowledges of edible plants from community members, professors and students
	NOV 2016			Enhance communication	
	DEC 2016		Communal Meal (2017.1)	Participant invited new residents to CM	Create opportunities to share information and give direction, maintaining a dialogue with local residents to participate more subjectively.
	JAN 2017		Movie, tour, lectures (2017.2)		
	FEB 2017		Questionnaire survey with invitation of EW (2017.3)	New participants join	Share information how to maintenance soil to all residents.
	MAR 2017		Seed, soil maintenance, re-plant (2017.4~6)	Enjoy vegetable floors and grow seeds	Plan workshop to make planters for new participants.
	APR 2017		Making planters workshop (2017.5~7)	DWO create good communication	Establish Working Group with students group which have local activities with neighbors for helping each other and improve each activities.
Phase-3	MAY 2017	Sharing, communication	Establish WKG (2017.6)	Communication tool among students and locals	Organize exhibition of WKG to share each activities among student and locals
	JUN 2017		Publish newsletters (2017.7~ every month)	Glad to know other students local activities	
	JUL 2017		Plant fruit tree (2017.7)	Collaboration work started with other groups	Chalk art project in front of vacanhouse to promote EL and EW.
	AUG 2017		Chalk Art (2017.7-9)	Artwork created from EW	Collaborate with local children.
	SEP 2017		Communal meal (2017.9)	Artwork attract people	
	OCT 2017		Exhibition, Events (2017.9)	Planters are used for education tool	Finding several meaning of EW
	NOV 2017		Maintenance, re-plant (2017.9~10)	ED BLE WAY becoming local landscape	
	DEC 2017			Local restaurant use vegetable	
	JAN 2018		Lecture for citizen, communal meal (2017.12)	Citizen from other area have motivation of start EW in their area	EW network started
	FEB 2018				
	MAR 2018		Learn craft from participant (2017.12-18.5)	Participants invite students to local craft class with communal meal	Two Students join local craft class organized by EW participant and make craft with motif of EW
	APR 2018		Craft Exhibition (2018.4)		
Phase-4	MAY 2018		Maintenance, re-plant (2018.5~6)	Participants shared nursery and seeds	
	JUN 2018		Sharing nursery and seeds (2018.5~)	60% participants maintenance and replant by themselves.	Make compost from weeding with community garden
	JUL 2018			System of sustainable way	Workshop to learn maintenance soil and plant
	AUG 2018		Lecture and workshop (2018.9)	Increase DIY participants	
	SEP 2018		Maintenance, re-plant (2018.9~10)	WKG grow and could organize collaborate work	WKG grow as local platform
	OCT 2018		Making Edible Garden (2018.10)	Making beautiful planters with companion plants	

Participants in the community gradually increased through communication and connections in the community in two years; there are currently 48 participants and more than 100 planters as shown in figure 4 and figure 5.

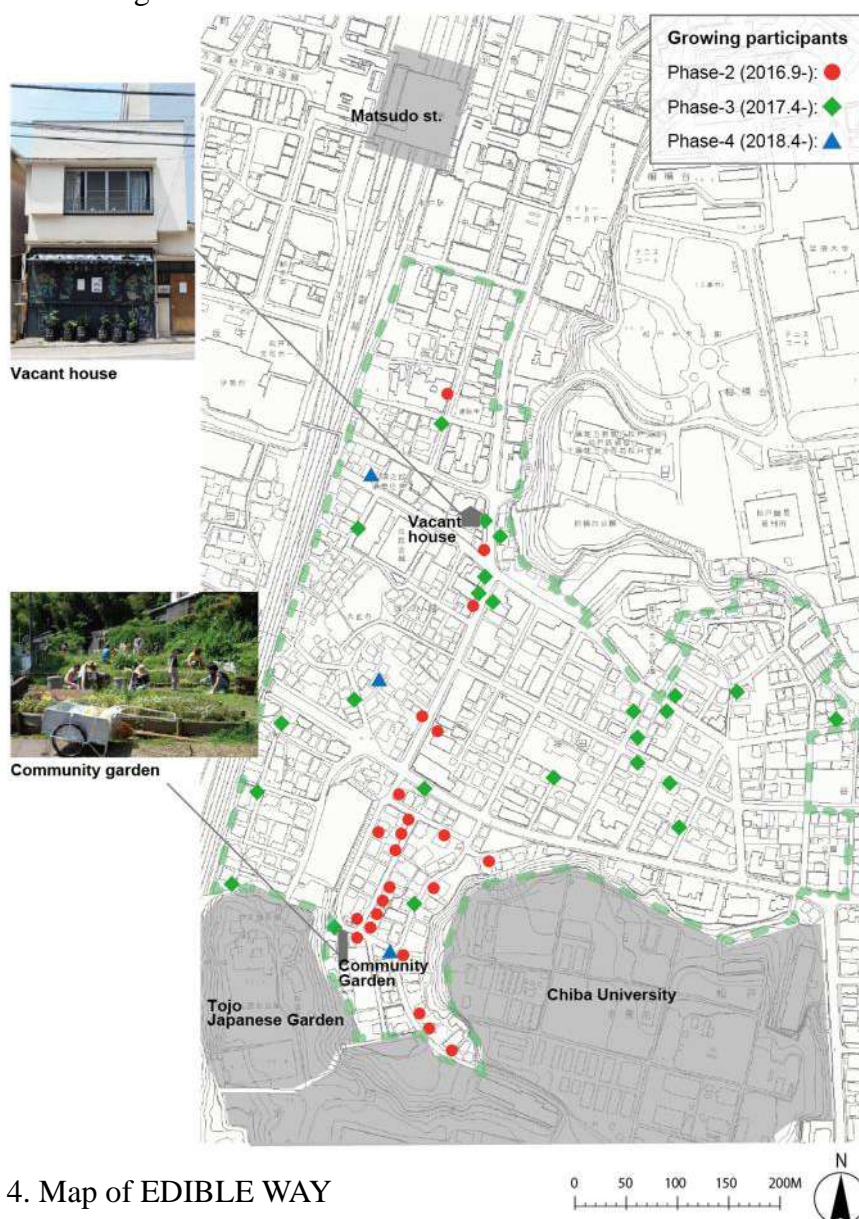


Figure 4. Map of EDIBLE WAY



Figure 5. Planter bags of EDIBLE WAY

【Phase-1: Survey and planning】

The first phase focuses on community survey and project planning through fieldwork, mapping, interview and workshop.

- 1) The planning workshop consisted of fieldwork, interview with residents, and brainstorming. Students explored the area and visited residents one by one, and introduced the idea of Edible Way. From the response, about 60% of residents were interested in the project. Many residents we visited are elderly, and some of them live alone.
- 2) The area around the community garden was selected as a starting point of the project because residents have an experience of collaboration with Chiba University thus they welcomed our project. We finalised our plan and attended a meeting of the local association to explain the idea to stakeholders.

【Phase-2 Creating EDIBLE WAY method】

The second phase focused on creating EDIBLE WAY with the community. The method was enhanced based on reactions from interactions with participants.

- 3) Planter bags with edible plants were set by six residents. The local participants gradually increased through connections in the community and communication on the streets. At the end of Phase-2, there were 22 locations and 44 planter bags in place. The visibility of planter bags bearing the project logo in front of houses created communication not only among the residents but also among the passers-by.
- 4) In January 2017, a communal meal activity was planned in the vacant house for communication among participants. Students and participants harvested edible plants together and had co-cooking and co-eating. One participant invited her new neighbors who had recently moved; they joined EDIBLE WAY after the communal meal. Some participants had seen each other before but this was the first time they engaged in a conversation.
- 5) In February 2017, we had movie screenings, EDIBLE WAY tour, and lectures for opportunities to learn and share about Edible landscape and EDIBLE WAY. We invited participants, residents, and people who are interested in the project. Specialists, researchers, participants of EDIBLE WAY, residents, students, and people who have an interest in edible landscape gathered and discussed after the event. Some guests were motivated to start EDIBLE WAY in their neighborhoods.

【Phase-3 Expansion of EDIBLE WAY】

The third phase focused on expanding EDIBLE WAY in the community.

- 6) In the second phase, some residents requested to join the project. A planter bags workshop was organized because there was an expansion in the area covered by the project as well as an increase in participants. During the workshop, new participants made planter bags in collaboration with students. As a result, this workshop was a chance to create a relationship

with new participants.

7) Through the communication with participants, we found there are two other groups (an association for community garden management and Horticultural visiting group) which have community-based activities initiated by Chiba university students in the same area. One of the researchers (Eguchi) started communicating with the other groups, and found out that all groups have the same challenge: inadequate student participants and challenges in the continuity of the projects. In June 2016, we established the Green Corridor Working Group for 1: supporting each other in activities and 2: improvement of each project. At first, we started to publish a monthly newsletter as a communication tool for sharing activities and information among students and residents. We organized collaborative events and activities; planting fruit trees in the community garden, making chalk art in the vacant house with local children, and exhibition of our activities in the community.

8) We planned several events to learn about edible landscape and to dialog with participants.

9) In the process of action research and collaboration, the cycle of EDIBLE WAY was formed.



Figure 6. The cycle of EDIBLE WAY in a half year (April to September, October to March)

【Phase-4 Continuity of EDIBLE WAY】

The fourth phase focused on the continuity of EDIBLE WAY in the community.

10) Two of the core members graduated from university at the end of the third phases, thus our collaboration with the Green Corridor Working Group increased. We support each other among the groups and share knowledge and opinions with each other. Our activities have a wider range of meaning than before.

11) We started sharing seeds and nurseries and making compost in the community garden to create a sustainable cycle. In collaboration with the Working Group, lectures and workshops were held for sharing knowledge about growing edible plants.

12) From October 2018, for creating a more attractive and beautiful landscape in EDIBLE WAY, we incorporated companion plants in the planter bags for functional and aesthetic reasons. Companion plants are two or more types of plants close together for mutual benefits such as pest control and disease resistance. (Deep Green Permaculture, 2011)

2. Findings through the process of action research

1) Community improvement

➤ Increased communication

After placing the planter bags almost all participants noticed an increase in conversations not only among the residents but also among the passers-by. This confirms that the planter bags help to create new connections and face-to-face relationships.

➤ Place attachment and sense of belonging

Growing plants in similar planters in the community facilitated neighborhood and local people's attachment to the place and sense of belonging.

➤ Collaborative activities

Some collaborations with other community groups started, it created mutually complementary relationships.

➤ Communal meal

Co-eating activities improved the quality of communication between participants. It is an opportunity not only to eat, but also to talk and cook together, and to create and strengthen the community.

2) Local food

➤ Fresh and safe food

EDIBLE WAY provides home-grown fresh and safe food that is pesticide-free.

➤ Local product

Local bakery and Thai restaurant served food made using vegetable from EDIBLE WAY planters. The produce is not enough for local products, however, there is a possibility that the project will contribute to local businesses in the future.

➤ Sharing seeds and nursery

Harvesting the seeds and sharing of seedlings began. In the community garden, we are making compost for the next season. We created the possibility for a seed bank and local biodiversity cycle system.

3) Environmental education

➤ Experience of gardening

The Edible Way project set up planters at nursery schools that have no playgrounds. There has been a general problem of inadequate nursery schools in Japan. As a result, the legal system has been easing the existing regulations; facilities without a playground are now approved as nursery schools. The Edible Way planters are small-scale, however, it can be a tool for Environmental Education. It provides experiences of gardening, food production education, nature observation and craft making.

➤ Food education

Many people have no experience of the process of growing vegetables, flowers and extracting seeds. We put tags indicating the process such as "seeding" on the planter for people to learn the growth process.

These small planters contribute to food education through observing plant growth for not only children but also adults.

➤ Exploring small ecological systems

Some caterpillars were born in vegetables in nursery schools' planter bags. Children observed and looked after the caterpillars. They raised four butterflies and released them to a park. A small ecological system in the EDIBLE WAY was thus found and explored by children.

4) Community care

➤ Enjoy walking

EDIBLE WAY in the community enhanced enjoyment of walking around the area. One participant found the planters during a rehabilitation walk after an illness and joined us eagerly. Not only old participants but also young participants enjoy walking on the way. Some of them started to walk on EDIBLE WAY area to see other planter bags.

➤ Care in daily life

51% of participants are more than 70 years of age. Some of them mentioned that frontage garden is one of barometers of their health check and care for each other. If someone's planter is not well maintained, neighbors expect he/she is not fine and will check on him/her. Older residents said they have the motivation to take good care of the plants.

➤ Quality of Life

The older people have great knowledge of frontage gardening, their contribution to community is very essential hence increasing their motivation to live longer in the community.

➤ Improved well-being as a result of social interactions

When old participants need help to maintain planter bags, students visit them to maintenance. The participants are glad that students are visiting; it is not only to take care of planters but also for intergenerational communication. The leader of a Horticultural Visiting students'

group (students visit elderly people's garden which is difficult to care) at Chiba University said that "Gardens are private spaces. However it is a space to create good communication and comfortable connection among elderly and students in keeping private of elderly." (Mouri, 2017)

5) Art

➤ Created chalk art

Sketch and chalk art workshop was organized for local children. From the sketch of EDIBLE WAY, children drew plants, insects and seeds which they observed from planters and created chalk art on the facade of the vacant house together with an artist and university students. Through art production and art work, discoveries and surprises were shared among residents.

➤ Handmade motif

One participant is a teacher of patchwork. She teaches patchwork in her house for local people to connect people through handmade crafts. She invited two students to her class. Students made some Japanese crafts with EDIBLE WAY motifs. Handmade works brought intergenerational communications.

➤ Materials for craft

In the environmental education workshop by students of Chiba University, vegetable leaves and flowers were used as craft materials.



Through the EDIBLE WAY project, researchers, participants and residents found several ways, benefits, meanings, and values. Kozai.T (2009) pointed out that agricultural activities have created a basement of a culture, art, science, religion, and morals since ancient times. Experience and understanding of agriculture and horticultural activities are assumed to improve the quality of life and lead to the improvement of social life and sustainable science also known as citizen science.

Figure 7. EDIBLE WAY findings as exploring citizen science

Citizen science is a science constructed by citizens with cooperation of professional scientists, governments, companies, and residents. It complements the science from the outside of professionals. At the end of the 20th century, it was proposed as a solution methodology of social issues. (Kozai, 2011)

EDIBLE WAY project and its process may contribute to developing the citizen's science.

3. PLATFORM of EDIBLE WAY

In 2017, an Edible Way Network started as a platform for sharing knowledge and information. Edible Way method has expanded to 5 other areas in Japan; other local communities and NPOs, as well as individuals followed our example in developing their own projects. It is easy way to start edible landscaping, just put EDIBLE WAY planters along a street. The method will be tested and evaluated in the network.

The supplier of planter bags provides EDIBLE WAY coupon for the network group to buy at discounted prices.

Table 2. EDIBLE WAY NETWORK

	Project	Place	Organizer	Since
1	Iwase herb project	Matsudo, Chiba	Students of Chiba University and local association	2017.1
2	Kita kogane wakuwaku field study for elementary school	Matsudo, Chiba	Chiba University, local elementary school and resident	2017.8
3	Kogasaki edible school yard	Matsudo, Chiba	Resident who took a lecture and event rerated EDIBLE WAY and local mothers group	2018.2
4	Edible town in Nerima Takamatsu	Nerima, Tokyo	NPO Mebae,	2018.6
5	Waiwai roof top garden in Shinagawa	Shinagawa, Tokyo	Grass roots group and Machizukuri association	2018.5

Conclusion

The EDIBLE WAY planters bearing a project logo placed along a street attract people; communication also emerges spontaneously while people are engaged in gardening activities. As frontage gardening contributes to people's communication (Kotani, et. Al., 1997), EDIBLE WAY is an effective way to bring communication among people. Some residents and neighbors came to see other planters after EDIBLE WAY was started. It means that opportunities for meeting neighbors have increased. It is projected that new connections and more communicative relationships will be created.

Participants found ways and meanings in edible planters. These include education, local food, care, craft, sharing gardening knowledge and local environment. We share this information by publishing newsletters, events, and a website. This interactive communication contributes to exploring and developing citizen science which was proposed as a solution methodology for social issues. (Kozai, 2011).

The EDIBLE WAY is an effective way of promoting Edible landscapes in Japan. Our planters transformed individual gardening activities to community activity, and people feel a sense of belonging in the community.

The EDIBLE WAY project connects individual activities in a community and enhances daily communication among local people. We suppose that it brings a feeling of local reliance and a sense of security and promotes a sense of belonging to the community while creating a safety network that will work in emergencies.

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Inclusive and Adaptable Urban Megaprojects?

A comparative analysis of case studies in Asia and Europe

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Abstract

Comprehensively planned urban megaprojects have increasingly become vehicles for developing urban districts, particularly in places with limited land resources and rapidly increasing urban population. Implemented by an underlying authority (with sometimes multiple public &/or private stakeholders), urban megaprojects often operate as spatially targeted interventions in their urban context and within exceptional policies and regulations. As a corollary, they are often criticised for overly top-down planning approaches and highly regulated and rigid planning frameworks. Based on the *Grand Projet* research at the ETH-Future Cities Laboratory in Singapore, which examines eight case studies in Asia and Europe through five analytical frames (a project's conception, design, implementation, operation and implications), this paper focuses on the concepts of adaptability and inclusiveness as investigative lenses across three comparative aspects, which are central to the topic of urban megaprojects: border, catalyst and centrality.

With these aspects, we investigate the adaptability of our case studies as the capacity of their initial spatial, programmatic and managerial framework to transform over time, in response to external conditions. We inquire about the inclusiveness of our projects in their capacity to include a wide range of stakeholder and address a societal breadth within their initial conception down to their spatial outcomes and operations practices. With spatially anchored definitions of adaptability and inclusiveness, we look at the spatial implications of urban megaprojects on the one side and their effects on the social dimension on the other side. In doing so the paper sheds light into the spatial practices of the eight cases

over time, their related urban forms, cultures of management and place-making, with the aim to identify parameters that are critical for the development of future adaptable and inclusive urban megaprojects.

Keywords: i. urban-mega-projects, ii. adaptability, iii. inclusiveness, iv. comparative research

Syntactic Research and Design Strategy of Street Network of China's Superblocks

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Abstract

Superblock has long been embedded in Chinese morphological tradition as the essential unit of Chinese urban spatial structure and development mode. Recent years, the loss of vitality in new towns arose retrospection of the vibrant urban environment of superblocks in the old city area, which opened up a fresh look at the Chinese long-lasting morphology unit, the superblock, and revealed its potential to provide flexible and connected street network, encourage and facilitate greater diversity of building types and land uses. The aim of this article is to understand the characteristics of the street network of superblocks through graphic representation, quantification and comparison, and attempt to put forward design ideas and methods of the street network that is capable of accommodating diversified activities and stimulating vitality, with the street layout of superblocks in old city area as a reference. We start with proposing the revised “dual” graph that can present the differentiation between the edge and interior, as well as the relationship between them. After that, we quantify the morphology of superblocks' street patterns to illustrate the connectivity and complexity of their configurations. Through the comparison among superblock samples located in the old city area, city fringe and new extension area of Nanjing, we demonstrate that the street network of superblocks in old city area have high road density and centrality and medium to high level of complexity, which altogether contribute to greater urban vitality. Finally, we seek strategies of street network design and generate hypothetical street networks.

Keywords: superblock, street network, dual graph, quantification, complexity, connectivity, design

Introduction

1.1 The concept, history and vision of China's superblock

A superblock is generally defined as a large urban area bounded by wide and linear arterial roads, further divided into one or several sub-blocks by minor streets (Peponis, Feng, Park, 2017). For a long time, superblock has been the basic unit of urban planning and

development in China, and an important part of its urban form. David Graham Shane believes that China is one of the earliest countries to organize urban morphology and function on the scale of superblock (Shane, 2014), which is the embodiment of traditional Chinese concept of "community" and the gene-like unit that runs through the formation, development and expansion of Chinese cities (Monson, 2010).

Under the political and economic background of the feudal society, the binary juxtaposition of the wide and straight streets outside the regular Lifang (150 meters wide of Tang Chang'an Suzaku Street) and the lanes growing spontaneously in the interior shows typical characteristics of the early superblock (Sun, Liang, 2003). In the period of planned economy, the "working unit" is a mixed-functional compound which integrates work, residence, commerce and related service facilities, and is generally enclosed by walls. A superblock at that time is usually composed of single or multiple "working units" that have no relationship with each other. Because of its large size, self-sufficiency and isolation from its external urban environment, the "working unit" is also known as "a city in the city" (Rowe, Guan, 2016). Since the 1980s and 1990s, the high efficiency and economic advantages of the residential quarter with superblock as the basic unit in infrastructure investment and land transfer meet the demands of China's rapid and large-scale urban expansion, and then shape the general spatial characters of the new towns, further encroaching on the old urban areas. Influenced by the "working unit" and the American gated community, the modern residential quarters form clusters with characters of single use (mostly residential), large plots and closed management. Their negative effects such as fragmentation of urban micro-scale street network, lack of street vitality and decrease of the diversity of functions have triggered criticism on superblocks (Kan, 2017; Sun, 2017). In 2016, the State Council of the CPC Central Committee issued "Some Opinions on Further Strengthening the Management of Urban Planning and Construction", calling for the cessation of the construction of "Closed Residential Quarters", and advocating the policy of "small blocks, dense road network" in the planning of the new city area. The western extension area of Nanjing is a typical example of the new policy.

However, the two spatial organization modes, hierarchical road network with superblock, and flat and dense road network with small block are essentially neutral and have their own advantages (Kan, 2017; Liang, Shen, 2003; Peponis, Feng, Park, 2017), of which the performance and applicability are different from place to place and from time to time. Simply opposing the superblock model to urban vitality reflects the one-sidedness of previous studies on superblock, which tend to ignore its concept as a scale and hierarchy of urban physical space and community functions and activities, and lack of exploration of the key clues behind the complex and interactive relationship between form and vitality.

Moreover, as the spatial organization and morphology of China's superblocks are greatly influenced by the planning concept, existing urban fabric and land ownership during their formation period, the superblocks in different construction periods or locations often bear obvious differences. It is increasingly recognized that, compared with new urban areas that are planned, designed and developed in a short period of time, the superblocks in the old urban areas are more adapted to the demands of diverse urban life and usually have complex structure, compound functions and diversified forms that contribute to urban vitality. Although government and experts make constant attempts on the rational level in the planning and design of the new urban area, the result turns out to be an almost complete failure in terms of life experience and cultural characteristics (Tong, 2014).

With urban vitality and diversity becoming the goal of urban development in China, it is increasingly important to explore how the form and structure of superblocks support diversified and dynamic urban space and life. Research has revealed that it is possible to establish a positive relationship between urban form and the diversified urban living demands, in which the hierarchical and complex urban structure of superblock plays an important role (Peponis, 2016; Shelton, 2012). Jane Jacobs pointed out that the complexity and diversity of cities were important factors in urban vitality and efficiency (Jacobs, 1961). Christopher Alexander advocated the "semi-lattice" road structure which is mostly found in the "natural city", rather than the simple and hierarchical "tree structure" in the "artificial city" (Alexander, 1965). With the aid of fractal theory, Salingaros claimed that the vitality of a city depended on complex network hierarchy and a diversity of nodes (Salingaros, 2005). All these classic and influential theories and viewpoints laid a solid foundation of this study.

1.2 Road network and urban vitality

The spatial structure of a city could be categorized into three layers: street, plot and building, among which street is the most durable and stable structuring element of the urban form (Conzen, 1960). Therefore, the affordance of urban form, that is, its capacity of accommodating and inspiring urban diversity and vitality (Marcus, 2010), is largely dependent on the affordance of the street network, which is highly related to two characteristics, the "scale" and "connectivity".

The external and internal street networks of superblocks correspond to difference urban spatial scales (Peponis, 2016). Bill Hillier has demonstrated through hundreds of case studies in different cities that this kind of binary layout is an important feature of the majority of urban street network configurations throughout the world, in which a few long and straight arterial roads carry the core commercial and cultural activities, forming the main skeleton of

the city, also known as the "foreground network", and short and tortuous sub-streets bear the daily life activities and are embedded in the framework of "foreground networks", forming the texture of urban residential areas and also known as the "background network" (Hillier, 1996). The soundness of each scale is the foundation on which a diversity of functions and activities could be carried out smoothly (Salingaros, 2005). However, as most modern cities pursue the car-dominance concept and "modernization icon" in urban planning, such top-down and "high-level dominating low-level" planning ideas tend to blindly pursue the efficiency and intensity of large-scale network, but weaken and eliminate the low-scale network. As a result, the human-scale pedestrian network in traditional cities almost ceases to exist, which has a devastating impact on the urban vitality.

The vitality of a city derives from the connectivity of movement and activities on various scales (Salingaros, 2008). With street network as the carrier, the two scales of the superblock define three types of connectivity relationship. First, the arterial road network of superblock boundary defines the connectivity and integration on the city scale, which is generally determined by topography and macroscopic planning, and forms the preconditions for the latter two connectivity relationships. The connection between the boundary and the internal streets defines how the local places are connected to the other parts of the city, which could be integrated or fragmented. Last but not the least, the connectivity of the internal capillary street network determines the flows of people, goods and information that associated with ordinary daily life.

There is a variety of ways to connect. Marshall classifies street networks according to two quadrants of connectivity and complexity, and proposes that pure "tree type" leads to discontinuous and isolated parts, while pure "grid type" lacks the characteristics of supporting diversification and thus cannot respond to the complex and diverse requirements of urban activities. He advocates the "complex" structure (similar to Alexander's "semi-lattice" structure), somewhere in between the "grid type" and "tree type", with the characteristics of the traditional street network – medium to high connectivity and complexity (Marshall, 2005).

In order to represent, quantify and interpret morphological characteristics of street network, scholars have established a large number of graphs, which carry out different levels of abstraction, extracting information from road network. Dual graph is originated from the spatial cognitive schema, representing streets with vertices and the intersections between streets with edges. On the basis of dual graph, Bill Hillier established Space Syntax theory and model, which has long been considered to focus on the nature of street network, the "configuration", and an effective theoretical and quantitative tool for visualizing and

analyzing the interactive relationship among spatial form, movement and activity mode, and performance of the urban morphology (Hillier, 1996). With the development of Space Syntax, a variety of street network maps such as line segment map (Turner, 2007), natural street map (Jiang, Liu, 2007) and directional distance model (Peponis et al., 2008) provide fresh ideas for graphic representation. However, the existing graphs tend to treat all street elements as the same from the very beginning, and not attempt to distinguish the external and internal street network of superblock, which support flows and activities at different scales. Nor is it possible to decompose the three types of connectivity relationship between external and external, external and internal, internal and internal from these graphs, and at the same time reflecting characteristics of the network as an integrated whole.

Alexander and Marshall all suggest that compared to the "grid structure", more "favored" street networks tend to be more complex (Alexander, 1965; Marshall, 2005). However, the definition and measurement of the attributes of complexity has never reached a consensus. Marshall defines complexity as the proportion of distinct types generated by non-depth factors in all routes in the network, that is, the total number of distinct types (defined by connectivity, continuity and depth) minus the value of maximum depth, all divided by the total number of routes. First of all, the way of defining distinct route type proposed by Marshall is incompatible with dual graph, in which the value of continuity could not be obtained from dual graph and highly depends on human judgment (Marshall, 2016). Secondly, the number of path types only expresses one aspect of complexity, for example, more types with small differences, and fewer types with large differences both are manifestations of complexity, and it also depends on how we recognize types, such as, what the tolerance of type is.

Moreover, existing street network research lacks interface with design. Most of them usually takes the overall street network of a large-scale area as the research object, which lacks the consideration of associating the scope of research with the corresponding agents, including urban planners, transportation planners, urban designs and etc., and the effective scope of their work. As one of the solutions, Peponis proposed to decompose the supergrid and the inserted street network of superblock as two independent and interrelated systems (Peponis, 2015). In addition, Space Syntax as the representative for research methods and tools of street layouts, still stays on passive inspection and optimization of existing or designed street network, and has difficulty in actively guiding design.

This study takes the old city and western extension area of Nanjing as the research area, which has gone through long-term development, has sufficient sample types and quantities, and is representative of Chinese cities. The following content of this article comprises five

parts. First, based on dual graph, the representation method of superblock's street network is optimized to be able to show the difference between the external and internal, as well as the relationship between the two. Secondly, we enunciate a number of topological and geometric variables, clarifying indicators of complexity. In the third part, quantify and compare eight samples of superblocks located in the old city, city fringe and new city expansion area in order to verify and summarize the principles that the street network of superblocks in the old city is superior to other types in the vitality creation. In the fourth part, based on the principles summarized from the third part, we put forward the preliminary design ideas and methods of transforming a homogeneous grid to a more dynamic and complex road network from the perspective of design. In the conclusion part, we will discuss another key issue of dynamic block and try to put forward the next step in the research and design of the superblock.

Representation of Street Network

Graph theory allows understanding of elements through their relationships with other elements, where the vertices represent the elements and the edges represent the relationships. In contrast to the traditional primal graph, dual graph uses vertices to express road segments or axes and edges to express the intersection between two or more axes. Nodes in dual graph not only serve as the representation unit, but also as the analysis and quantization unit, forming a one-to-one correspondence with streets in the map.

However, neither axial map nor its derivatives, including line segment map, natural street map and directional distance model, are completely objective representations of the material world. They edit and operate street network based on their respective viewpoints on environmental perception and cognition with great attention to the rules of street continuity and separation, forming their own definitions of the vertices in the dual graph and coming up with street network representations that might be very different. Stavroulaki et al. summarized the differences of these maps as the following three questions: what degree of directional change is considered as cognitively significant? Are street junctions cognitively significant enough to interrupt continuous streets, irrespectively of whether they lead to directional change? How to consider the role of the pseudo nodes? (Stavroulaki, 2017)

First of all, many scholars have raised doubts about treating all the turnings, no matter small or large, equally in the axial map, and proposed possible solutions including measuring angle changes and setting the threshold angle (Turner, 2007; Peponis et al., 2008). Secondly, as most of the internal streets are not wide enough to obstruct crossing behavior, the street segments on both sides of the intersection, which does not lead to direction change, should maintain its continuity and integrity without being divided into two. Third, as accessibility

and visibility both play important roles in human cognition and wayfinding, whether pseudo-node cuts off the street depends on the degree to which it changes direction, that is, whether the angle between the two street segments on both sides of pseudo-node exceeds the threshold angle. In response to the above questions, we add the concept of threshold angle to axial map, which is set at 15 degrees as suggested by related research (Peponis et al., 2008). That means if the two axes intersect at an angle of less than 15 degrees, they are considered to combine one continuous and curved element, and when greater than or equal to 15 degrees, they are considered to be two separate elements.

A superblock can be understood as the juxtaposition of two network structures of different scales—a supergrid network formed by wide arterial roads, and a secondary street network embedded in the supergrid. Taking the boundary of superblocks as the interface, these two networks support flows and activities of different scales, which demonstrates that they could be considered both independent and integrated in spatial organization. This important feature of superblock asks for a differentiated representation of the external and internal street network, which is missing in almost all the existing graphic representations. Taking the boundary as the starting point and the topological distance between internal streets and boundary as layers, this way of understanding and representing superblock bears similarity with how people from all over the city arrive at the boundary of a superblock through rapid and long-distance traffic, penetrate into the interior of superblock with the boundary as transformation interface of scale and speed, and further explore and perceive local places of superblock.

The revised way to draw a dual graph is as follow: first, we draw the axial map, detect all the angles of intersections and merge them with the principle of 15 degree threshold. The merged axes then serve as vertices in the dual graph and are numbered. Place the vertices which represent the external streets of superblock on the first layer of the graph, and the streets that directly intersect with the boundary (one step away from the boundary) on the second layer, all the other vertices arranged in order. After that, link the intersecting streets (vertices) with edges (Figure 1).

The revised dual graph itself convey much more information than the original one. Through layering, it clearly distinguishes the external and the internal streets, expresses the topological distance between each inserted street and the supergrid hierarchically, and shows the amount and location of internal streets distributed on each layer. The edges in the dual graph, that is, the various connections of the street network, can be visually distinguished as three different types of connections: between external and external, external and internal, internal and internal.

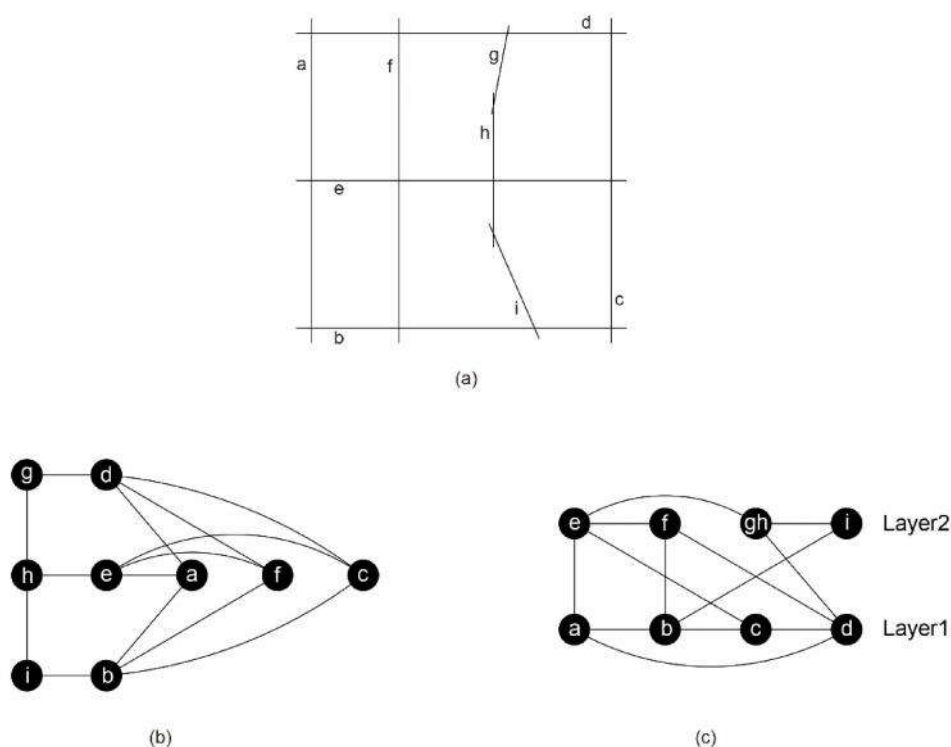


Figure 1. Comparison between the standard dual graph (b) and the revised dual graph (c) representing the axial map (a)

Quantitative indicator system

In order to describe quantitatively the morphology of the street layouts of superblocks, we applied a set of 17 morphological variables to describe their geometric and topologic characteristics. These variables are categorized into the whole, external and internal, except the variables expressing the connection relationship, which are divided into whole, external to external, external to internal, and internal to internal (table 1).

Table 1. list of 17 morphological variables

Variable	Description	Context
Area(ha)	Area is calculated with the center lines of the external streets as the boundary	Whole
Road_Len (m)	The total length of the road, with half the value of the external streets' length	Whole
Road_Density (m/ha)	The ratio of total road length to area	Whole
w_axial	Number of axial lines	Whole
e_axial		External
i_axial		Internal

w_edge	Number of edges in dual graph	whole
e_e_edge	Number of edges in dual graph linking external vertices to external vertices	External to external
e_i_edge	Number of edges in dual graph linking external vertices to internal vertices	External to internal
i_i_edge	Number of edges in dual graph linking internal vertices to internal vertices	Internal to internal
edge_axial	Ratio of number of edges per number of axial lines	whole
D	The mean of mean depth for the system as a whole. $D = \sum D_i l_i / L$, where D_i is the mean depth of a single vertice and l_i is its street length and L is the total street length in the system	whole
Re_D	Reciprocal of D, representing the connectivity of street network	whole
D_std (Complexity 2)	Standard deviation of mean depth of the network as a whole	whole
Max_Layer	The maximum number of layers measured by the street segment's topological distance from the supergrid	whole
Topo_type	Number of topological types of vertices. Topological type is defined by the street segment's layer number, the mean depth and the number of streets it connects with	whole
Complexity 1	Number of topological types minus the value of maximum layer, all divided by the total number of axials	whole

The first part of these indicators are standard geometric parameters such as area, road length and road density. The second part stems from the syntactic representation, in which the division of "edges" expresses the various connection relationships, which are of different practical meanings, formed by the difference of scales between the external and the internal streets. The mean of mean depth takes the definition and computing method of Peponis' the

mean of means of directional distance as a reference, which is used to express the overall depth and accessibility of street network. The third part refers to Marshall's definition of complexity -- the proportion of distinct route types generated by non-depth factors in all routes of the network, and uses the difference between topology types and maximum layer to eliminate the interference effect of recursivity.

However, we recognize that there are two unclear issues in Marshall's way of defining complexity. First of all, the three indicators he used to define distinct route type including connectivity, continuity and depth focus only on the local properties of routes (connectivity), and their relationship to a specific initial road (depth). Moreover, the parameter of continuity is not compatible with most of the syntactic representations and greatly depends on experts' judgment. The advantage of street network analysis is that, apart from the local properties that could be visually seen and directly obtained from the map, it allows us to understand the relationship between one street with all the other streets, that is, its topological role in the overall network. It is very likely two streets with same local attributes have entirely different overall attributes.

We choose the number of layer, the attribute of street's hierarchy that is similar to Marshall's depth, mean depth, the attribute of street's overall topological property, and connectivity (as defined by Marshall), the attribute of street's local topological property, to define topology types. Moreover, proportion of the number of types to the number of all routes only express one aspect of complexity. Suppose there are two series of numbers, {1,2,3,4,5,6} and {1,10,20}, the first of which has more types, while the second shows a greater degree of difference. For a street network, the second indicates that the street network could accommodate both local places with high accessibility and a great sense of public, and with privacy and tranquility in adjacency. Therefore, in this paper, D_{std} (standard deviation of mean depth for the system as a whole) which expresses the degree of difference is considered as the Complexity Index 2. Together with the traditional Complexity Index 1, the two parameters of complexity are applied to measure the complexity of street network.

Samples - quantification and comparison

Eight superblock samples are selected from the research area. According to their locations in the city, they are categorized into three types: old city type (sample 1A-1C), city fringe type (sample 2A-2B) and new city type (sample 3A-3C). From sample 3A (1996) to 3B (2002) and 3C (2008), the construction periods of the three samples of new city type span more than 10 years, respectively representing different ideas and modes of new city construction: in the early stage, new city construction has not yet formed a clear concept or mode, mostly resulting in a random layout (Sample 3A); during the middle period, the beauty of curve and

the sense of graphics were promoted (Sample 3B); recently, the design idea of new town has shifted towards the layout of "small block, dense street network", which was unconventional for Chinese cities. The dual graphs of the eight samples are presented in figure 2 and their numeric profiles are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. eight samples analyzed (parameters directly affected by the difference of sample area and the total length of the road are marked with *)

	Sample 1A	Sample 1B	Sample 1C	Sample 2A	Sample 2B	Sample 3A	Sample 3B	Sample 3C
Area(ha)	37.37	26.87	38.1	54.29	78.41	52.79	63.66	54.29
Road_len (m)	5159.5	4091	5180.8	5901	6513	4107	7966.8	3679.5
Road_Densit y (m/ha)	138.06 5	152.25 2	135.97 8	108.69 4	83.063	79.693	125.14 5	67.775
w_axial*	18	23	29	39	36	19	41	8
e_axial*	4	4	4	4	5	5	6	4
i_axial*	14	19	25	35	31	14	36	4
w_edge*	33	36	45	52	52	25	63	13
e_e_edge*	4	4	4	4	5	5	6	4
e_i_edge*	12	11	12	15	11	8	13	7
i_i_edge*	17	21	29	33	36	12	44	2
edge_axial	1.833	1.565	1.552	1.333	1.444	1.316	1.537	1.625
D	2.02	2.49	2.53	2.8	3.04	2.3	2.9	1.53
Re_D	0.495	0.402	0.395	0.357	0.329	0.435	0.345	0.654
D_std (Complexity 2)	0.404	0.407	0.468	0.767	0.579	0.434	0.463	0.223
Max_Layer	3	4	4	7	5	4	5	2
Topo_type	16	20	29	36	36	19	39	6
Complexity 1	0.722	0.696	0.862	0.744	0.861	0.789	0.829	0.5

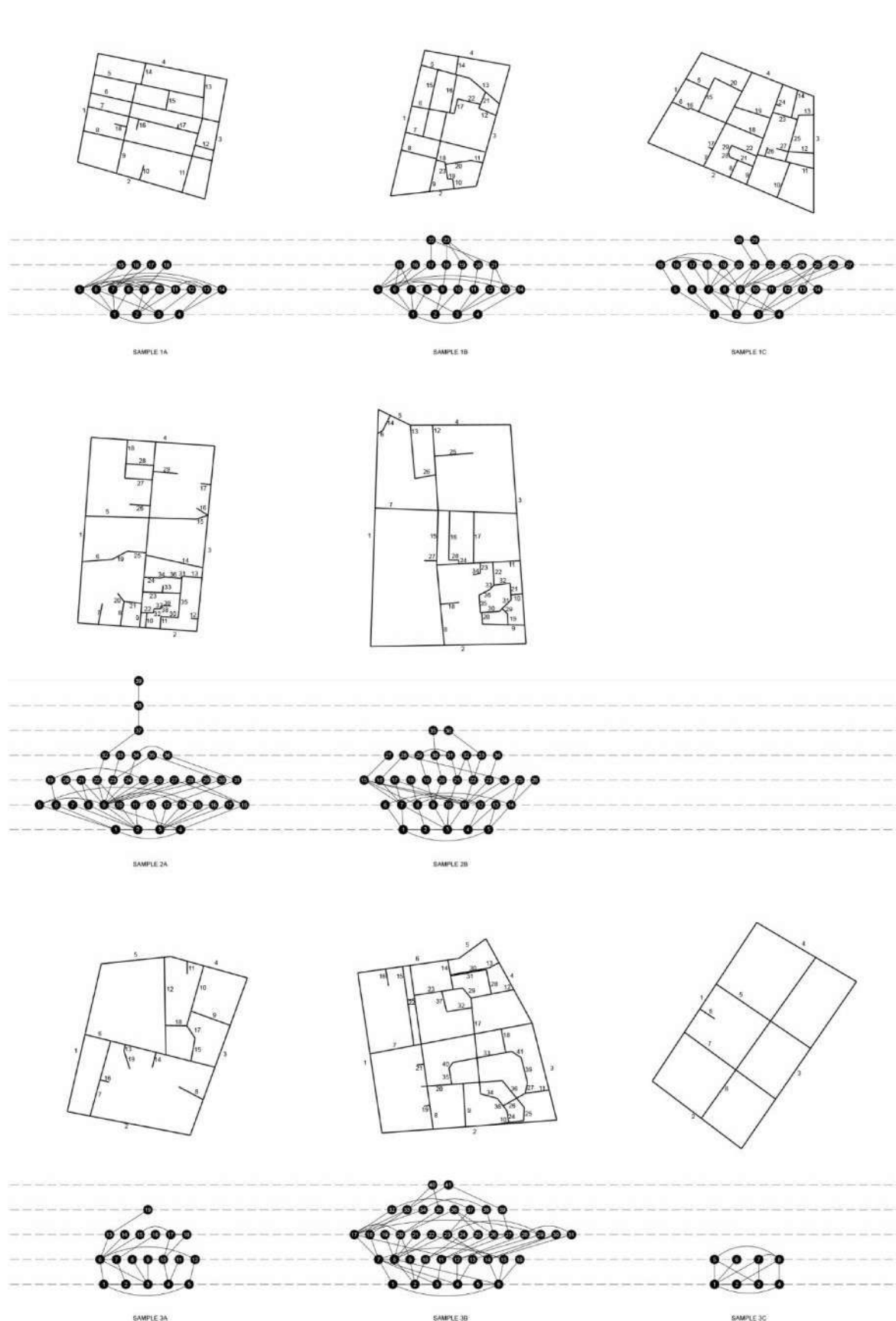


Figure 2. dual graphs of eight samples

From the standard geometric parameters, it could be seen that the area of samples increases successively from the old city type, the new city type to the city fringe type. The total length of streets varies greatly between different types and even among the three samples of new city type. It indicates that there is no deliberation to select samples with similar area or road length, and instead, the representative samples of each type area selected, of which the variations of the area, road length and road density are in line with the general rules in the research area. The comparison of road density shows that road density of the old city type is the highest, which is more than 1.5 times of the city fringe type. Among the three samples of new city type, the road density of sample 3A with the earliest construction time (1996) is similar to that of the fringe type. After that, road density shows a sharp rise in sample 3B. The sample 3C in the western extension area, which is planned and designed based on the concept of "small block, dense street network", has the lowest road density, which is even less than half of the old city type.

The second part of the parameters, mainly about the dual graph, provides information about the number of internal and external axes of the superblock (vertices), and the number of connections between the axes (edges). The proportion of edges to vertices (edge_axial) represents the average degree of connectivity of the street network, which is closely related to the network's performance of accessibility and route selectivity. The edge_axial ratio of the old city type is much higher than that of the city fringe type and the early new city type (Sample 3A). The most recent sample of the new city type (Sample 3C), which approximates the regular grid, shows a very high edge_axial ratio. However, given its small number of axes and connections, we could see that Sample 3C has a street network formed by top-down planning with its structure simplified and details erased, which will be discussed later in the part of complexity. In addition, three types of connection could be illustrated by the ratio of the number of the related edges to the vertices through decomposition. For example, each external street of Sample 1B and 2B is connected to 2.75 and 2.2 internal streets on average (e_{i_edge}/e_{axial}). Considering that the area of Sample 2B is about three times larger than Sample 1B, and its total external road length is about 1.7 times that of Sample 1B, we could estimate that it is easier to enter into the interior of Sample 1B from the external streets.

Through dual graph, we could obtain an essential parameter, the mean depth. Mean depth represents the mean of the mean topological distance from any road in a network to all the other roads, which is inversely proportional to the connectivity of the network. Therefore, we use its reciprocal (Re_D) to compare the connectivity of samples. Sample 3C has the highest value of Re_D. Because of its similarity to the regular grid, the topological distance between any roads is within two steps. The old city type and the early new city type reflect a higher degree of connectivity than the urban fringe type and mid-term new city type.

In the third part, we calculate the complexity 1 by the ratio of the difference between the number of topological types and the maximum number of layers to the total number of axes. Comparing Complexity 1 with Complexity 2 (D_std) shows that these two parameters do not always form a positive correlation. For instance, the city fringe type and the old city type share the similar value of Complexity 1, while Complexity 2 of the former is much higher than that of the latter, which shows that although both of the types are capable of providing a variety of street types, the difference among street types is more significant in the fringe type, indicating that the streets with very high and low depth are placed within one superblock, forming places with significantly different topological attributes. The early and mid-term new city samples (Sample 3A, 3B) maintain similar degree of complexity to the old city type, while Sample 3C has much lower complexity than all the other samples. This phenomenon is more or less predictable and consistent with our experience, showing that the planning and design of street network in new city construction tends to be flat and simplified in recent years, and the places shaped by this kind of street layout are relatively monotonous, of which the diversity has to depend almost entirely on the internal organization of plots and architectures.

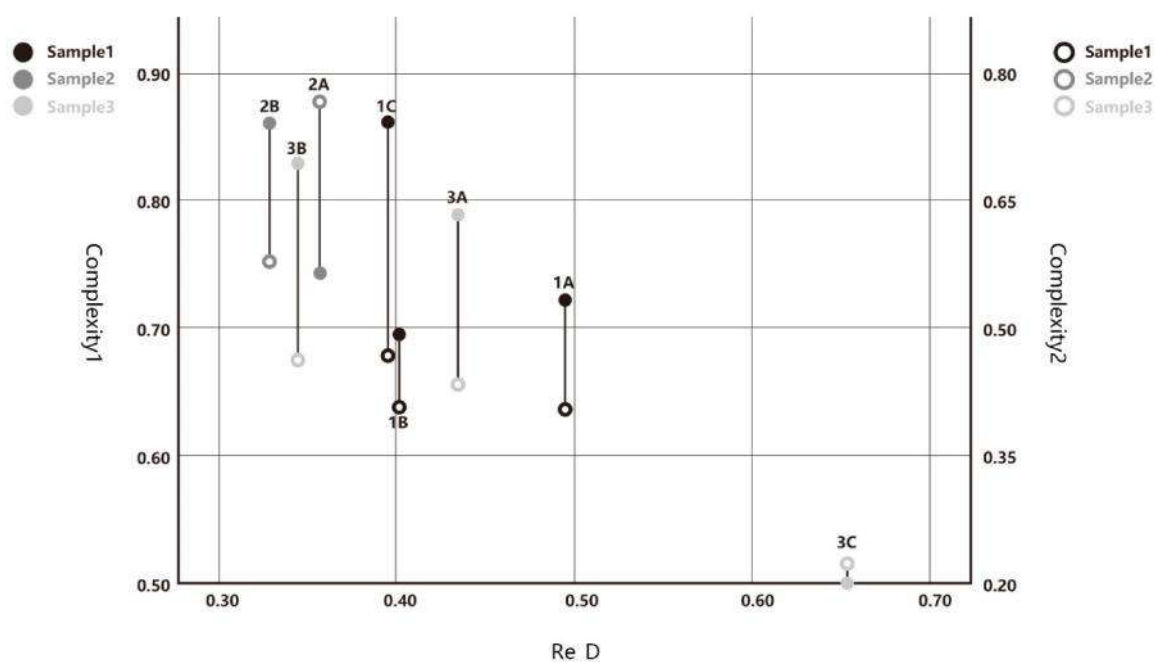


Figure 3. scatter plot of the eight samples

To have a more comprehensive and thorough understanding of the street network's characteristics of each superblock type, the parameters of Re_D, Complexity 1 and 2 of each sample are placed in a scatter plot with the X axis representing Re_D, the left side of Y axis representing Complexity 1 (the solid circle) and the right side of Y axis representing

Complexity 2 (the open circle) (Figure 3). The overall trend reveals the negative correlation between connectivity and complexity, that is, the increase in complexity will cause the loss of connectivity to some extent. The old city type has both high connectivity and complexity. The city fringe type has the highest complexity and the lowest connectivity. Among the three samples of new city type, the numeric profiles of Sample 3A and 3B are similar to that of the old city type and city fringe type respectively. Sample 3C has the highest connectivity and the lowest complexity, making up a type of street network that is different from the others. If the factor of road density is added for comparison, Sample 3A (low road density) can be clearly distinguished from the old city type (high road density), and so does Sample 3B (high road density) from the city fringe type (low road density).

Design ideas

In the previous research, we realize that the street network of the superblocks of old city type is featured in high road density, connectivity and complexity, which is consistent with the characteristics of vibrant street network as proposed in the literature. The purpose of design is not to formally imitate or reproduce the street network of the old city type, but to explore the hidden principles that enable it to accommodate diversified activities and stimulate vitality, and to enlighten the construction of new cities and the renewal of old cities with design ideas.

According to the existing research, the street layout of Chinese traditional cities is characterized by the layering of top-down overall control of the skeleton road network and the tortuous network of hutongs formed by people's own construction. Influenced by traditional courtyard houses on the micro level, the hutong network basically maintains the characteristics of orthogonal grid, north-south orientation and T junctions. In this way, most of the street networks of old city type superblocks can be considered as variants of the grid structure, and could be easily restored to a grid. Therefore, to design a street network with a high degree of connectivity and complexity could be accomplished with the grid network as the starting point and through step-by-step deformations.

Referring to the area and road density of the superblocks of old city type, we take a square of 600m*600m divided by three horizontal and three vertical streets as the initial mode (Road Network 1), of which the road density is 133m/ha. Subsequent deformation operations are carried out with the shape, area and total road length of the superblock unchanged, of which the goal is to achieve high connectivity ($Re_D > 0.4$) and complexity ($Complexity1 > 0.6$ & $Complexity2 > 0.4$). These target value intervals are just temporary setups for the designing experiments and could be amended with more analysis.

In the first step, we break the continuity of road along the Y-axis by moving a small part of a

street and get Road Network 2. Only this action alone has raised the number of topology type from 2 to 7, with a slight decrease in connectivity (Re_D). Then, in Road Network3, we interrupt more Y-axis roads, the complexity continuing to increase and connectivity to decline. In Road Network 4 and 5, we interrupt the continuity of roads in the X-axis direction until there is no through street as shown in Road Network 6. In this process, the connectivity of the street network decreases slowly, and Complexity 1 increases significantly and the Complexity 2 increases slightly with fluctuations. So far, Road Network 6 has Re_D of 0.46 and Complexity1 of 0.74, which meet the reasonable value ranges of the parameters of the target road network, but Complexity 2 is far below the target in all the networks that have been tested.

By comparing the dual graphs of the designed and sample street networks, three possible causes of low complexity 2 could be found: 1. in the designed street network, the streets concentrates too much on the second layer. 2. The streets on the third layer are independent of each other, not constituting any connection. 3. The design road networks have a maximum of three layers, while the sample road networks generally have three to four layers. In the next step, we respond to the above problems by increasing the number of streets on the third layer by continuing to interrupt road continuity (Road Network 7) or moving the street on the second layer to the third layer (Road Network 8), trying to establish a connection between the streets on the third layer (Road Network 9), and increasing the number of layers from three to four by creating a dead-end (Road Network 10). Calculations show that the latter two methods result in a significant increase in Complexity 2, accompanied by a continued decline in connectivity and a slight decrease in complexity 1. All the indicators of the target street network (>0.4 , >0.6 , >0.4) has been reached in Road Network 10 (0.435, 0.6, 0.42) (Figure 4, Figure 5).

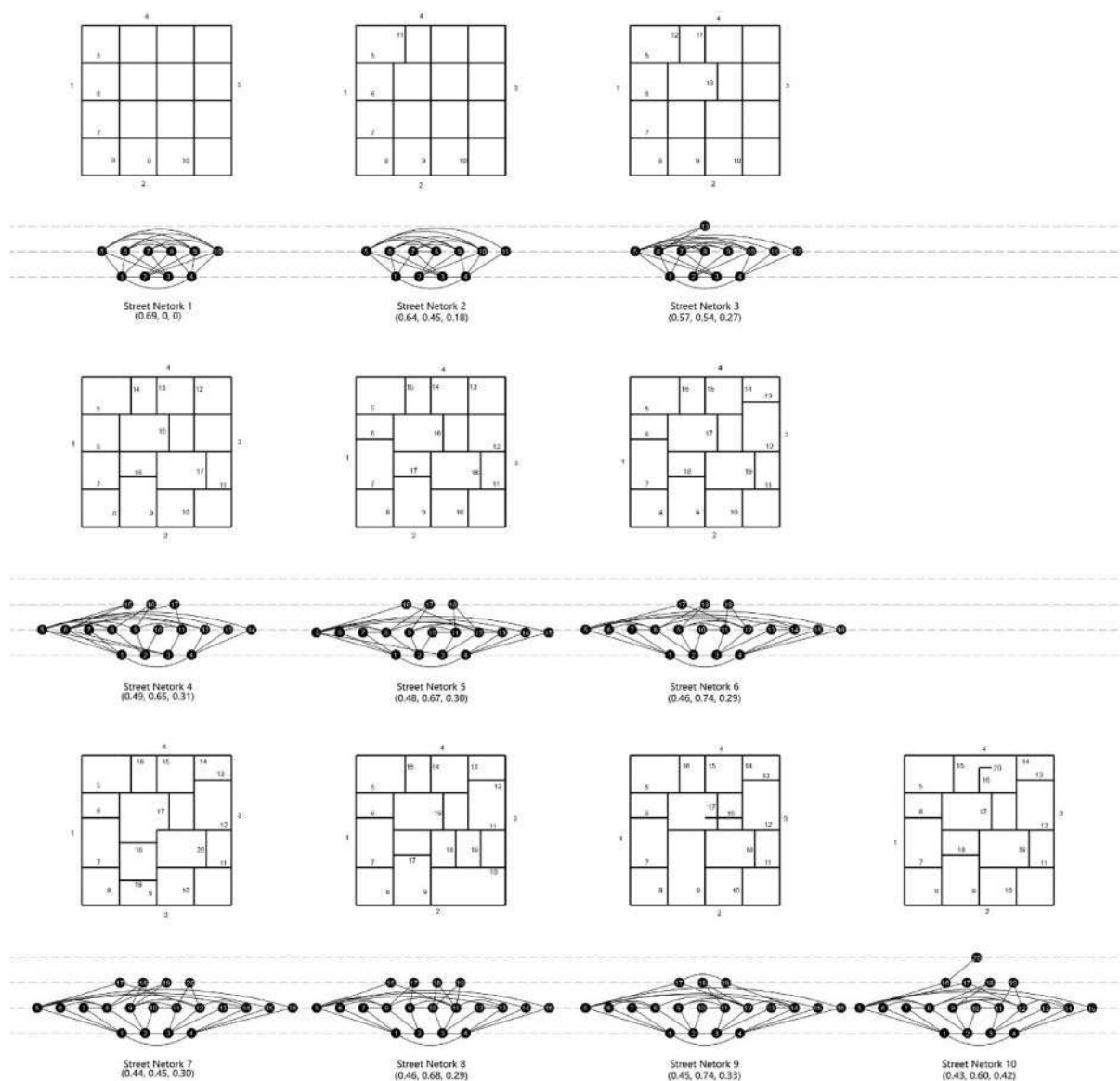


Figure 4. Design of the street network from a regular grid (Street Network 1) to the street network with high connectivity and complexity (Street Network 2-10). The numeric profile (a, b, c) of each street network consists of “a” - Re_D, “b” - Complexity 1 and “c” - Complexity 2.

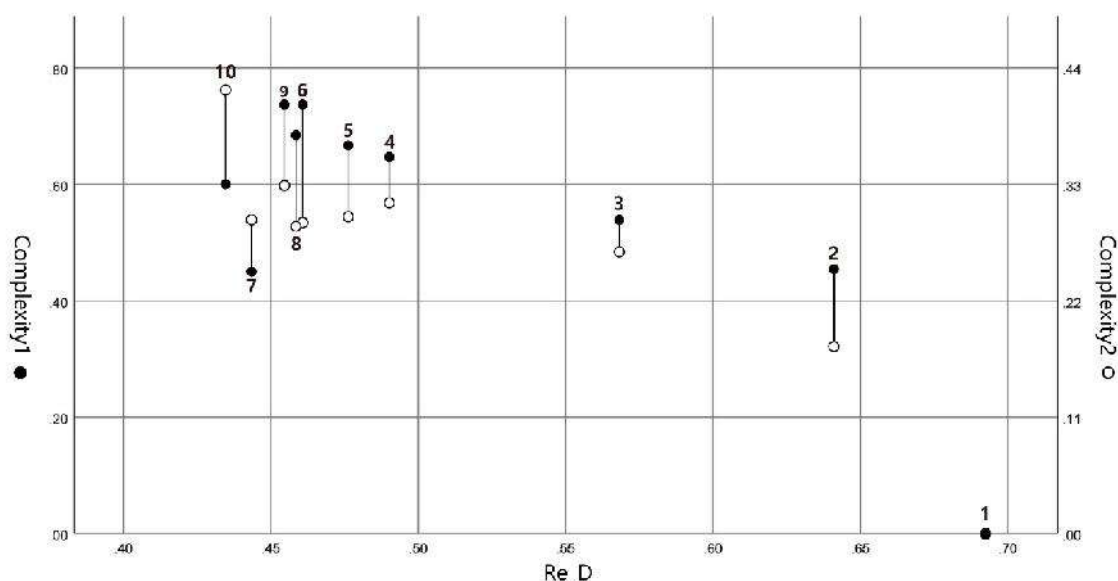


Figure 5. scatter plot of the ten street networks of the design test

From the whole operation process, we learn that interrupting the continuity by moving parts of the road, increasing types of connectivity within and between layers, creating dead-ends to increase the maximum number of layers and etc. may all lead to the increase in complexity and the decrease in connectivity. In the next step, we will use computer programming to find the reasonable interval in the interactive tracks of the connectivity and complexity, which means, if the complexity value exceeds this interval, the deformation operation will result in a much slower increase in complexity, accompanied by a large drop in connectivity.

Conclusion

In this paper, the concept of superblock as a scale of an urban form and function organization is reviewed. From literature review, we summarize that the street network with a high degree of connectivity and complexity play an important role in supporting and accommodating vibrant and diverse urban places and activities of superblock. We construct the research path of “graph theory – quantitative parameters – sample quantification and comparison – design test”. First, the representation method (dual graph) of superblock is optimized to present the difference between the external and internal streets, as well as the correlation between them. Secondly, we build up a quantitative index system with complexity and connectivity as the core. After that, eight superblock samples of three categories are selected from the 74sq km research area composed of the old city and western extension area of Nanjing. The quantitative research confirms that the street network of the old city type conforms to the characteristics of the dynamic road network with high connectivity and complexity as summarized in the literature, from which the appropriate numerical intervals of the

parameters, mainly the complexity and connectivity, are determined. At the end, we attempt to start from the regular grid structure, through a series of simple geometric operations, gradually transform it towards a complex and diverse street network with high connectivity. This step of the work links quantitative research to design, so that the knowledge gained from research could actively assist and guide the design, and the results of design could in turn give feedback, forming a virtuous cycle of research and design.

In the next step of research, in addition to the involvement of computer programming, the interaction between street network and plot/building system is a key aspect. The form, function of architecture and the street network produce synergistic or dissonant effects through their multiple influences on the flow pattern of people, goods and in information, which has been profoundly illustrated by Bill Hillier and Netto (Hillier, 1996; Netto, 2012). With movement as the media, the street network and architectural form constitute a system of mutual duality, that is, one party is influenced by the other and also keeps changing and shaping the other party at the same time. Therefore, exploring the relationship between the two may contribute to the establishment of the bottom-up feedback mechanism in the generative design of street network, which aims to supervise the interaction of the two systems, and to drive them towards a balanced and cooperative status, on which the potential of places is maximized and the vitality of the city is promoted.

Acknowledgements

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Exclusionary Planning Measures in Elevated Grade-Separated

Pedestrian Systems: A Case of Tokyo

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Abstract

Elevated grade-separated pedestrian systems (GSPS) are some of the few urban spaces in Tokyo that provide opportunities for activities other than fast pedestrian transit. They have the potential to serve as public spaces that encourage communal life in otherwise hyper-functional and profit-oriented urban spaces of the metropolis. This paper aims to find exclusionary planning measures in elevated GSPS in the 23 special wards in Tokyo and whether such strategies are limited to the privately-produced structures. Existing research has criticized GSPS for creating urban space that excludes specific groups of people based on their mobility or economic limitations. The structures have also been linked with catering to only certain classes of society, creating homogeneous spaces with limited users and topics of conversation. Moreover, some have pointed to the undermining of democratic principles through surveillance, private security, and restrictions of use. This paper presents an analysis of 72 cases of elevated GSPS in Tokyo focused on the evidence of design decisions hindering inclusiveness of the urban spaces formed by the structures. Based on data collected through field observation, the structures are compared in several characters, such as universal design, time accessibility, overt or covert restriction on activities and behaviors, or surveillance. The analysis reveals a strong tendency towards exclusionary urban space in Tokyo, regardless of private or public ownership. Finally, the paper suggests that despite growing small-scale initiatives for new urban commons in Japanese society, the area of urban public space formed by elevated GSPS is yet to take the necessary steps toward inclusive and sustainable design.

Keywords: exclusion, inclusion, public space, grade-separated pedestrian systems, Tokyo

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The Emerging Public Domain in the Infrastructural Space of Public Transport in Shanghai

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Abstract

In the past thirty years, China has witnessed unprecedented growth in public transport development. However, from academic studies to professional practice, the infrastructural space of public transport has rarely been regarded as an active public domain where ordinary people contribute to urban development. This research uses ethnographic studies and formal analysis to study a public transport hub in Shanghai. It shows that regardless of the top-down approach in designing public transport infrastructure and the shifting public policies on public transport development, the ordinary people and their diverse and dynamic daily practices are *de facto* contributors to the everyday landscape of public transport. Such finding intends to show that on the one hand, the infrastructure design of public transport shall consider a more inclusive public space rather than only efficiency. On the other, more importantly, it shows that in the increasingly mobile world, hypermobility does not only support the official futuristic plan but also facilitate a more dynamic urban society that ceaselessly transforms the urban landscape in every single day. This is a point that can be learned by all urban studies.

Keywords: Everyday life, Mobility, Urban infrastructure, Urban Commons, China

Introduction

In the past twenty years, China has experienced significant development in urban public transport. Take the most emphasized mass transit system as an example. At the end of the 20th century, only six mass transit lines ran in four cities across the nation, and their total length was no more than 200 kilometers. At the end of 2017, more than 150 lines ran in 34 cities, and their total length reached more than 4600 kilometers (Qi 2018). In Shanghai, at the end of 1999 there were only less than 40 kilometers of mass transit service, while at the end of 2017, this number was 625 kilometers. Besides the mass transit, high-speed railway and public bus service in many China's cities have also witnessed significant development since 2000. Along with the unprecedented development is the sprouting infrastructural space on the urban landscape. At the turn of the century, there were only 38 metro stations and one railway terminals in Shanghai, while today Shanghai has more than 390 metro stations and three major railway terminals, letting along numerous bus stops and viaduct space.

At first glance, the infrastructure space of public transport is designed to accelerate traffic speed and increase travel efficiency. However, such space, especially of metro and railway stations, is also one most popular public area where different people gather, encounter, and communicate. They have become important urban plaza in the modern urban landscape (Bertolini and Spit 1998). In China where public transport is the most fundamental transport service in major cities, urban space like metro and railway stations gather a wide range of social groups. Their daily activities are those which every ordinary traveler is familiar with: commuters always encounter mobile vendors, security staffs, illegal taxi drivers, and flyer distributors; taking a bus or train also always involve interacting with strangers, transferring to other lines, and passing the security check. Different daily users of public transport infrastructure share the public space, and their quotidian activities constitute our most intimate experience with public transport.

Nevertheless, most public transport developments in China today are still singularly oriented towards efficiency, neglecting the role of various urban dynamics in urban development. Not only some scholars and practitioners but also the dominating public consensus assumes that public transport is purely efficiency-oriented and people on the

move always pursue frictionless trips following their economic rationality. It is this rational traveler that replaces all public transport participants and thus is under the spotlight of most public discussion and professional projects. Other motivations in public transport space are treated as irrational minorities and thus excluded from consideration or regarded as undesired. Such a situation, however, contrasts to our daily experience mentioned above. Today, as urban society has become much more complex and vibrant due to the increasing population movement and information exchange, infrastructural spaces like public transport hubs as populated public area are exposed to the myriad and hypermobile social processes, not to mentioning the public transport space is itself more fluid and dynamic than other types of urban space. In other words, the public transport practice shall no longer be defined only by the bounded and instrumental space or engaged only by economically rational man, but more and more occupied and shared by multiple users and subsequently elaborated by different social processes.

Current studies

The emphasis on complicated social dynamics is not new in public transport studies. Since the early 1970s, for various reasons, many transport studies have already shifted from the efficiency centric thinking to a broader concern on complex social, political, and economic factors in urban transport affairs (Hanson 2015, for cases such as Jönson, Tengström, and VREF 2005). In dealing with uprising urban social, environmental issues in the era of globalization and information, scholars have noticed how local context can significantly affect public transport practice at the local. Public interests may be sacrificed for the sake of economic growth or urban development (Cidell and Prytherch 2015, Graham and Marvin 2001). More scholars optimistically believe well-planned public transport can contribute to a more integrated, inclusive, and sustainable urban landscape (Blumenberg, Ong, and Mondschein 2002, Cervero 1998, Stanley and Lucas 2008). Transit Oriented Development (TOD) is such a strategy prioritizing public transport and walking environment in urban development (Calthorpe 1993). In a word, many urban studies have addressed from different perspectives the complex social context in public transport affairs and underlined the necessity of a comprehensive approach.

This research departs from this consensus and highlights the proactive role of ordinary people in public transport practice. Notably, this research emphasizes the infrastructure space as the new public domain where the ordinary appropriate and transform the urban landscape. The emerging infrastructure space has been the focus of many geographical studies under “the mobilities paradigm” (Sheller and Urry 2006). The hypermobile world requires massive physical infrastructure, so the infrastructure space is subsequently one of the most representative elements of the modern urban landscape. In the traditional sense, the infrastructure space is a kind of “non-place” (Augé 2008) because being on the move cannot cultivate long-term social relations (Cresswell 2015, Verstraete and Cresswell 2002). Recently, however, scholars believe that infrastructure space — highway, airport, or immigration station — also enables meaningful social practices and culture as people spend more time on the move (Cresswell 2006, Cupers and Miessen 2002, Jensen 2009). Researchers have shown that ordinary people in their banal and quotidian activities of reusing, consuming, and reshaping the planned infrastructure have created and produced new social practices and new meanings of space. Therefore, the emerging infrastructure space provides a new public domain where people can exert their power on the urban landscape, regardless of the traditional top-down approach in spatial planning and design

Under the umbrella of “the new mobilities paradigm”, this research aims to reveal how the ordinary people share and then transform the infrastructure space of public transport in Shanghai. The field work in Shanghai will show that in the context of shifting public policies on public transport in the past two decades, people such as vagrants, budget travelers, and daily commuters rebuild our daily experience with public transport. To achieve this goal, this research adopts ethnographic methods — participatory observation and interview — and formal analysis to investigate the everyday life at the Shanghai South Railway Station (South station) (Figure 1). South station is a crucial transport hub on the South periphery of Shanghai. It is one of the three major railway terminals in Shanghai, housing regular long-distance train services, one suburban railway line, two local mass transit services, local bus and long-distance coach services (Figure 2). At the same time, South station is also one of the most populated public areas in the city because it gathers people from different backgrounds and motivations use it everyday. This

research looks at two points. First, how does the infrastructural space of South station materialize the government's future vision on hypermobility and untold regulation of public movement; second, more importantly, how do the ordinary people, exemplified by vagrants, charity groups, hotel agents, budget travelers, and college students, share and appropriate the public space in unanticipated ways.

Station under the halo and surveillance

Built in 2006, South station aimed to share the growing passenger traffic of Shanghai railway station and expected to house high-speed train service shortly. Its spatial design and arrangement reflect the state's growing aspiration on hypermobility and the inescapable regulation of public movement in practice. The design of South station incorporates many new types of spatial organization unprecedented in previous transport hubs. To increase the traffic speed, it separates motorized traffic and pedestrians,

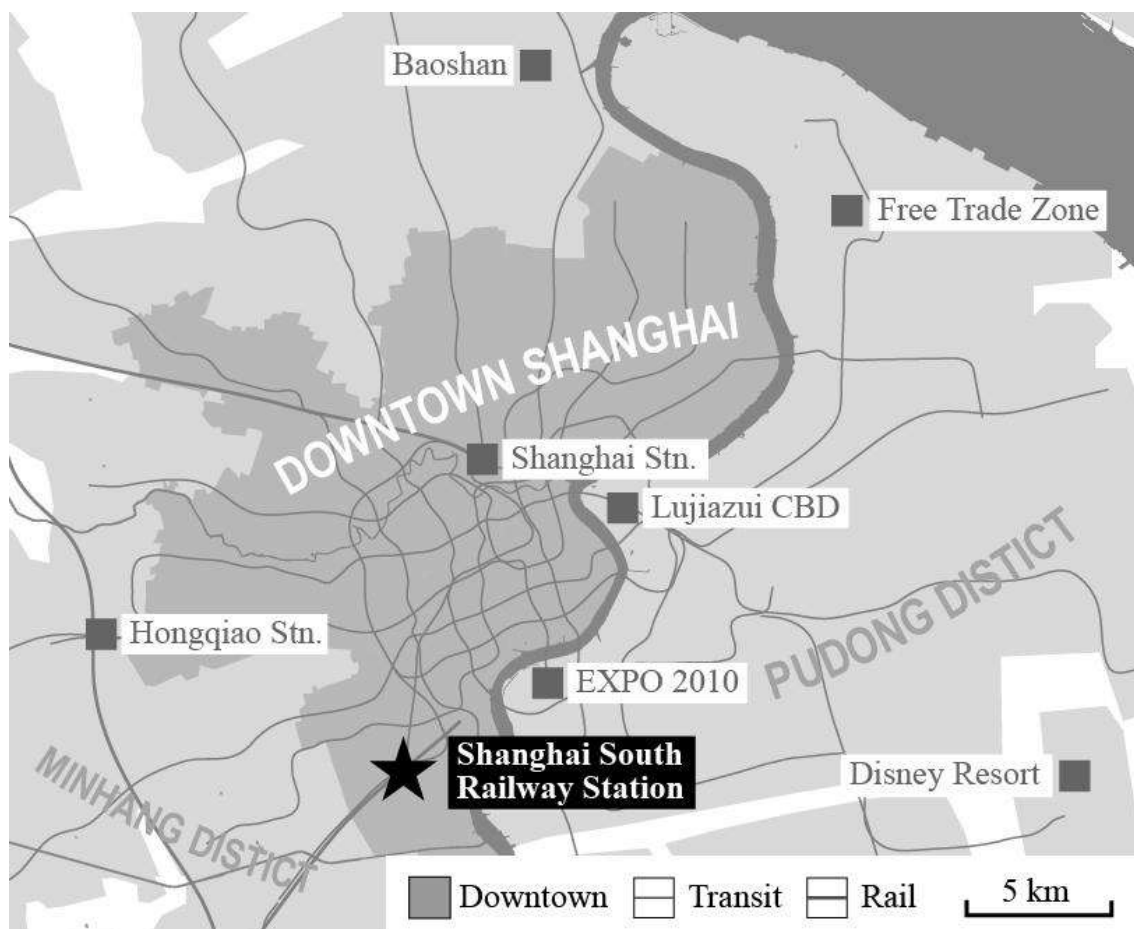


Figure 1. The location of Shanghai South Railway station. Source: author

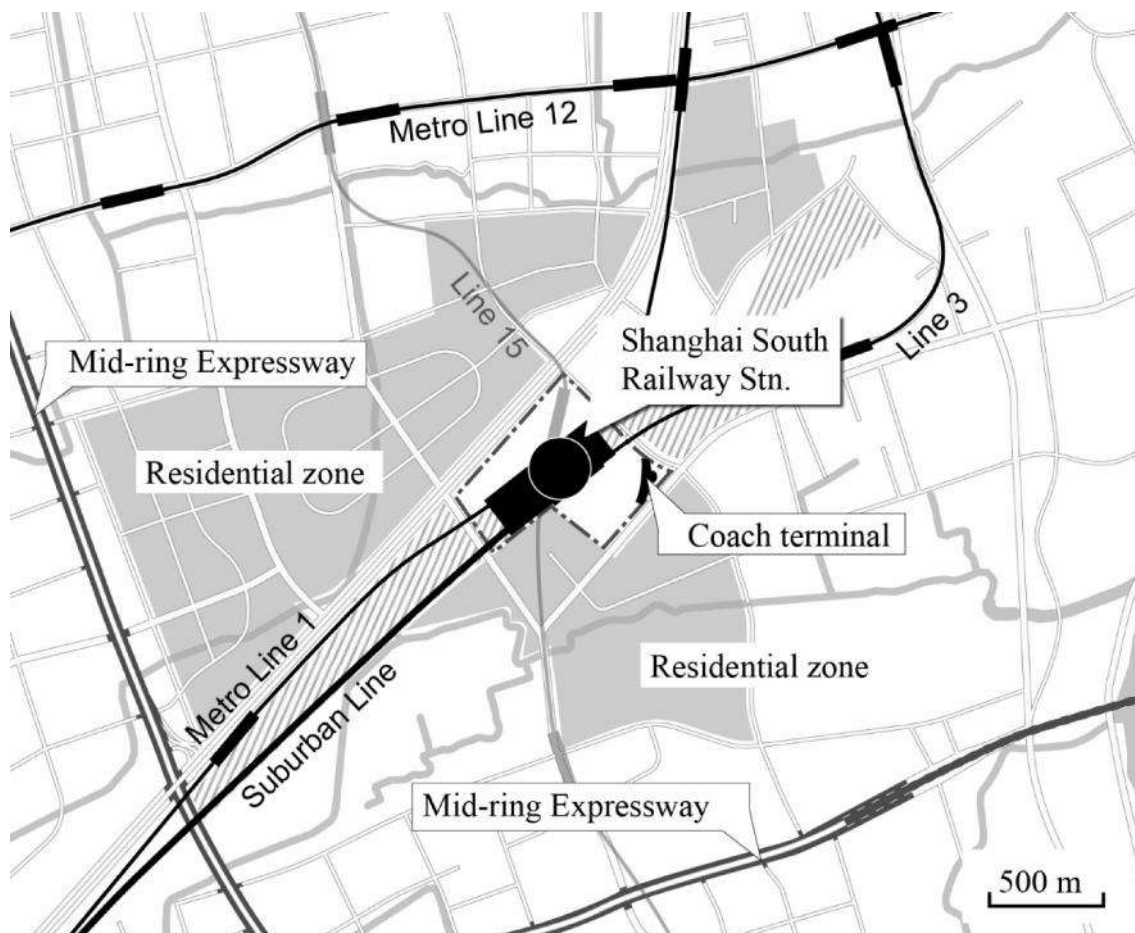


Figure 2. The urban context of South station. Source: author

departure and arrival flow at different levels; it also incorporates local transport services like metro station and bus terminal, and commercial facilities into the site. These are features frequently seen in the airport but for the first time adopted in a railway station in mainland China. To avoid shopping flow affecting the station capacity, the design provides an exclusive taxi bay, parking space, and individual ground entrance for the underground shopping mall. To avoid puzzling space impeding passengers' movement, one unitary space covers the entire departure process from buying a ticket at the kiosk to boarding at the gate (Figure 3). Travelers immediately understand the space after entering the departure hall. All these details in the spatial design of South station are oriented towards higher mobility and efficiency.

Signing up the future, South station is also designed as a landmark, a gateway in the South Shanghai. From the building design to the entire site layout, the circular shape is the dominating theme. A large dome covers all above-ground facilities, for which the



Figure 3. The entire departure level is covered by a huge dome. Source: Archdaily (2017).

authority claimed as the biggest circular-shaped railway station in the world. To foreground the dome more explicitly, its adjacent ground was designed slopping down towards the underground, so the dome looks more grandeur to spectators on the ground (Figure 4). Without any high building standing next to it, this dome is one most eye-catching construction in this area. Similarly, the site layout also follows the circular pattern. Radial promenades unroll from the dome to its periphery; gardens, veranda, and bus bay, coach terminal are all arranged to form concentric circles centering the dome. To foil the dome, supporting facilities such as connecting passage, luggage check-in, security, parking garage, as well as the commercial area are put underground.

Referring to the original design provided by AREP, a France based company, South station was not drafted into the circular shape in the first place but a more rounded rectangle (AREP 2006). Its affiliated landscape also fitted in a more traditional perpendicular scheme (Figure 5a, 5b). The final scheme was a result of cooperation between AREP and a local design firm Shanghai Xiandai (上海现代). The chief designer referred such approach to the square of Arc de Triomphe in Paris, while local media chose

a more mundane explanation: a train wheel (Department-of-Project-Management 2007). The square was subsequently named as “Urban Power” (城市动力). From this point of view, we can see there was a strong intention to craft South station into a landmark.

At the time of materializing the hypermobility, public movement and flow are also strictly regulated in South station to avoid undesired hinderance. According to its designer, the visual information system in South station is meticulously planned to manipulate passenger flow in different areas (Department-of-Project-Management 2007). High contrasted yellow signboards located at the central public passage direct the most critical flow heading towards or leaving from the railway station. People are encouraged to move fast with no lingering in this area. Less contrasted green signboards indicate the direction for transfer services like bus terminal and metro station. People are expected to make a quick decision upon their arrival. At last, blue signboards show other supporting facilities like shopping mall and toilets. The designer also highlights that some interior decoration, like the ceiling of the public passage dotted with colorful and luminous lights resembling the Milky Way, also suggests fast movement in the public zone.

A more explicit control of passenger's movement started from 2010 when security check became a regular procedure for taking a train. The initial intention of setting up security check in public transport space was to secure a safer EXPO held in Shanghai in 2010. However, This requirement was kept after the EXPO2010, becoming a regular procedure for riding metro, coach, and long-distance trains. The authority of South station subsequently rearranged the departure hall, routing the passenger flow to better control the movement of people. A significant passenger slump in South station since 2010 due to the opening Hongqiao railway station also made it feasible for a significant spatial rearrangement. Specifically, the original design expects passengers to enter the departure hall from all directions, pass through the shops and facilities, and proceed via four check-in gates towards the rectangle waiting lounge at the center (Figure 6). Today, only two out of eighteen entrances surrounding the hall are available. Four security checkpoints are located at four entrance lobbies, only two of which are regularly open. Therefore, passengers are rerouted and only allowed to enter the station from two directions, after



Figure 4. Overview of Shanghai South station: the landmark.
Photographer: Jiang Lingxiang © 2016

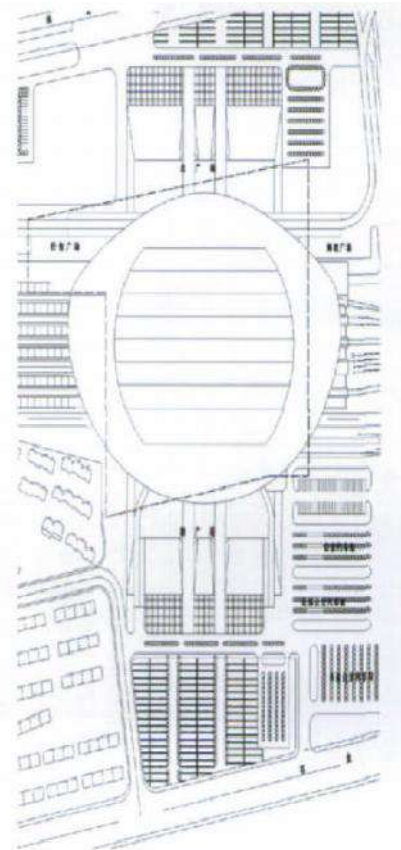
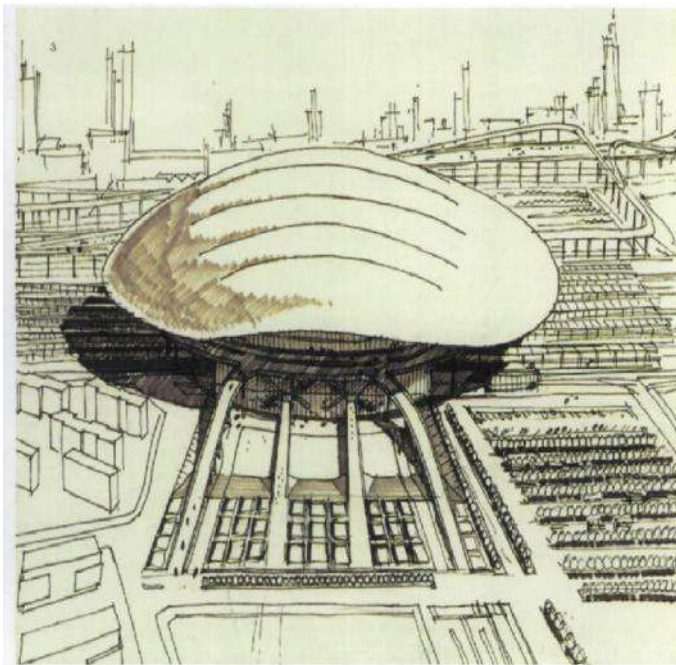


Figure 5a, 5b. The design draft of South station
provided by AREP (2006).

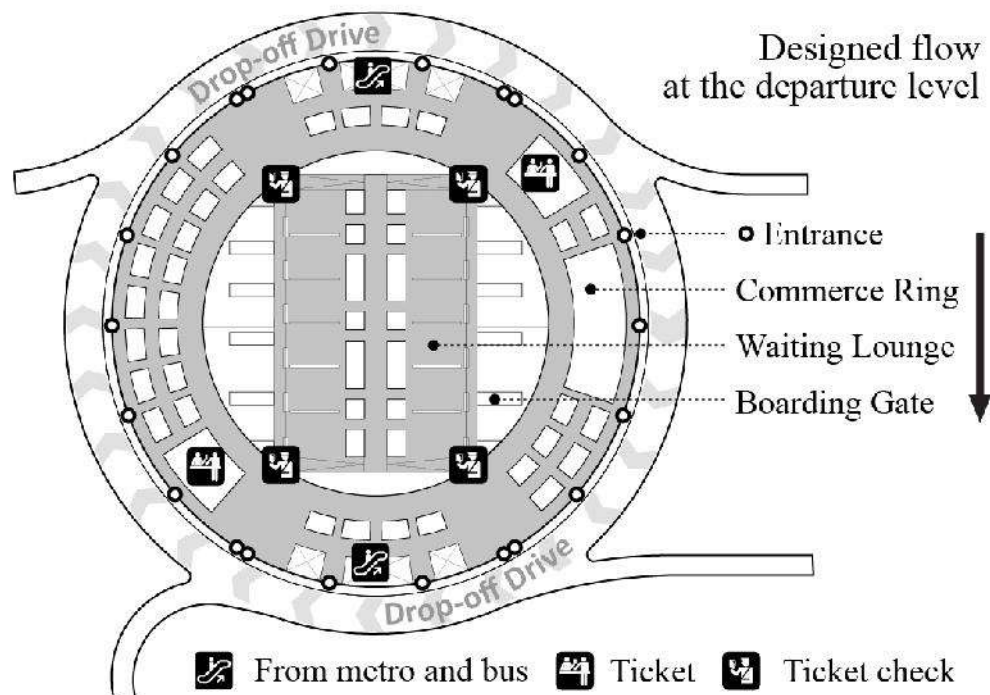


Figure 6. Designed passenger flow at the departure level. Source: author.

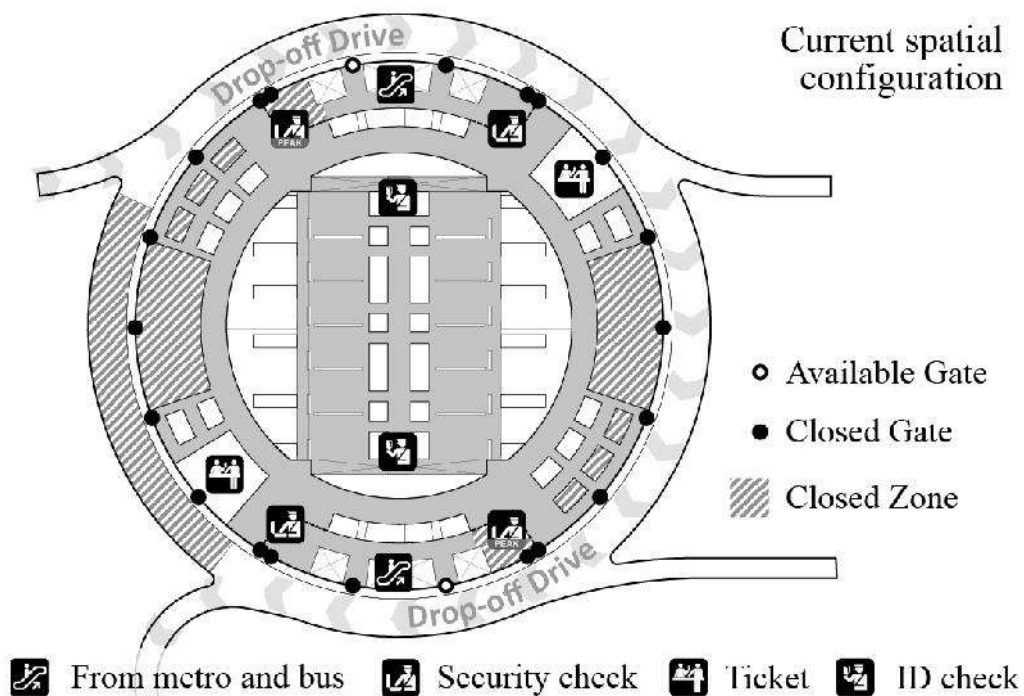


Figure 7. Current spatial configuration at the departure level. Source: author.

which they need to verify their identity and tickets before entering the waiting lounge (Figure 7). It is suggested that the original design follows a European scheme of railway station which has no physical checkpoints, and the designer also hopes a more flexible spatial design can enhance the spatial accessibility. In the *de facto* daily practice, ironically, the authority's flexible use of the space attenuates the initial idea of free flow and strengthen the regulation of the public movement.

From the site layout to interior decoration, from the spatial design to reorganization in practice, the infrastructure space of South station was designed to accelerate traffic flow and maximize traveling efficiency. At the same time, it sought to incorporate more urban possibilities like symbolizing urban progress and formulating commercial atmosphere. In practice the shifting focus of public transport development and the unforeseeable changes in authority's policy have exerted significantly effect on South station merely four years after its completion, inflicting its business activities and underlining controls and regulations. In any way, the public space at South station is not value-free infrastructural space as previously treated. As a complex transport interchange, it always carries the state's future agenda and everlasting manipulation on movement and flow.

Everyday life in South station

Today, walking around South station is a down-to-earth experience. Flocks of commuters adeptly sweep from platform into the metro station and bus terminal; Travelers carrying luggage stop before signboards and seek around with confusing faces; Mid-aged women in green vest wave plastic plates to just arrived passengers; Motor taxi cyclists sitting on their vehicles right next to escalators wait for patrons; steam overflows from the restaurant street; in the background, public announcement reminds people of potential swindlers nearby. In such a changing but at the same time quotidian environment, one hardly notices the authority's future agenda or regulation as mentioned above. Although these everyday scenes do not erase or conceal any values or manipulations embedded in infrastructural space, the following three vignettes will show, the future-oriented design and manipulation of movement cannot fully explain the everyday landscape of public transport in Shanghai.

1. Vagrants and charity

Since the passenger slump and space rearrangement in 2010, the departure hall under the unitary dome has not been evenly used and favored by regular passengers, leaving a vacuum for other potential activities. A long-term on-site observation shows that most regular passengers move around the security checkpoints and the waiting lounge, which area also gathers most commercial facilities. As a result, areas remote to these two checkpoints are comparatively cheerless. There have designed two rows of shop pavilions in these areas, but only the first row facing the center is leased out. Its “back alley” is hence relatively quiet and covert, becoming a sanctuary for different activities: dancers rehearse programs; joggers walk around; janitors take a rest; voyagers on a blanket, enjoy beer, snack, and sunset while waiting for their late-night train. When the weather outside is unfavorable, many non-travelers find it a peace and comfort place.

Among others, a few vagrants are always around this area. Some take this place as their home where they leave in the morning and return at night, and some other take it as a living room but live elsewhere. The most boisterous moment happens every Saturday evening when a local charity dispensing free food and other necessities to vagrants. Since the afternoon, more vagrants from nearby districts gather at this point. Near 6:00 pm, several people in purple vests arrive with box meals. Their leader greets old faces while other staffs organize vagrants into a queue before dispensing meals (Figure 8). After dispensation, charity members attend any additional demand and visit people with chronic issues like hypertension when vagrants have dinner. In the end, the group leader collects names who will come next Saturday and write down other requests that the charity can fulfill. This weekly event typically lasts one hour and does not go beyond the departure hall. However, when occasionally they dispense other stuff like sleeping bags, their trace extends across the entire South station area. In the case of dispensing sleeping bags, the group leader will stay after food event for another batch of staffs bringing sleeping bags. At the time of the on-site observation, their dispensation started from 9:00 pm at the departure level where the group found few vagrants in need. They went down to the underground public passage looking from lingering vagrants, then headed to the desolated western wing of the shopping center. There the group handed out all sleeping bags to vagrants sleeping under a sunken patio veranda.



Figure 8. Charity members are distributing dinner to vagrants. Source: author.

The activity of the vagrants and charity staffs at South station is an explicit example of how the changing public transport development and enhancing regulation of movement leave room for new spatial appropriation in South station, and how the new space users produce new spatial experience in this planned infrastructure space. The operation mechanism of this charity group implies more about such space production in the information age. This citywide charity group is a siteless organization meaning that its operation does not require any fixed working place. Most members including the group leader play their regular social roles on weekdays: designers, teachers, white-collars, and college students. Every week, members of this charity group who intend to join the event on Saturday only need to subscribe through online registration. The leader creates a temporary mobile messaging group including the subscribed members. Prepare food or collect sleeping bags, then meet at South station on Saturday night. After the event, this temporary workgroup is dismissed, and everything starts over next week with another group. Running in this way, this charity group organizes three same events in Shanghai concurrently on Saturday nights. In another site which is Shanghai railway station, the charity group prepares not only more meals but also clothes and personal hygiene products.

As we can see, the spreading online life emancipates many activities like such self-organized charitable activities from fixed operational space which is usually under government surveillance. Like the vagrants, joggers, and practicing dancers, their activities have become much more siteless and fluid, but they also take advantage of the infrastructure space like the railway station which is also fluid and dynamic. The future-oriented design and public control contribute to only one part of South station everyday life, another part is left to these growing mobile communities.

2. Travelers and vernacular space

Inside the departure hall, another cluster of people favors the area opposite to vagrants and charity staffs. Occasionally some mid-aged women wearing green vests wave a small plastic plate to passersby: “XXX hotel, discounted rooms, hourly rooms.....” as it is written. Their fellows also appear near the main station exit and a nearby coach terminal. They idly stand aside and chat about family trivia. Once the broadcast announces train’s arriving, these green vests spring to action, look into the station over turnstiles, and take chances to approach coming out passengers: “need a stay?” Sometimes passengers respond with other queries such as the way to the metro station. probably because their unified green vest printed: “Shanghai Railway, Convenient Service.” These green vests likely offer help. As soon as someone shows interest to find a stay, they lead the patron away from the station.

These green vests are hostel agents represent different illegal mini hostels prevalent surrounding South station. There used to be many more according to local news, but people still spot a lot today. Within ten minutes’ walk, the agent and patron stand in front of one such hostel in a quiet street. This is a U-turn ramp of an underpass right next to South station, so only U-turn vehicles and nearby residents appear here. Usually adapted from a ground-level apartment unit or a one-bay front shop, these hostels have only a few rooms. However, they still make up a reception area, with a small sitting place and a reception counter holding a desktop. Behind the reception, simply constructed walls partition the interior space into one or two rows of small rooms, leaving a corridor aside or in the middle (if two rows) which goes to the bathroom in the back and backyard (where one find him/herself in a residential compound). The depth of the entire hostel is no more

than 20 meters. There are also many similar hostels on the main road facing South station. The construction of South station in 2006 widened the old road too close to the apartment building, so the authority transformed the ground level apartments into front shops retreated behind a veranda facing the road. This veranda immediately becomes a foyer before these hostels whose activities subsequently spill over into the veranda: light boxes, chairs, tables, shelves, drying racks, and slogans: “24 hours hot water, free WIFI”; “Luggage deposit from 10 yuan, hourly room from 40 yuan”; “Standard Room, Queen size bedroom, Double bedroom...” Words are written in big font against high contrasted banners, covering almost the entire facade and dominating one’s view.

Compared with South station’s symbolic and future-oriented design, the urban landscape besieging South station is a vernacular terrain constructed by the increasingly dynamic and diverse urban context. Since the removal of all high-speed train service in 2010, the average consumption ability of passengers in South station followed the fall of passengers’ flow¹. Compared with the new Hongqiao Railway station which mainly handles high-speed services, South station with all regular services attracts more people looking for cheaper traveling and lodging options. The degrading commercial activities inside South station and the surrounding sprouting budget hostels. People look for a stay for less than 15 US dollars a night, rather than luxury hotels listed on the information board in the station. Not just lodging, this is a complete landscape embracing budget travelers. Next to budget hostels are typical Chinese fast food restaurants selling cheap boxed meals and local groceries with daily necessities. Job agencies for short-term workers, travel agencies selling cheap coach tickets, and SIM card shops are also around the corner. Contrasting these fairly priced shops are Family-Mart², barbecue house, Starbucks, outlet store, and an upmarket supermarket selling imported commodities that one can find in South station. Like the budget hostel, the budget commerce shares similar looking: big size fonts, high-contrasted banners, and light boxes. There is no symbolization or future-oriented design, but straightforward illustration in the most competitive way they can imagine, providing

¹ This is based on a World Bank research in 2014 reporting a significant lower average income level of passengers taking regular train and those taking high speed train (Ollivier et al. 2014). The study was conducted in other Chinese cities but the result is claimed applicable to the whole China.

² Family-Mart is a Japanese convenient store chains which is quite prevalent in Shanghai. But its commodity price is higher than average supermarket, let alone a local grocery store.

the most immediate information for travelers in need (Figure 9). This vernacular landscape sharply distinguished itself from the vision the designer and authority of South station intend to convey. It is the landscape that contextualizes the everyday practice at South station.

3. Students and shuttle buses

The infrastructure in South station designed for car is underused. Surrounding the circular departure hall is a drop-off drive connected to adjacent urban roads. A complicated viaduct system separates flows for different directions and connects taxi bay, underground parking, and nearby office towers. According to the design, planners speculated that in 2020, based on the data of Shanghai railway station, one-fifth of train passengers and one-tenth bus or coach riders will choose taxi or private car arriving and leaving South station (Department-of-Project-Management 2007). According to the on-site observation and interview, very few cars use the drop-off drive for its proposed purposes: dropping off passengers. During the rush hour when surrounding urban roads are congested, local drivers know how to use the drop-off drive as a short-cut to bypass the traffic jam. More frequently are long-distance coaches who do not want to be stuck in the downtown jam dropping off passengers on the drop-off drive designed for cars. For



Figure 9. Budget hostels, cheap restaurants, sim card shops: the vernacular landscape
Source: author.

various reasons, the crisscrossing viaduct system was not filled with cars as expected. But like the same underused departure hall, these infrastructural spaces are endowed with new meaning by ordinary people in their daily life.

College students shuttling between downtown Shanghai and their suburban campus every week are one of this kind. Everyday evening but particularly every Sunday evening, college students gather at a quiet side road of South station for chartered buses heading to Fengxian (奉贤), a remote seaside town where their university campuses are located. Usually arriving at South station by metro, they do not use escalators but walk via the empty taxi ramp from the basement level to the ground. Occasionally a car may pass by, but pedestrians using this ramp are in large number: except for students, people working and living nearby are also with them. Right on the top where the ramp joins the side road is the location where students queue for their bus. Buses have been parked aside the road not far from the queue. When it is the time, one bus moves up, and a bus conductor comes to check tickets. The bus departs as soon as it is full, then the next bus moves up. The trip takes around one hour before arriving at the three universities in Fengxian, much less than the average two-hour trip by regular public transport which requires additional transfers and stops all the way. Similar to the forward journey, every morning and Friday evening, these buses catch student from these campuses back to South Station. Upon its arrival, buses drop students at the abovementioned drop-off drive like other long-distance coaches. After alighting the bus, students with other coach riders, take the downwards escalator down to the metro station or bus terminal, which flow is almost entirely running against the designed ones (Figure 10).

Although the unmet expectation is not uncommon in public transport projects, the emphasis here is how people reuse and redefine the space in daily life. On the one hand, it is the lack of direct public transport service between South station and the campus that breeds private operators. On the other hand, it is the underused South station that physically enables such service. These daily activities and spatial appropriation are beyond the expectation of the planner and authority of South station, and they reshape the infrastructural space into what we experience today.

Public space in the mobilities paradigm

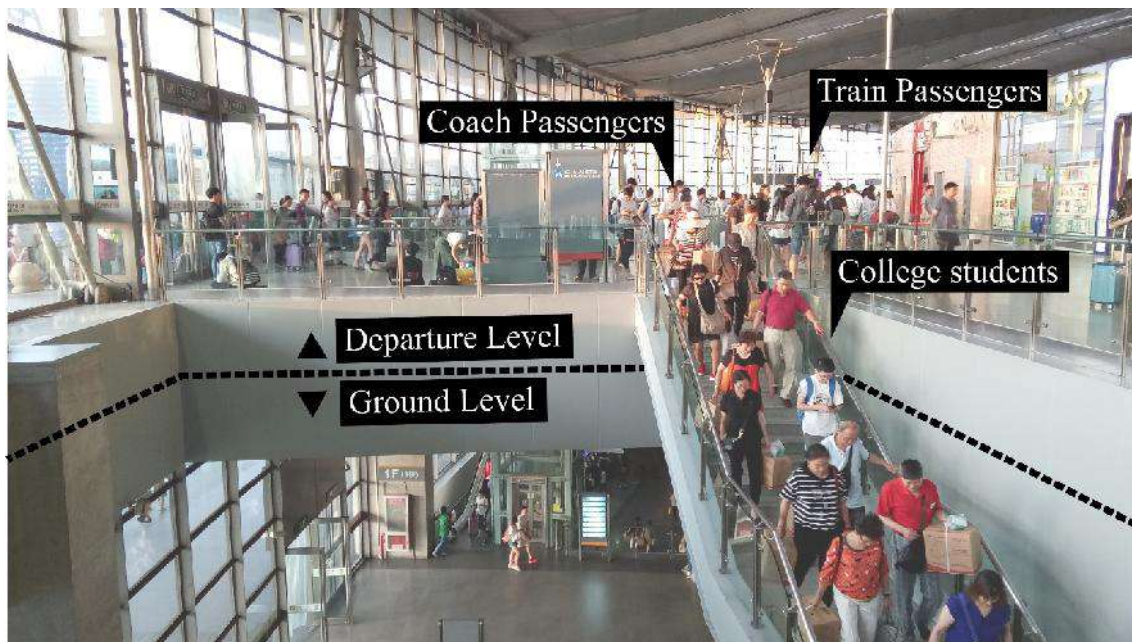


Figure 10. After alighting buses, college students and coach passengers walk down to the metro station, going against the planned flow. Source: author.

The above three vignettes cannot cover the entire everyday landscape of South station, but they are sufficient to illustrate that in the infrastructural space of public transport, even it is such a highly emphasized transport hub like Shanghai South Railway station, ordinary people and their quotidian activities are still influential on spatial transformation (Figure 11, 12). In China's context, mega public transport project usually carries authority's expectation for a hypermobile future. The infrastructural space of public transport is usually highly symbolic, designed as a landmark and adopting advanced technology. Meanwhile, the fast public transport development not only leads to the unprecedented expansion of transit network but also frequent changes in policymaking. As abovementioned, the future-oriented development crafted South station into a milestone, but Hongqiao railway station coming later soon took over the halo; the requirement for security check popping out in 2010 almost ruined the design intention for the fully accessible public space in South station.

The research further underscores that the increasingly dynamic social context has exposed the traditional instrumental and isolated infrastructure space to a myriad of social practices and subsequent daily uncertainties. Thanks to modern technology, the charity network works well without a physical working space; vagrants can choose to live in a

station without paying expensive room rent; more migrant workers from remote provinces can travel to Shanghai for a higher-paid job; private buses can sell a ticket in advance without a physical ticket counter. In this hypermobile era, the social context of public transport practice has been unprecedented diverse and dynamic, the infrastructure space of public transport is consequently in incessantly process of transformation. It has

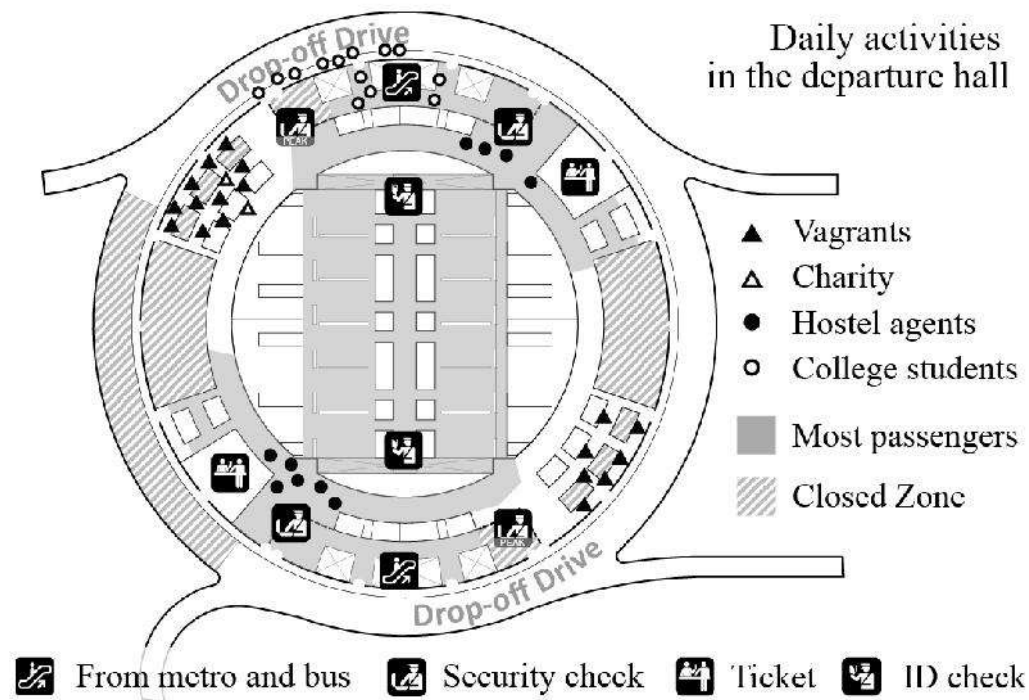


Figure 11. The spatial distribution of daily activity of the departure hall. Source: author.

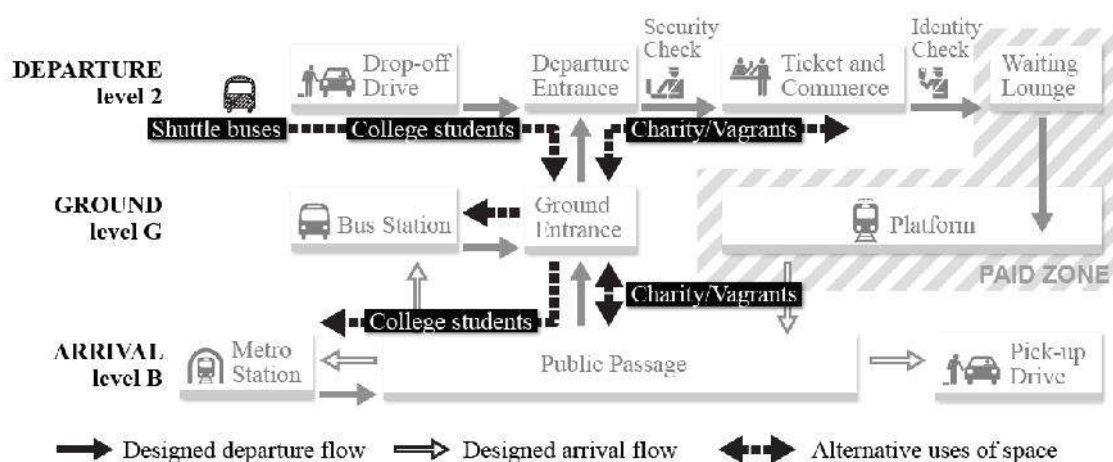


Figure 12. The schematic flow of vagrants, charity members, and colleges students in South station. Source: Author

become the new “public domain” where the ordinary exert their force on the planned urban space, which was hardly possible before.

Borrowing the idea from the new mobilities paradigm, the hypermobile context this research has introduced does not stop at infrastructural space of public transport or any other infrastructure space but is influencing the entire urban studies. Urban public space is probably one of the most heated topics in urban studies. Traditional urban spaces like residential compounds, public square, sidewalk, or informal settlements are well emphasized as scholars have shown how ordinary people reshape these spaces and claim their rights to the city (see, for example, Caldeira 2000, Dovey 2010, Pow 2009, Zhang 2001). This research, on the one hand, intends to show that the traditional urban places are becoming even more porous and dynamic today in hypermobile today because transformation does not necessarily mean claiming a particular physical urban space but increasingly about being in ever-shifting movement and flow. On the other, for the same reason, there have been more new public spaces in the city where the ordinary people claim their rights of mobility.

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Street Spaces and Street Life Within Social and Urban Complexity – An Observation and Experiments in Chinese Cities

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Abstract

Since past few decades, the cities in China are growing extremely fast in terms of numbers and scale. Those cities present the highly modern, but the relationship between new developments and unique traditional contexts are ambiguous. Those combinations, conflicts, and complexity are difficult to be understood for outsiders. Briefly, the entire context is involved with in-adapted imported spatial models and planning methods; the conflicts between various design visions and approaches; the gaps between levels of developments area, and etc.....

In a wider definition, the total streets spaces could be 80 percent of public space in urban area. A street space is usual an initial space for local people to gathering, with various interactions, and present local cultural and socio-economic features. Urban planning and daily life are highly influenced by vehicles using and transport system. Most declines in street space, community life and safety are as results of Highway-Oriented and Auto (vehicles)-Oriented planning. To face to those problems, urban designers and planners have been trying to increase pedestrian-friendly and safety for street spaces; and reduce negative traffic impacts. Especially, because of those rapidly and mage-size developments, the cities in China are facing to similar issues as well or even tougher. To response those issues, China central government issues, the new regulations and guidance for pedestrian-friendly and cycling since 2103; and most currently, some design details are included in Shanghai street design guideline (2016). However there are still some disconnect and conflicts between those superblocks and original street space and losing streetlife.

Authors have been participating with Taiwan official sectors, in pedestrian-friendly projects and a street design handbook (published in 2016); and co-worked in street design projects in China. From those experiences and visiting, some pilot findings about streets and planning scales issues were summarized, and applied those key concepts in two competitions in China (2017-2018) as adventure testament. Those concepts are very different from pervious Chinese experiences, but still highly recommend by the committee. Even those chosen design

proposals were not achieved the final stage, but some new street design concepts are introduced and establish examples to further debate.

This paper introduces the planning and social context and how those streets design concepts were formed and; shares this example lesson.

Keywords: Chinese city, street design, pedestrian-friendly, urban scale, socio-context

Improving Walkability: Footpath Design Framework for Gazipur Industrial District, Bangladesh

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Abstract

Gazipur, the industrial fringe of the capital Dhaka and the largest industrial district of Bangladesh, is currently tremendously suffering from high traffic congestion during peak hours in working days. During peak hours industry-going pedestrian workers walk over the main roads avoiding the footpaths and occupy nearly one-third portion of the roads which give rise to high traffic congestion as well as cause frequent accidents. The underlying reason behind this phenomenon is the one way, narrow and inconsistent existing footpaths which is not user-friendly at all. Moreover, many portions of the footpaths are illegally encroached by the road adjacent shops and street hawkers which made the situation more terrible. After identifying this problem from field observation, this design research was aimed to investigate the suitable footpath design framework for this industrial district to solve this issue in pursuit of improved walkability. The investigation was initiated by collecting primary data through field survey. Besides, information from secondary sources (i.e. Google traffic map observation on peak and off-peak hours, newspaper reports etc.) was also collected. After analyzing the data, a design framework of the footpath was developed. This paper describes that design framework and visualizes a model to represent its aptness towards the existing issues.

Keywords: Footpath, Walkability, Industrial District

Introduction

Gazipur is an industrial area adjacent to the north of the capital of Bangladesh, Dhaka. There are 1773 various industries in this area. Most of these industries here are labor-based where about 1,63,000 workers are working. According to the preceding survey, it is the largest

industrial district of Bangladesh having a large number of garment industries, textile mills, and rice factories. (BBS, 2013)

A 12.5 km segment (Figure 1) of Dhaka-Mymensingh road is the main artery of this industrial zone. This road segment along with several secondary arteries suffers high traffic congestion during peak hours (8 am -9 am and 5 pm -8 pm) of working days. From Google traffic map observation it is found that sometimes the congestion lasts till 11 am in the morning and 9 pm in the evening. The impact of this situation adds an extra hour to the traffic that passes this 12.5 km road segment that connects the Mymensingh divisional city to the capital, hampering inter-divisional communication to a great extent. Moreover, this congestion adversely impacts on the supply and distribution network of the industries situated here (Textile Today, 2017). Most of the workers live in various slums (Figure 1) located in this industrial area (Razzaque A. et al, 2016). Almost all of them come to their workplace all the way walking which takes usually between 10 to 20 minutes from their living place. During the peak hours, industry-going workers walk along the main roads avoiding the footpaths as these are inconsistent and not commensurate to the pedestrian flow. In addition, many portions of these footpaths are encroached by roadside shops and street hawkers. Thus, the uncontrolled pedestrians digress from the footpath and take over the vehicle lane to almost one-third portion of the road (Figure 4) which causes a consequential reduction in vehicle traffic flow. In addition to it, this disarray causes frequent road accidents. (Prothomalo, 2014; BD-pratidin, 2018)

This design research aimed to produce a footpath design framework that will guide the footpath design of this area that will facilitate pedestrian walker to reach their work safely and steadfastly. Besides, it will ensure a controlled pedestrian that will eventually alleviate the existing traffic congestion. After understanding the existing issues from 'cause and effect' analysis, this research determined a possible solution through a design framework. Finally, a computer-based visualization has been carried out to represent its aptness.

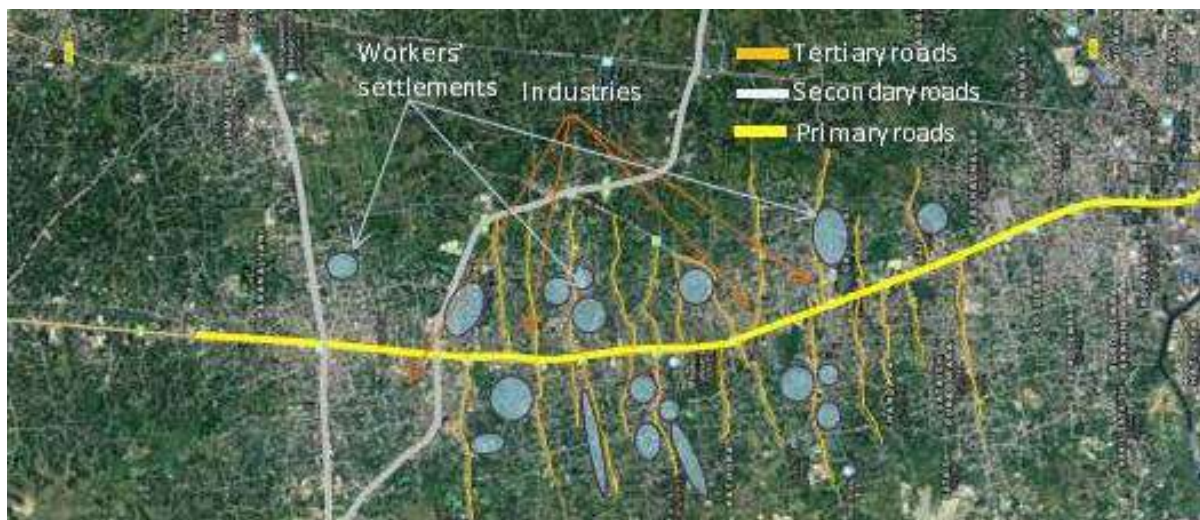


Figure 1: 12.5 km segment of Dhaka-Mymensingh road (Background image: Google Earth)

Methodology

To carry out the research, several methods were applied. First, the total situation was observed on several days by field visit, besides, Google traffic map was observed and records were kept. Average vehicle speed was calculated with a speed camera to determine the degree of traffic congestion. During field observation, photos and videos were taken for further analysis. Second, news articles related to this issue were studied and notes were taken. Third, 'Cause and effect' analysis (Figure 2) was carried out to understand the underlying phenomena of the existing problems. Fourth, an approximate pedestrian occupancy was determined from the calculation of the number of walkers pass a segment of footpath in 10 minutes in peak hours. Seven such segments were selected according to the worker's settlement location and their workplace. Five, a design framework was developed combining optimum solutions for each problem. And finally, an experimental 3d model was visualized using computer software: Trimble Sketch up 2018 and Lumion 8.

Cause & Effect Analysis

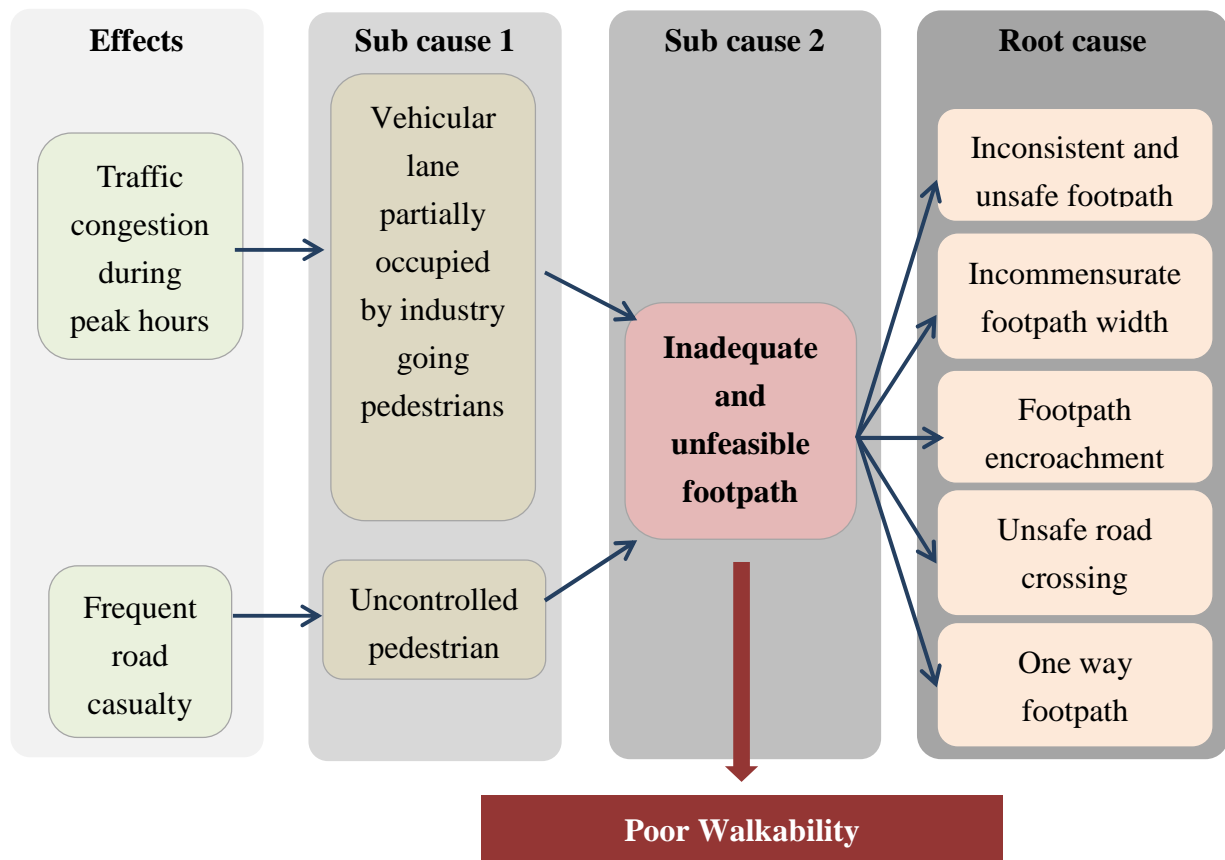


Figure 2. Cause and Effect Diagram

Effect A: 8 am -9 am in the morning and 5 pm-8 pm in the evening are the peak hours when the main roads of Gazipur industrial district contain the traffic most. It is because every industries and offices open and close during this period. Therefore, the road has to carry an immense rush of vehicles during these hours. Especially at evening, as the second shift of many industries starts at this time. In off peak hour average speed of vehicles is nearly 40 km/h whereas in peak hours it falls to less than 5km/h (Table 1). The impact of this situation adds nearly an extra hour to the traffics that pass this 12.5 km road segment (Figure 3).

Segments	Car speed from 5 samples in peak hours (Km/h)					Car speed from 5 samples in off peak hours (Km/h)				
Tongi to Station road	5.23	7.05	2.69	4.53	6.09	26.84	32.17	47.05	39.38	54.26
	mean- 5.118					mean- 39.94				
Mill gate to College gate	6.38	2.66	4.49	5.17	3.03	22.14	29.74	37.52	41.16	35.06
	mean- 4.346					mean- 33.124				
Hossen market to Gazipura	1.27	3.58	3.29	6.61	5.38	33.03	49.38	45.30	38.17	29.89
	mean- 3.666					mean- 39.154				
Targas to Board bazaar	5.87	7.08	3.24	9.44	8.97	42.35	51.62	39.87	46.22	37.32
	mean- 6.92					mean- 43.476				
Signboard to Malekerbari	3.72	4.63	4.05	1.32	3.59	32.55	39.74	41.72	31.18	35.97
	mean- 3.462					mean- 36.232				
Malekerbari to Bashon	5.26	4.68	2.43	2.24	7.03	35.12	41.42	33.95	31.08	45.10
	mean- 4.328					mean- 37.334				
Bypass to Chowrasta	6.81	8.07	3.26	5.71	6.11	46.30	32.57	41.13	38.48	44.98
	mean- 5.992					mean- 40.692				
Average of the means	4.83					38.56				

Table 1. Average speed chart (abridged) of vehicles using Speed Cam in various segments

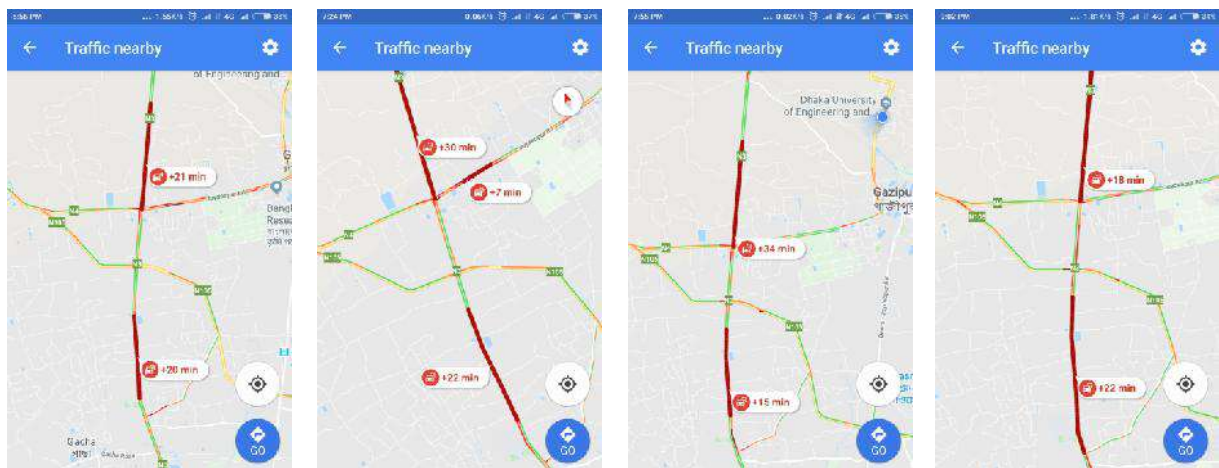


Figure 3. Indication of delays from Google traffic map

Effect B: According to the local police reports, 36 pedestrians died and 53 injured last year for road casualties. In every cases vehicle went over the walkers while they were walking through the main road and road crossings.

Both effects are inter-related and occurred for the same cause.

Sub-cause 1: It is calculated that an average of 1200 (approx.) walkers pass one point in 10 minutes in peak hours in the Gazipur section of Dhaka-Mymensingh road (Table 2). Walkers walk over the main roads and occupy nearly one-third of the roads (Figure 4), this eventually reduces the vehicle bearing capacity of the road which creates traffic congestion (Figure 5). Moreover, this pedestrian flow is uncontrolled and haphazard that confuses the drivers and thus road casualties occur.



Figure 4. Road lane occupied by pedestrians



Figure 5. Traffic Congestion

Table 2. Average number of walker per segment

Segment	Segment Length (km)	Average Number of Walker per 10 minutes at one point	Catchment Area	Number of Target Industries
Tongi to Station road	1.00	1130	Abdullahpur, Tongi bazaar	28
Mill gate to college gate	1.40	1270	Tongi industrial area, Tongi junction	32
Hossen market to gazipura	0.95	1300	Ershadnagar, Kazibari, shataish road, Dowpara	38
Targas to Board bazaar	2.70	1109	Kazibari, Fakirbari, Moddhopara, Chandora, Kalikhet, Gacha, Bot tola	33
Signboard to Malekerbari	1.4	1224	Choidana, Kamarjuri, Sharifpur	39
Malekerbari to Bashon	0.85	1114	Bashon, Malekerbari, Moghorkhal	25
Bypass to Chowrasta	1.4	1415	Vogra, Chandona, Rowshon road, Dhaka khet	36

Sub-cause 2: The existing footpath is not commensurate to the pedestrian flow in peak hours; during the unstructured interviews walkers expressed their reluctance to use the footpaths claiming it unfeasible for walking. Moreover, they feel it is not user-friendly either. In addition to it, it is found that there is no footpath in total 5.2 km of this 12.5 road segment (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Absence of footpath

Root causes: The construction of existing footpaths did not follow a definite guideline; in some sections, it is just a concrete drain cover where in other sections it is either brick paving or merely a muddy walkway. Drain covers are found broken in 21 points, moreover, the muddy walkway becomes sloughy when it rains (Figure 7). A significant portion of the footpaths is illegally encroached by the roadside shops and street hawkers (Figure 8), which hampers walkability and discourages walkers to use the footpaths. There is no foot over bridge/zebra crossing or any other safe way to cross the two major intersections of this area: Vogra and Chowrasta. Therefore, crossing the intersections is highly risky for pedestrians. It is seen from the field observation that people walk in both directions, but there is no distinctive control or lane in the existing footpaths to facilitate a safe and steadfast walking which causes collision amongst the pedestrians and eventually slows the normal walking speed (5 km/h).



Figure 7. Existing footpath condition

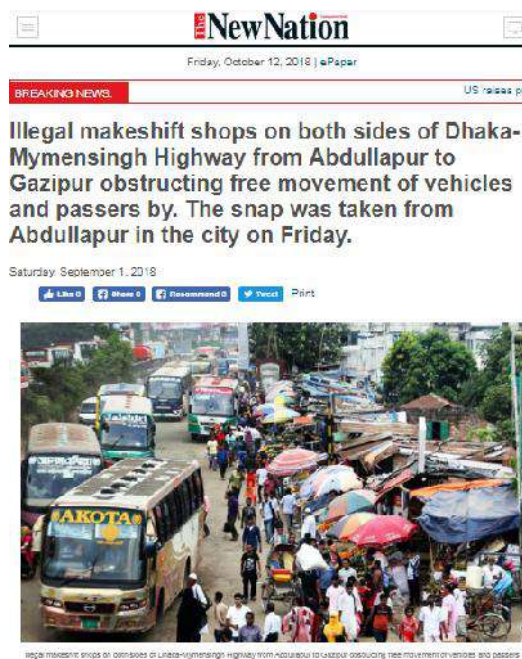


Figure 8: Newspaper article on footpath encroachment (Date: 01 September'18)

Result: Design Framework

The design framework is projected by a chart of root causes and its optimum solutions.

Table 3. Footpath Design Framework

Root causes	Possible Solutions	Remarks
Inconsistent and unsafe footpath	Thorough construction of footpath along the 12.5 km road section with fencing.	Fencing is for safety and controlled pedestrian flow.
Incommensurate footpath width	4 walking lanes	Not suitable everywhere because of space paucity
	2 lanes with 48" width	Requires necessary control in the median to ensure steadfast walking. Putting fence in the median can create visual disturbance. Therefore, planting trees can be a better solution as it will also provide shade to the pedestrians.
Footpath encroachment	Strict law enforcement	Already proven failed
	Making active control in shop side -Fencing	
One way footpath	Making it two way with separate lanes	
Unsafe road crossing	Foot over bridge for crossing intersections	
	Zebra crossing with speed hump at T sections.	

Footpath construction considerations: The construction of the footpath is not necessary to be uniform in material or construction technique. But it has to be consistent in function and height. The height is 150mm-200mm. The surface of the footpath should have tactile properties so that speedy walkers don't slip. In addition, it should have proper driven rain drainage system.

Footpath lane considerations: The footpath has to be divided by median forming two way lanes. One lane will accommodate a single file; nevertheless, overtaking provision has to be kept as the walking speed differs person to person. By analysing human body measurements

and ergonomics it is determined that 1200 mm is the suitable lane width to serve the purpose. For a better micro-climate of the footpath and environment of the city tree should be planted in the footpath median. The median can be a planter box which should have a width of minimum 350 mm to accommodate tree plantation and a height of minimum 375mm to avoid stumble of the pedestrians.

Foot over bridge and zebra crossing construction considerations: The stair of the foot over bridge should be comforting so that walkers actively use it. To ensure it, the width of the riser is suggested to be 100 mm whereas the width of the tread is suggested to be 300 mm. Every zebra crossing should have speed hump to avoid unwanted road casualty.

Visualization:

A 3d model accumulating the possible solutions is visualized here.



Figure 9: Road section



Figure 10: Footover bridge at an intersection



Figure 11: Zebra crossings at a T section



Figure 12: Anticipated footpath



Figure 13: Footpath discontinuation at an industry gate

Conclusions

It is usually asserted that factors like vehicular traffic or road capacity are solely responsible for traffic congestion. But it varies context to context. For instance, poor walkability is the responsible factor for traffic congestion in the Gazipur industrial district which was overlooked for a long time. So this crucial factor is scrutinized in this design research with the aim of determining a framework so that it can guide to design a suitable footpath for the roads of the Gazipur industrial district which will ensure an improved walkability for the industrial workers and ameliorate present traffic congestion issues. To decide on this framework, the root causes were investigated rigorously and several solutions have been proposed. However, intangible factors like human behavioral disposition and socio-cultural dimension are not addressed in this research. In addition, provision for differently abled people is not addressed too. Nevertheless, there is a scope for prospective researchers to come up with further innovative solutions apart from the solutions stated in the framework.

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Management of Public Spaces, Regulation and Creative Expression: Street Busking in Singapore as a Site of Contestation

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Abstract

The street art of busking serves not only as a site of contestation between opposing notions of what counts as art, but also brings to the forefront questions about the centralized State's earmarking of public spaces, such as streets, for specific agendas and uses and unravels the implicitly marginalizing value judgments cast on street artists and performers by both civilians as well as administrators. The management of spaces and the desire to create a manicured Singaporean public space becomes the focal point of city planning, in the context of Singapore's well-documented aspiration to emerge as a 'Renaissance' city, in other words, a node in the global hub of cultural economies. Existing literature informs this paper's problematizing of streets, squares and public spaces as political spaces with specific cultural and social meanings. In this paper, I will investigate the manner in which regulation plays into the domain of public or street art, conventionally considered to be 'open' and 'free'. In the context of Singapore's public space, new forms of understanding these terms are necessitated. A perception survey serves as the primary point of entry into discussions about administrators' and civil society's treatment of street busking as commodity art within the paradoxical juxtaposition of seemingly universal access and regulation. The survey also launches a comparative perspective, drawing on the respondents' experiences in other cities with busking and street art cultures. Finally, in this paper, I will substantiate my contextual claim that the road to a metropolis is paved with disputed undertakings.

Keywords: Renaissance, inclusiveness, busking, control, streets

Introduction

Framing the Commons

The notion of the commons has presented a unique opportunity for urban theory and planning ever since our understandings of socio-spatial assemblages and entities transgressed the bounded concept of the city and extended itself to the all-encompassing Lefebvrian urban society. The commons have been tragedized, romanticized, and valorized variously by different scholarships and disciplines, and, similarly, scholarship within urban theory and geography ascertains diverging values to the urban commons. For Jane Jacobs (1992), parks, streets and public squares were spaces where the city produced itself and simultaneously became the site of production of socio-spatial relations. To quote from her seminal work:

It is possible in a city street neighbourhood to know all kinds of people without unwelcome entanglements, without boredom, necessity for excuses, explanations, fears of giving offense, embarrassments respecting impositions or commitments, and all such paraphernalia of obligations which can accompany less limited relationships. (Jacobs, 1992)

In a more “feudal” (Jacobs, 1992) (Fyfe, 1998, p. 3) vision, Ebenezer Howard’s (Howard, 1902) (Osborne, 1950) garden city movement envisioned the urban commons not as a zero-sum game (Fyfe, 1998), but as enabling harmony and peaceful co-existence, despite its overtures to a larger debate on practicability. For Jacobs and Howard, though positioned in different temporal and spatial contexts and different viewpoints on the role and extent of planning, the commons paved the way for ideals and spatial practices such as self-regulation and sharing, as opposed to a crass “togetherness” (Jacobs, 1992). Michel de Certeau (de Certeau, 1984), through his advocacy of walking as ritual and as the primary mode of engaging with and within the city, underlines the role of urban commons, such as streets and alleys, in producing the spatial texts or auras of cities. Therefore, when the commons are denied to the commoner as consumer-producer, a call is raised not merely for the right to the commons but the right to the city, itself (Harvey, 2003).

Yet, the commons in urban society do not subscribe necessarily to the aforementioned ideals and must be problematized by way of fleshing out the politics of the urban commons. Drawing from a “mondial politics” (Ruddick, et al., 2017) of parks, sidewalks, and streets, in conjunction with responses to and critique of the planetary urbanization thesis (Brenner & Schmid, 2014), it becomes evident that struggles for the right to the city are drowned out by grand narratives and visions of and for the city, that transitions into urban society. In essence, streets, parks, sidewalks, and beaches are not inalienably bestowed upon the inhabitants of urban society (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Therefore, the socio-spatial assemblage of urban society (McFarlane, 2011) is shaped by specific structures of power and specific histories, that, in turn, imbue the urban landscape with specific flows of social, material, and physical capital (Fyfe, 1998) (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

Mapping the Terrain

The specific site of this study is the busking ‘scene’, to employ colloquial language, in Singapore. In many ways, this study attempts to colloquialize or familiarize the reader with busking in the context of Singapore’s political, cultural and economic worldviews, that are intrinsically tied to its long history of minimizing the fluidities and flexibilities of the planned vision. Busking, while today a mainstay in mainstream entertainment, aided by the economies and geographies of festivals and entertainment shows, continues to be undertaken in certain earmarked streets of Singapore by people across various age groups, social and economic backgrounds, and professions. The street, therefore, serves not only as the site of performance for the busker but also as the site where the State performs its surveillance function through the twin processes of place-making and place-keeping (Dempsey, 2011). The street also facilitates the consumption of commodities, material and non-material, by the walker, the by-stander, and the onlooker. Therefore, the multifunctional street embodies a common resource or, alternatively, a public space, whose boundaries operate not solely to integrate and exclude certain physical geographies, but also to manage and steer the production of performance.

Yet, the street is not the only common resource wherein these processes of production and consumption operate within Singapore’s cultural economy. The internet is a global landscape,

that is boundless in conception, yet bounded by the long arm of the State through laws of censorship. With specific reference to this study, forums for the flows and exchanges of information as commodities, particularly Facebook pages, extend the performance and consumption of busking. Photographs, videos and other modes of capturing buskers' performances are consumed and reproduced through the transactional modalities of comments, likes and shares (Glaser, 2015). Therefore, the internet serves as a significant landscape for street busking and buskers and their processes of negotiation with consumers, the State and other institutions, and is a primary site and source for this study.

Busking and the Creative Economy

Globally, busking represents a form of street art, that employs an expanded notion of art to encompass singing, dancing, juggling, etc. Most seminal literature on street busking emerges from the Global North, with a particular emphasis on the cities of New York, Paris, London, among others. Yet, emerging case-based studies of busking in Singapore locate themselves in endeavours by scholars to create and construct a Singaporean public space. Singapore's tryst with busking has to be seen in light of the political dispensations' larger policy towards arts and culture industries (Ooi, 2010). In the year 1994, the street art of busking was declared illegal by the government, close on the heels of the establishment of the National Arts Council and the watershed report by the Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts (ACCA) released in 1989, that formulated an official cultural policy for the city-state of Singapore (Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts, 1989). Yet, busking has, since then, been reintegrated as a crucial instrument in enlivening the streetscapes and has figured in the State's grand scheme of things, particularly, through the very articulations of commodity packaging and the need to put forth a Singaporean cultural identity (Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, 2008).

In a fashion similar to that of Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin for 1930s Paris, the coastal city-state of Singapore embarked on its en masse drive on the heels of the Renaissance City Plan, launched in three phases spanning over two decades starting 1999. (Kong, 2012). The plan, conceived in an effort to carve out and consolidate the city of Singapore as a global hub for arts and creative expression, put forth elaborate proposals and prescriptions to integrate artists and performers within the fold of an established art and culture industry, accompanied by the necessary infrastructure and platforms for their display. In this regard, the report proposed and ensured the implementation of a cluster-based approach in the creation of art and culture clusters, wherein galleries, studios and performance arenas emerged. While these might be construed as a Statist endorsement of the creative arts, it is useful to conceive such a move as a response to calls for a Singaporean cultural identity (Kong, 2012). The need to superimpose spaces of high culture, among a censorship-laden environment in which filmmakers and artists operate, initiate the discussion surrounding Singapore's extended tryst with the sanitization of the city landscape, owing to its larger emphasis on integrating the city and its offerings with the larger global circuit of tourist networks and attractions (Tan, 2016). Therefore, art takes on a specific meaning and embodies the marker of a highly post-Fordist capitalist commodity. Malcolm Miles, writing from twentieth century New York, affirms this 'Hausmannization' of art:

The terms 'art' and 'public' fit no more easily together in the twentieth century, and a definition of public art is fraught with the contradiction that whilst modernist art has occupied the hermetic space of the white-walled gallery, art forms more closely linked to areas of

everyday life, such as ‘community arts’ or ‘outsider art’, have been marginalized by the art establishment as lacking ‘aesthetic quality’. (Miles, 1997)

As an extension of Statist management of the creative economy, then, busking has been subjected to the regimes of structuring and organization through the institutionalization of licensing, auditions and allotments. While this might seem counterfactual to the spontaneity, that is inherent to busking, auditions and licenses are instruments, that have been used in countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia, as well, albeit, to much public outcry against them. However, in the context of Singapore characterized as a weak civil society (Hee, 2017), these practices have received active and dormant approval and subscription by several buskers, themselves, leading to negotiations and compromises, that underpin the bedrock of the Singaporean public sphere. Skye Soon echoes the aforementioned in her blog:

In some way it may be strange that busking needs to be regulated, but at least an organization (NAC) exists to be our voice and negotiate with official government bodies and malls etc to help us legally have some place to perform. I believe (from a glimpse of the newspaper articles flashed on the PPT slides) that the government wanted to ban busking completely before, so at least we have some representation? (Soon, 2018)

Similarly, the politics of financing and funding and the centrality of bureaucratic management of the arts actively eschew and dissuade dissent (Heng, 2014). This is not to deny the existing voices, that challenge such practices. While there have been no documented active demonstrations, such as in the case of cities in the UK (Correspondent, 2015) (Siggins, 2017), in Singapore against the terms and conditions under which buskers operate, the Internet serves as a key public, wherein such articulations are relayed. An individual, who operates as an agent for aspiring buskers in Singapore, writes on a Facebook forum titled ‘Busking in Singapore’ (Osan, 2017):

PAP has killed art in Singapore by introducing the busking license here. Professional of 30 yrs musical experience has failed their audition, student holding ABRSM distinction has been failed by them, accomplished Jazz musician has been failed by them. And they say they promote art in Singapore?

However, the characterization of buskers as being marginalized or misrepresented solely by the Government produces an inaccurate narrative. The typecasting of buskers as beggars and as a nuisance to civil society has been a skewed lens through which buskers have been viewed globally across various contexts. In the case of Singapore, for instance, a senior citizen writes the following on a Facebook group’s chat forum, upon the sight of a student busking in his designated area:

Education policies failed miserably in Singapore..
Shouldn’t our youth deserves education without having to busking under the open hot Sun..
O good heaven.. why have our young Singapore Singaporeans got to do this.. just cannot fathom. Can you? (Pek, 2018)

Similarly, Susan Tan (2018) echoes larger concerns regarding the emergence of busking as a source of income for domestic and foreign students:

Busking should never evolve to become a form of begging or a person’s sole source of income. Busking is meant to create a vibrant and interesting street life.

Therefore, the stigmatization of buskers and busking is the result of various considerations and, specifically, fears, that seemingly warrant the institutionalization of boundaries (Loukaitou-Siders & Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

Yet, buskers have used the very landscape of the internet to counter several misconceptions about their art form and lived realities. The host of groups, pages and other interfaces, that connect buskers from various parts of Singapore and the world, form a transnational network and a community. In addition, the role of the Busking Project (Doumpa & Broad, 2014), a global platform wherein buskers list themselves as service-providers and artists for consumption by diverse clientele, foregrounds positive readings of buskers' contributions to the socio-economic urban landscape. Similarly, dailies, forums and other digital publications accelerate the deconstruction of the misrepresented busker through interviews, videos of performances, and other mediums. In essence, buskers in Singapore embed themselves in a global movement and a politics of art and the public space, that, presents artists, especially street artists, as those individuals with the agency and power to enliven streetscapes of the "dead spaces of metropolis" (Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2014)

The Study and Findings

Objectives and Methods

This study attempts to capture the various contradictions, that play out in discussions of managing art in public spaces, here, Singapore's street busking scene. In what is a larger project of reading power and history into urban landscapes, this study foregrounds narratives and articulations of the walker-as-flaneur (Murail, 2017) (de Certeau, 1984) in relation to the consumed performance of the busker. A Google form survey was floated to capture perceptions of various groups in Singapore. Similarly, detailed conversations with buskers in Singapore and other contexts were undertaken over a timeframe of a month. While the scale of this study might seem small at present, it attempts to form the basis for further studies, that map more diverse terrains and contexts. The key objective of this study, therefore, is not to flesh out empirical evidence for policy paradigms but, rather, a search for the authentic urban commons, in the context of the various existing policies, spatial practices, and texts, that govern and produce public space.

Results

The demographics of the survey respondents is as follows: A majority of the respondents identified themselves within the age group of 18-28, while 10% of the respondents identified within the age group of 50-60. With regards to their status of residency in Singapore, 32% of respondents were citizens of Singapore, while 47% of respondents identified as visitors, either as tourists or on work trips to Singapore. The remaining 21% was composed of students (11%), immigrants (5%), and former permanent residents (5%).

The first question on the survey was: *Do you believe that street performances and street performers add value to the cultural, economic and spatial textures of a city or a country?* While 95% responded in the affirmative to this question, 5% responded in the negative. Since, this response, alone, fails to provide any basis for value judgments, deductions or conclusions, a follow-up question calling for an explanation or justification of the response was mandated. Phrases and words such as colour, cultures, entertainment, bonhomie, and

identity were the predominant expressions used by residents to explicate what they perceived to be the contribution of buskers to streetscapes. Several respondents echoed a recurring perception that buskers were windows to the unfamiliar tourist's familiarization of the cultural and social landscape of the city. One respondent said:

Bring(ing) life to the city, performers from other cultures can share theirs in a foreign country to international tourists. Often the first thing tourists think of are street performers in a new country.

While steering the survey to more site-specific questions, respondents were asked, next, to disclose if they had encountered busking or buskers during their visit to or stay in Singapore. 74% responded in the affirmative, while 26% responded in the negative. Thus, the sample presents a fair size of respondents, whose opinions and views articulated in the survey, reflect lived experiences as a walker-flaneur and as a consumer of busking.

Given the nature of the expected outcome, respondents were asked to identify referents or phrases, that best captured their perception of buskers' presence in the city's political, cultural, economic and spatial landscape. Among the five options provided, 37% perceived buskers as artists in their own right, while 42% of respondents perceived them as individuals who add vibrancy to the city. A sizeable proportion of respondents (16%) declared that they had no opinion on the matter. No respondents identified buskers as nuisance/hindrance, or as beggars disguised, thereby, providing positive readings of buskers' contribution to the socio-economic urban landscape.

With regards to the regulation of busking and buskers, only one respondent recalled witnessing a busker being subjected to searches or disciplining by the police force or other security personnel. However, respondents were, then, presented with a glimpse of the various forms of regulation, such as licensing and auditioning, etc., under the assumption that regulation might be misconstrued as following more physically violent undertones. Subsequently, when asked if respondents viewed auditioning, licensing and allotment as justified measures of spatial management, a resounding 89.5% responded in the affirmative, while 10.5% responded in the negative. A sample of 5 responses of the former group adopt the following line of arguments:

(Regulation) maintains a certain quality, avoids over estimated and illusion ppl who think they can perform, at the same time if the govt. is not just, it can be used to suppress art.
(Respondent 1)

It's a way to keep it real. (Respondent 2)

It's understandable that a place such as Singapore, highly invested in cultivating their image and control of street clutter, would want to vet potential buskers. (Respondent 3)

This is designed so that the buskers wont be a hindrance to the public. (Respondent 4)

It's fair enough to request for a license like they would for any other job as it's a stereotype that con artists pose as buskers. The allotted space seems to be a way for the government to track the buskers and that seems fair too. Everyone has their own work space. (Respondent 5)

Those, who responded in the negative, to the aforementioned question professed:

This sort of biased regulation takes away the fundamental rights of an individual to express, a right that the State provides to each and every one. This cannot be taken away from buskers just because they are termed so. (*Respondent 6*)

The survey, then, proceeded to capture these respondents' perception of public spaces, in general. One question, that initiated such an exercise, was: *Do you believe that streets and spaces in a city must be open to all (in terms of access, use and consumption)?* In what might seem as contradictory to the respondents' viewpoints on regulation, 53% believed that the streets and spaces in a city must be open to all, while 42% responded with 'Maybe' and 5% responded in the negative. In an attempt to map this viewpoint onto Singapore's urban landscape, a follow-up question read as follows: *Do you believe that the streets and spaces in Singapore can be characterized as inclusive?* Inclusive spaces, while largely subjective in definition, was defined, for the purpose of this survey as exhaustively as possible as those spaces, that fostered access and use by individuals irrespective of their profession, race, gender, sexual, orientation, colour, caste, creed, etc. While 42% believed that the Singapore's streets and spaces could be characterized as inclusive, an equal proportion of respondents were unsure, choosing to respond with 'Maybe'. 16% responded in the negative.

In an effort to flesh out why these respondents believed so, instead of a qualitative response, a proxy was constructed in the form of the following question: *Is there any city, that you visited or resided in or otherwise, whose streets and spaces you would characterize as inclusive?* The question was deliberately open-ended, as a reflection on street busking would have implications for the perception of streets as public spaces or urban commons as well. Apart from three respondents, who identified cities in the Global South, namely Chennai, Kolkata, Istanbul and Seoul, a large number of respondents cited cities from the Global North. This is not to cast blanket judgments on the spatial management systems of countries, pitting the Global South against the Global North. Cities such as Paris, Florence, San Francisco, Newcastle, Amsterdam, Aberdeen, London, Los Angeles, and Edinburgh were prominently featured in the responses. Several respondents also cited the relevant street art festivals in these cities, such as the fringe festival in Edinburgh, in their responses.

When asked to define what particular aspects or events made them characterize the cities listed as inclusive spaces, a set of residents explicated their choice on the basis of buskers' and performers' space and freedoms in the city, while others provided their characterizations of the public spaces, such as avenues, squares and alleys, they had visited in those cities. Among those respondents falling under the category of the former, 74% had witnessed buskers or busking in the cities mentioned, while 26% opined based on second-hand experience. Further, 58% respondents believed that, based on what they had seen, read, or heard, buskers in the cities they had mentioned enjoyed greater freedom to perform as compared to the buskers in Singapore, while 42% believed otherwise. A sample of responses are as follows:

The population living here is mostly POC (persons of colour), so at least in POC areas, buskers (who are usually POC) don't get harassed as much because the public is relatively more understanding about them and their reasons to perform on the street. *Respondent 1 on New York*

Anyone who is talented, grabs the space and their art reach(es) the people. *Respondent 2 on Paris*

Feelings of comfort and security in the public space, the ability of buskers to perform without being hassled. *Respondent 3 on San Francisco and Durham (North Carolina)*

Anyone and everyone can perform. To be fair, I don't know how they would perceive minorities busking, especially with nationalistic tendencies rising up. However, they were super open to many different kinds of performances, that would likely be frowned upon in Singapore. *Respondent 4 on Edinburgh*

Respondents, who commented on the nature of public spaces in the cities, that they characterized as inclusive, treaded the following arguments:

Freedom and lack of intrusiveness *Respondent 5 on Seoul*

It's got room for all! Even Gods are allowed to go rounds in streets during festive season! *Respondent 6 on Chennai*

Very mindful of wheelchair users, older generations, expecting mothers, babies in prams. Accessible toilets all over the city and all buses have allocated priority seating for those mentioned above. *Respondent 7 on Amsterdam*

Access to any space in the city, No formal/informal space as such. Freedom of expression. Street artists here are not seen as individuals performing for money, rather visitors and tourists find them very exotic and regard them as aesthetics of the city. Performers convey a social message on race, gender, drugs and such through their performance. *Respondent 8 on Los Angeles*

Discussion

Inclusion and Regulation: Polar Opposites?

In the case of art, that is public, then, two opposing notions emerge with regards to the question of regulation of access through visible forms of licensing and control. A first notion attempts to explicate the use of controlling regimes in the public sphere as a means towards an end. Lin (Chap 5, p.197, Singapore Public Space) echoes an oft-repeated argument that the public space also serves as the microcosm of State power, wherein the basic unit of urban spatiality serves as the site wherein Statist authority is presented as normal and, therefore, embedded in the ways in which society organizes itself around these spaces and within themselves. This argument, then, also views the implementation of licensing and other measures on buskers as a manifestation of this Statist paradigm. Yet, a notion of power clearly emerges within such a spatial text, that has to be deconstructed through or contextualized in the specificities of geography, culture, etc. In essence, what de Certeau (1984) would characterize as the aura of the city is constructed within and through such a framework of Statist power. Another notion of the control of public spaces by the State draws upon the scholarship of gentrification and posits that public serve as "arenas for negotiating exclusion and inequality" (Loukaitou-Siders & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, p. 98), given that the activities and interactions in public spaces, such as streets or public squares, reinforces social, political, economic and other hierarchies. Therefore, then, wouldn't further regulation of these public spheres reinforce or discount the significance of public spaces as shared spaces, that produce newer landscapes of socio-economic equality?

However, in the case of Singapore, and as demonstrated by the responses in the aforementioned survey, regulation has been internalized and, in many instances, has been proclaimed by those being subjected to it as desirable. It is noteworthy that regulation and regimes of control have significantly been lowered in their extents and degrees. Further, the State's intent to create more spaces in the mainstream entertainment industry for buskers and professional artists is worthy of merit, considering that such a move ushers in an altered characterization of buskers as economic agents with 'skill', 'labour' and 'product'. Therefore, as one respondent said: "everyone has their own work space", referring to the designated street in which the busker is allowed to perform. A busker, who currently resides in Singapore and boasts of performances in other parts of the world, claims that the State strives to create equitable environments for artists, particularly in the public space. When asked about the current atmosphere of regulation, he adds:

I think that the government, as always, is just being practical and allowing themselves an avenue for the removal of buskers / performers who perform unsavory acts. This goes back to a free speech argument and I think that goes beyond busking. But by and large, Singapore is actually very open to buskers, it is actually society that frowns upon it, even though it is becoming more prevalent.

Is there, then, a fine balance between regulation and the creation of inclusive spaces? The answer is manifold. For instance, Hou Hanru credits most vibrant societies and spaces as those that fall into his conception of a "post-planning" sphere, wherein the significance of allowing residents to development impromptu or unplanned uses and consumption practices around a designed space is not lost on planners and designers (Close, 2018). While Hanru's framework answers the raised question on the whole, in specific regard to this context, it becomes imperative to ask the question: How can a fine line be drawn in the case of Singapore between inclusive practices and regulatory mechanisms, with a possible provision for self-regulation, in the way that Jane Jacobs (1992) employed the term? One particular cue is the widely acclaimed Singapore model of multiculturally-sensitive neighbourhood regeneration programs (Tristan, 2017) (Samdin & Cunico, 2017). Such a model not only affirms the State's ability to gauge, respect and uphold the various cultural sensibilities of its population, but also repackages the cultural and social practices, embedded in these spaces over centuries, for the post-Fordist capital market as consumable experiences. While planetary gentrification scholars (Lees, et al., 2016) might argue that such forms of regeneration are unequal in concept, it is useful to conceive such events as the results of negotiations and interactions between the city's various actors, albeit in skewed power matrices. In essence, regeneration processes are inevitable in the context of developing and developed economies, who are not only characterized by unlimited uses towards limited resources, such as land, but also by the inflow of specific consumption cultures in these neighbourhoods, such as in the form of restaurants, boutiques, etc. To draw from Sharon Zukin (2010), food has become the in-thing and has transformed itself into the new 'art' in the neoliberal streetscape. Pathways, then, must be explored to allow for the various expectations and concerns of buskers, both young and old, to be reflected in policy documents and city visions, particularly in an environment wherein regulation is not completely resisted. The recognition of busking as art and of buskers as artists in their own right, then, allows for a synthesis of visions in the Singaporean streetscape.

Keeping it 'Real': In Search of Authenticity

Inclusiveness, unlike more tangible and quantifiable parameters, eludes narrow and broad-based criteria, at least in the case of its relevance to the management of public spaces. Employing crude definitions of inclusiveness in designing and creating public spaces not only highlights inherent biases and preconceptions as to what characterizes an inclusive society but also occludes the subjectivities of the stakeholders of the said space in defining the nature of that space. Taking cue from one survey respondent's use of the phrase 'keeping it real', then, it is useful to launch an inquiry into what makes public spaces 'real' and inclusive, under the assumption that 'realness' and inclusiveness do not signify divergent goals.

The realness of a city, too, is not a parameter that is easy to grapple with, particularly given the shifts over the centuries in the very ways in which we employ language and terminologies. Real, therefore, could be construed as having made way for newer paradigms like smartness, as in the smart city vision. Yet, for the purpose of this discussion, realness comes close to the way in which Richard Sennett (2006) employed the term 'open' in defining cities as open spaces for participation and engagement. In addition, William Whyte, (1980) on the role of busking in city spaces, stresses the need to plan for friendly spaces or spaces wherein the very siloes in which we operate crumble to produce what he calls "true recreation" (Whyte, 1980). Sharon Zukin's (2010) employment of the term 'authenticity' in characterizing ideal public spaces and cities serves as a point of entry into the real city. Using the metaphor of the 'naked city', taken here to be a metaphor for the most intimately real cores of cities, Zukin (2010) fleshes out the various visible and invisible processes, that strip the city of its authenticity piece by piece, street by street, neighbourhood by neighbourhood and community and by community. In many ways, Zukin's following statement resonates with the inquiry of this study:

It is social diversity, and not just the diversity of buildings and uses, that gives the city its soul. (Zukin, 2010, p. 31)

The employment of such frameworks in the discussions of art and public spaces is not to pursue an exotic reading of the many processes of negotiation, that result in the writing of the city's spatial text, neither does it deny the agency of the various actors involved in such processes. Yet, it allows for the reading of busking, itself, as an elucidation of the performance of the city and its streetscapes, that signify assemblages of divergent and convergent visions, ideas, practices and standpoints.

Conclusion

The curtain is an important property of theatrical performances and stage shows, with a role and function of its own. It determines who sees what and how much they see, thereby, becoming an important instrument in the hands of a director. It also demarcates clear boundaries between the performer and spectator, further, delineating the extent to which the latter has access to the former. Street art eludes such markers. Interactive by nature, busking, by nature, does not harp on the curtain as an instrument or on the trope of predictability. Yet, there are other curtains, that obscure what is seen. Visibility and invisibility, as a binary, determine the 'realness' of what is seen and perceived. Similarly, the curtain imposed on the streetscape through several regulatory measures and a self-censored performance space create skewed narratives. This paper does not call for the removal of these curtains, but attempts to render visible the various processes and negotiations between art and the street, as a basic unit of urban space, that are shrouded. This paper also echoes the cited literature in stating

that streets reflect the 'authentic' urban commons and the 'authentic' city and, therefore, also hold immense potential as enablers of equitable socio-spatial processes.

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From Pedestrian Thoroughfare to Public Space:

The Social Life of the Esplanade Underpass

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Abstract

This study examines the Esplanade Underpass, an underground thoroughfare in Singapore that supports a range of public users and uses, despite not being a formally planned or officially designated public space. The Esplanade Underpass serves as an interesting case study as most public spaces in Singapore are zoned and governed by regulations of various kinds. The Esplanade Underpass, however, is minimally subject to these forms of surveillance and control. This research asks: What are the characteristics of the Esplanade Underpass that set it apart from the narrative of order and control often imposed upon public spaces in Singapore?” Through participant observation and interviews, the study investigates the users and uses of the Underpass. The study reveals how a range of users of the Underpass adapt the physical space for various uses, consequently establishing a series of informal social norms. Through varied habitual uses, the Underpass has been transformed from a place of transit into a meaningful public space which possesses a vibrant social life. The study highlights the nuances of social engagement that can work to make spaces “public” and offers a novel understanding of informally formed public space in Singapore.

Keywords: public space, socio-spatial dynamics, Singapore, urban ethnography

Introduction

The provision of public space is central to the planning and design of cities. In public space, the city’s political and social dynamics are manifest; the diverse elements of its inhabitants, history and culture come together. Under modern city planning regimes, the creation of spaces for the public has been accompanied by a stronger emphasis on order and control. In this context, public space often becomes overly planned and regulated, sterile and controlled. From this, a contradiction arises. On the one hand, officially designated public spaces have become less inclusive of the diverse profiles and interests of the wider public. On the other hand, spaces not originally intended for public usage have emerged as vibrant spaces with

various actors and activities. The public spaces of Singapore are no exception to this contradictory trend.

Opened in 2002 the Esplanade Underpass is an underground pedestrian transit space that connects the downtown cultural complex of the Esplanade Theatres with nearby landmarks, commercial buildings and transport networks. Originally designed solely for pedestrian transit, the Esplanade Underpass now hosts a variety of unplanned functions, including informal roller blading, dancing and picnicking. In the highly regulated city-state of Singapore, such transformation is rare. While guidelines exist on the usage of the space in the form of signages prohibiting certain activities, management and monitoring are minimal. As its diverse users adapt the space for their various needs, the Esplanade Underpass gains new meanings beyond its originally designated function, and becomes a well-used and well-loved space.

Through a qualitative study of the Esplanade Underpass (hereafter “the Underpass”), the study asks: who are the users of the Esplanade Underpass, and why do they come to this space? What are the factors that lead to the use of the Esplanade Underpass as a leisure space? How do the users of the Esplanade Underpass interact with the space, and with one another? This research draws upon the case of the Esplanade Underpass to analyse the formation, usage and dynamics of an informal public space in the context of Singapore, so as to better conceptualise the ideas of publicness and the urban public sphere. The study aims to shed light on the nature of public space that exists on the margins of functional modern planning discourses.

I begin with a review of scholarship relevant to the notion of public space and its definition, and provide an overview of the Singaporean context in which this research is grounded. I then proceed to outline the methodology used in this research, which is a qualitative participatory study of the space. The subsequent sections delve into the various aspects of the Underpass, its users and usage. The conclusion discusses the possible implications of the findings of this research for the study of urban public space.

Defining Public Space

Geographer Kurt Iveson (2007, p. 4) defines public space simply as a space that is open to members of the public and contrasts this with private space, which is exclusive and closed off. Public spaces, in this sense, are spaces that allow free access. In the urban context, examples might include streets, plazas, or parks which are commonly provided and managed by municipal authorities. However, increasingly in cities, open spaces that appear public may be privately owned or may develop as the result of private-public development partnerships.

This has complicated the debate on what precisely constitutes public space in cities. Writing on the London context, Koch and Latham (2011, p. 518) assert that a necessary feature of public space is its ability to allow urban inhabitants to engage, interact, and come together around recognized common interests. In its ideal manifestation, public space has the users of the space at the core of its meaning, and social outcomes it makes possible are aligned with processes of collective deliberation among people with diverse identities (Iveson, 2007; Habermas, 1962; Koch and Latham, 2011). Public space then should be accessible to all, have diverse users and offer plentiful possibilities for human contact (Németh, 2009, p. 2463).

Contemporary public spaces rarely attain this ideal state of inclusivity and scholars lament the increasingly exclusionary nature of public space in the contemporary city. Iveson (2007, p. 5), for example, notes that urban authorities often monitor and regulate “on behalf of a public that they claim is intimidated by begging, threatened by graffiti, menaced by boisterous groups of teenagers.” Sociologist David J. Madden (2010, p. 189) echoes this sentiment, claiming that spaces designated as public are increasingly becoming controlled, restricted and privatized, marked by exclusion and inaccessibility. This exclusion comes in the form of both the privatization of spaces for commercial purposes as well as the increasing control and monitoring of space to exclude elements of the public deemed undesirable. For Madden (2010, p. 190), public space reflects the wider political context, including the emphasis on social orchestration, surveillance and order. The right to use public space, supposedly the most open, democratic and inclusive element of the city, is foundational to city living. A draconian control of public space deprives the majority of inhabitants of the city of their right to the city (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 85).

A public space in its ideal sense thus seems impossible in today’s cities, but some question whether it is necessary. Recent scholarship shows that traditional, purposefully designed or designated public spaces are not always the places where the ideals of public space are best realized. The essential features of public space, such as the coming together of differences and the exchange of values and norms, may be found elsewhere. In *Putting the Public Back into Public Space*, Iveson (1998, p. 23) draws on Iris Marion Young’s idea that a “good” public space is one that contains multiple publics. This definition emphasizes that space is composed by actors and activities, rather than any official status or regime of legal access. Young’s ideal of public space envisages users engaging with one another and deciding among themselves the norms of usage and interaction. This model of public space minimizes the risk of exclusion and inequality that is often seen in the promotion of a single ideal public (Iveson, 1998, p. 22). Iveson (2007, p. 3) draws on Young’s work when he posits the notion of public space as “any space which is put to use at a given time for collective

action and debate.” This suggests the possibility of public spaces where members of the public are able to assert their presence and rights despite the increasing restrictions, commercialization or privatization of space.

In his influential book *Life Between Buildings*, architect and urban designer Jan Gehl (2011) highlights the importance of the spaces “in-between” and their potential for connecting people and contributing to urban vitality. The ability for people to freely gather and engage in their desired activities in turn attracts others to use such spaces and thus generates vitality (Gehl, 2011, p. 73). Sociologist Jeffrey Hou (2010, p. 112) argues that while public space is supposed to be “open to all, well-known by all, acknowledged by all,” the actual making of public space is subject to the power and control of the state. Through a variety of case studies, Hou documents the ways in which urban-dwellers around the world have taken to pockets of forgotten space to carry out their desired activities. Acts of appropriation may differ from city to city, but Hou effectively shows that many cities have what he calls “insurgent public spaces,” where new social arrangements are formed (Hou, 2010, p. 12). Similarly, in their book *Loose Space*, Quentin Stevens and Karen Franck (2006) evoke pockets of space where, in the absence of excessive design, control and monitoring of authorities, there is a strong variety and representation of both actors and activities. These pockets of space and the acts of appropriation that they host thus loosen the tight control that authorities impose upon the urban public sphere.

Public space in Singapore

In the context of Singapore, urban space has historically been determined by functional planning principles (Hornidge and Kurfürst, 2011, p. 346-347). Order in society is tied to both the legibility of the built environment and the effective regulation of space (Yeoh, 2003, p. 268; Goh, 2005, p. 75). Land in Singapore is neatly zoned by functions, such as retail, transport, residential. This quest for order was fitting in the immediate post-independence days of Singapore, given the social disorder and political instability of the new nation (Teo, 1992, p. 171). The need and desire for order thus resulted in heavy social orchestration and paternalistic governance that are characteristic of Singapore’s urban development policies (Dale, 1999, p. 98).

The paternalistic nature of governance in Singapore manifests itself clearly in the planning and control of public space. To ensure order in public space, the government implemented Section 141 of the Penal Code that prohibits assembly of 5 or more persons in the public sphere for the purpose of protesting (Yeo et al, 2012, p. 381). “Legal” protests must seek permission, and are physically limited to the Speaker’s Corner of Hong Lim Park (Padawangi, 2014, p. 12). In this arrangement of order, the void decks of the Housing

Development Board (HDB) residential estates are some of the few spaces in Singapore that are not so function-specific and are sanctioned to accommodate public social gatherings. HDB, a government body, develops and manages Singapore's large stock of public housing, which houses approximately 80% of the country's population. Constructed at the ground level of residential blocks, void decks were originally intended by the HDB as an "undifferentiated, open region, available for appropriation in different ways for different ends by different groups (Cairns, 2014, p. 81)." They are used for a variety of functions, including

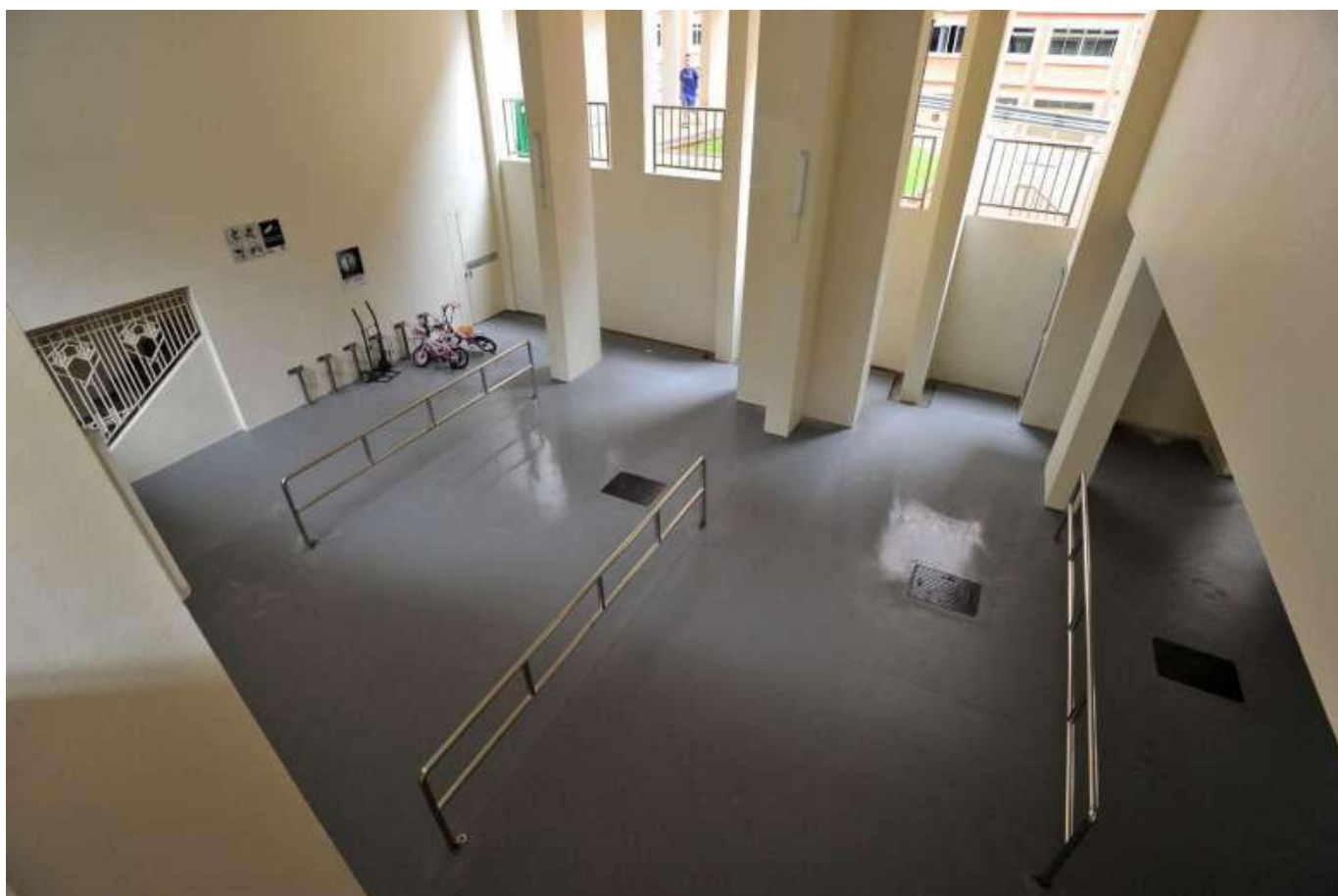


Figure 1. Railings placed at a void deck to deter young boys from playing ball games
(Source: Jo, Ong and Chia, 2016)

weddings, funeral wakes, and as polling stations during elections; they include basic amenities such as benches and chess boards, allowing residents to use the space for leisure.

Despite this original intention to not prescribe functions to the void deck, there have nonetheless been attempts to impose order in these spaces via signage and physical installations (Tan, 2016). Railings prevent ball games and signs prohibiting a variety of

activities are prominently displayed (Figure 1 & 2). These are preventive measures to offset possible conflicts of interest between the various users.



Figure 2. Regulations seen at a void deck in Singapore (Source: Author)

The case of the void deck illustrates the constant intervention of authorities into the regulation of public spaces. In their investigation of public space planning in Singapore, Limin Hee and Giok Ling Ooi (2003, p. 505) point out that the current practice of planning produces public spaces that are “based on a mere superficial or aesthetic instrumentalization of ‘difference’.” The vision of public order that the Singaporean state has historically pursued thus excludes diverse elements of the public that are considered disruptive to this age-old state narrative (Hee and Ooi, 2003, p. 523).

This research seeks to contribute to the existing scholarship on public space in general and in Singapore specifically by providing a detailed case study of an unconventional space in the Singaporean political context of control and order.

Methodology

To carry out this study I adopted a mixture of qualitative research methods, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, as well as photographic documentation. In studying public spaces, sociologist Jan Gehl and Birgitte Svarre (2013, p. 9) recommend that the public be “observed, their activities and behaviour mapped in order to better understand the needs of users and how city spaces are used.” An observational study brings nuanced insight into the social life of the Underpass, as such observations may reveal dimensions that users themselves are not aware of (Gehl and Svarre, 2013, p. 5). Indeed, through prolonged observation of the Underpass, I was able to discern activities that interviewees themselves failed to mention. Observational work was complemented by photographic documentation and activity mapping, which sought to capture individual actions as well as relational social patterns. The key focus of the investigation was the users of the Underpass: their presence and activities, their interactions with others, as well as their interactions with the Underpass built environment. These observations were carried out over 10 sessions on weekdays and weekends, each lasting an average of 3 hours. Observations were undertaken both in the daytime and at night to capture the possible variances. In total, the study draws on 30 hours of observation.

Semi-structured interviews were also carried out with two groups: a sample of users of the Underpass and individuals linked to organizations relevant to the maintenance and governance of the Underpass. Interviews were conducted with a sub-set sample of users of the Underpass to understand their experiences in the space, and to access their accounts of why and how they use the space. According to Brinkmann (2014, p. 278), interviews reveal how the interviewees “experience the world, how they think, act, feel and develop as individuals and in groups.” While observations necessarily require the observer to make assumptions and interpretations, interviews allow the subjects to better represent themselves in their own words. Interviews complement direct observations well, as they provide meaningful insights and alternative perspectives into the cursory observations of the researcher (Jackson, 1983, p. 40). Eighteen interviews were carried out with a sample of users of the Underpass, with an average length of 20 minutes. The users selected for interview were linked to specific activities which were routine and dominant in the space. In addition, four interviews were carried out with public and private entities relevant to the Underpass so as to gain a better contextual understanding of the creation of the Underpass.

A Closer Look at the Underpass



Figure 3. The Esplanade Underpass on a Thursday evening (Source: Author)

With a total area of 1260 m², the size of the Underpass allows it to accommodate a large number of people. Sandwiched between two large commercial entities – the Esplanade Theatres and CityLink Mall – the Underpass benefits from “leaked” cool air, and provides refuge to the heat. Given its size and ambience, on any night, there could be five or six different groups using the space. A physical feature that complements the size of the Underpass to make it an ideal multifunctional space is its structural columns. There are 20 metal columns in the Underpass, each with a circumference of 2.2 meters. The columns informally act as “territory” markers for the users, and create a public-private nature to the space. While users always return to their “claimed” columns when they take a break from their activities, because these “markers” are impermanent, users still adjust and adapt the extent of their territory to accommodate various other users when necessary.

Other features of the Underpass that are adapted in various ways are the floor surfaces and the wall. The tiled flooring of the Underpass is a favorite amongst users. The smooth floor is ideal for skateboarding and stunt cycling. Many dancers prefer the smooth flooring as it allows them to practice more complex moves with limited resistance. While a studio provides the same amenity, a studio is “expensive” and lacks the “rig-and-rag street feel” of the Underpass (Interviewee 9). The tiled walls themselves also have a peculiar use. Unlike a typical dance studio, there are no mirrors at the Underpass. Most dancers thus rely on cameras and hand phones to record their progress, or observe themselves through the

minimally reflective surface of the highly-polished, granite finished wall (Figure 4 & 5). In this way, users creatively make use of the architecture, adapting it to serve their needs.

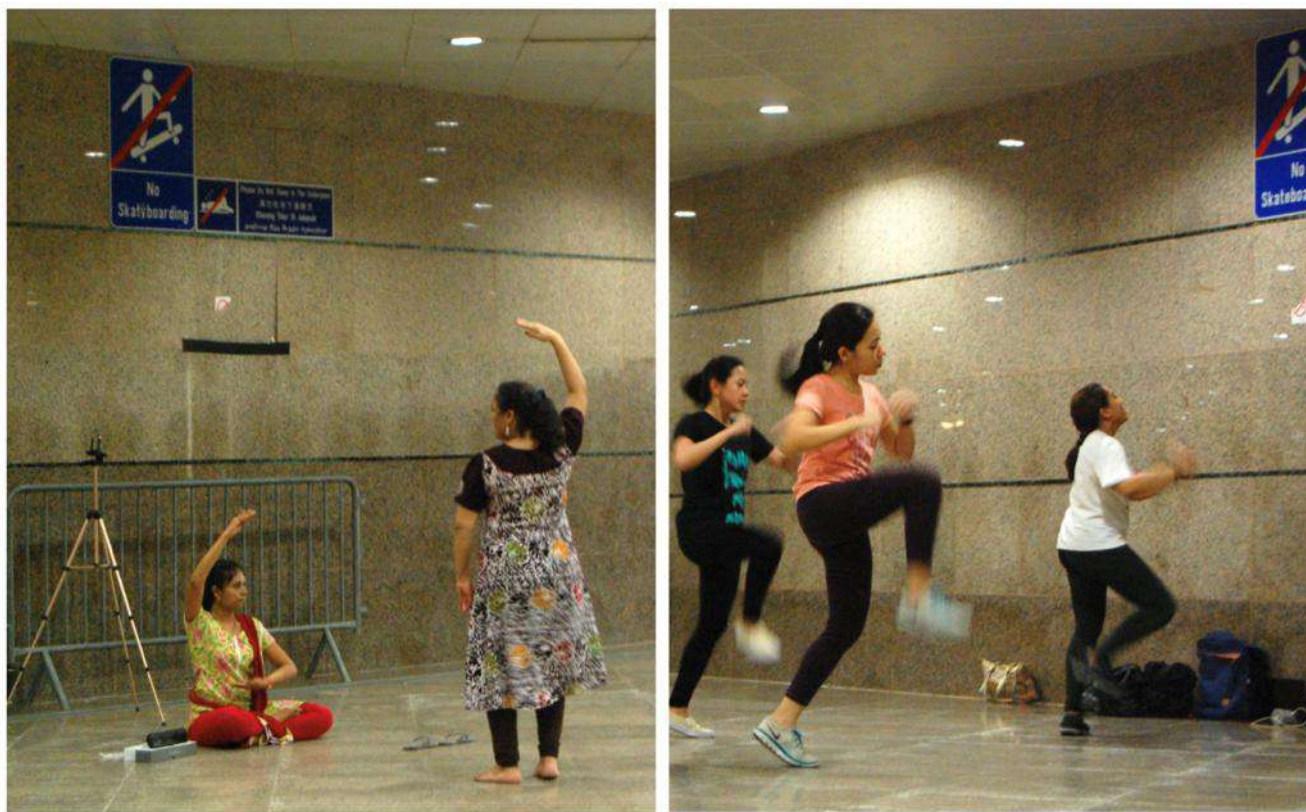


Figure 4. Two dancers using a tripod and their phone to record themselves (Source: Author)

Figure 5. A group dancing facing the wall to catch their reflection (Source: Author)

While the diversity of both users and usage gives the Underpass the semblance of a public space, it is not officially designated as one. It is under the management of Singapore's Land Transport Authority (LTA), and its primary and original purpose is to offer an underground route between the Esplanade Theatres, nearby landmarks, and the underground transport system. The Esplanade Theatres is a key stakeholder as many of its visitors pass through the Underpass. The LTA, the owner of the space itself, tolerates the activities at the Underpass, provided that the Underpass is able to maintain its original function as a pedestrian thoroughfare (Interviewee 4). The Esplanade Theatres, with its desire to nurture local talents while maintaining the prestige of its art production, made the decision to be a neutral party. There was no intention to either stimulate or stifle this "incidental cultivation of spontaneous creativity (Interviewee 2)." Given the stance of these two key players, there is a lack of constant regulation and enforcement of the law at the Underpass. Many of the users interviewed affirmed that they have not seen or been approached by a figure of authority, such as a security guard. This lack of constant monitoring adds to the ability of the Underpass

to accommodate varied uses. While there are signs that prohibit sleeping and skateboarding, these activities are constantly present at the Underpass.

Although the Underpass is a publicly accessible transit space, it was not designed and built as a public space in any conventional sense. The transformation of the Underpass from a thoroughfare to a public space shows that the meanings and functions of the built environment, if let be, may change over time through the influence of different users. Stewart Brand's book *How Buildings Learn* (1994) argues that the built environment is not fixed in its meaning and function, but instead is invested with identities dependent on its users and their activities. Similarly, sociologist Tom Gieryn (2002, p. 65) argues that buildings are "objects of (re)interpretation, narration and representation" and are always experiencing a change of meaning based on users and their ability to reinvent the built environment based on their realization of its alternative possibilities. With its minimal provision of facilities, the Underpass remains versatile in meaning and function. As such, it is able to accommodate the fluidity of desire and usage, allowing users to design their own experiences.

The Underpass as a Space of Convergence



Figure 6. Rollerbladers (top left), break dancers (top right) and domestic workers (bottom) at the Underpass (Source: Author)

Due to its unrestricted nature, the Underpass hosts a variety of users who flow in and out of the space. At the Underpass, there are young adults, office workers, foreign domestic workers, of different age, class and race. The co-existence of these users, whose profiles span across age, gender, ethnicity and class, implies that social relations of the Underpass space are defined not by users' demographic or social differences, but primarily by their activity at the Underpass. At the Underpass, the users were "skate boarders" or "dancers" or "picnickers." This was best exemplified when a female skater said she did not realize she was the only female in the space until it was pointed out to her by the interviewer (Interviewee 18). Social identities and divisions are left outside of the space, generating equality in terms of the right to use the space.

A common group of users at the Underpass are the break dancers. The dancers assemble at the Underpass as a nightly routine, and they have come a long way on their dance journeys. As one break dancer of the Underpass shared, when he first started dancing his secondary school would issue warnings as "breakdancing was seen as bad and dangerous (Interviewee 8)." Having danced at the Underpass for 6 years, this male dancer and his group have found a space where they can practice freely and forge a community where they can learn from other dancers. In the foyers of private buildings such as the Esplanade Theatres and Changi Airport, dancers are chased out by security (Interviewee 10). In contrast, at the Underpass, users engage in their activities without needing to worry about legality and permissibility. In addition, those who use the space enjoy the accolades of spectators and those passing by (Interviewee 9). This adds to the sense of recognition and legitimation that young users are often denied.

Similarly, skateboarders are a common sight at the Underpass. For the most part, in Singapore, skateboarding is restricted to only designated spaces in the city, such as skate parks. While skate parks are laudable attempts by authorities to make space for skateboarding, the infrastructures provided "do little to replicate the freedom and spontaneity of the sport (Owens, 2002, p. 158)." One Underpass skateboarder shared his view: "Singapore also has no indoor skate park; and it is hot and rainy so we come here (Interviewee 15)." The Underpass thus provides skaters with a refuge from the hot and erratic tropical weather of Singapore. According to this skateboarder, attempts to incorporate skateboarding into the urban environment of Singapore do not genuinely address skateboarders' needs, such as the desire for shelter and thermal comfort. At the Underpass, while skateboarding is technically prohibited as communicated through the regulatory signs, the lack of constant enforcement allows skateboarders to practice their craft.

Beyond young people and their various activities, the Underpass provides shelter from rain and shine for many other groups who are not always given the luxury of space in the public sphere. On weekends, domestic workers make up the majority of the bustling crowd. These are typically Filipinos and Indonesians who live and work with Singaporean households and carry out daily family tasks. On Sunday afternoons, there are at least a dozen groups, with their picnic mats, just catching up with one another. I was told by a Filipino domestic worker that many of them come here to practice dance routines for events, while the Indonesian domestic workers would come to prepare for beauty pageants (Interviewee 19). The two women I spoke with told me that the space was free of distractions, thus allowing them to focus on their activities, reiterating once again the public-private nature of the Underpass. While it gets crowded and noisy on Sundays when various groups are engaged in their different activities, for the domestic workers who spend most of their week in the home of their employer, the lively and jovial atmosphere is very much appreciated (Interviewee 20).

As an incidental space, the Underpass acts as an inclusive neutral ground where users engage in activities that are often “unplanned, unscheduled, unorganized and unstructured (Oldenburg, 1989, p. 33)” and from there engage with fellow users of the space. One competitive rollerblader who trains at the Underpass twice a week noted that many of the pioneers in her sports had come here to practice, and this was how she got to know others who shared her passion (Interviewee 18). Another dancer told me that he met his group of friends in informal dancing spots like the Underpass, and they became his mentors halfway through his dance journey. They have been dancing together since 2014, and have expanded their group through the companionship that they have found at the Underpass (Interviewee 9). These stories reinforce the way this space forges communities of interest that cut across other axes of difference.

While these activities and interactions can technically take place in other public spaces in Singapore, they rarely do. The constant regulation of public space reduces its publicness, removing those who do not contribute to the larger construct of order that is at times overemphasised in modern planning principles. By merely being present and active in the space, users contribute to the vibrant multi-publicness of the Underpass.

The Frictions and Seams of Public Interactions

While peace and order is often deemed as the highest good, in a space that attracts such a diverse public like the Underpass, this singular sense of order is harder to come by. In the words of architect H. Koon Wee (2014, p. 190), public spaces should “function as receptors designed to absorb and modulate the full range of expressions of the societies they serve, from celebratory events to difficult forms of questioning.” This ties back to Iris Marion

Young's definition of public space - as a space of contestation and negotiation. A space that is truly inclusive of various actors and their activities cannot avoid occasional conflicts.

At the Underpass, there is an unspoken and assumed hierarchy of use. The dancers associate the space with the Esplanade Theatres, a nationally renowned art institution, and believe that this is the space that the Esplanade Theatres is marking out for them. They thus feel that they have the right of usage over fellow skateboarders and cyclists. This belief is reinforced by signs that prohibit skateboarding. As skateboarding is a fast-moving sport, skateboarders at times run into spatial conflicts with other groups of users. One dancer shared with me about an incident when his group of friends got into an argument with a group of skateboarders who were recklessly doing stunts in the dancers' space (Interviewee 9). This led to a disagreement that quickly became heated, thus requiring a process of difficult negotiation.

Similarly, there is occasional disgruntlement among some dancers and skaters with respect to domestic workers who spend time in the Underpass. Younger users who engage in creative and artistic activities often find it hard to comprehend the choice of those who elect to use the Underpass to lay out their sedentary picnics. They find such actions not a 'productive use' of the space (Interviewee 15). There is an implicit judgement of what is the 'right' and 'wrong' usage of space, causing moments of confusion, discomfort, doubt and confrontation.

When probed further, it became clear that such contentions were not based on judgment of the different users per se, but rather based on actions and behaviors that did not comply with certain assumed protocols or norms. Many dancers frowned upon skateboarders who removed the lids off of rubbish bins to use as props, but forget to put them back on the bins (Interviewee 5). Others were unhappy with the litter that some picnickers left behind after their weekly gatherings (Interviewee 10). These minor irritations rarely manifested as outright hostility, but instead resulted in productive cooperation and exchange of values and mutual responsibility. While uncomfortable exchanges may occur, there is no explicit action to curtail other people's usage of the Underpass, neither is judgment of other users a common occurrence. In the same anecdote above of the conflict between the dancers and the skateboarders, the dancer reflected that while the official law was on their side because skateboarders were technically not allowed to skate at the Underpass, the last thing he would have done is to resort to contacting the police as a means of resolving the issue (Interviewee 9). There is less concern with the rule of law, but more with the common values and code of conduct, which can be mediated through constructive exchanges.

According to Lefebvre (2003, p. 180), the dominance of the state over public space and social interaction creates a false understanding and representation of urban society that does not reflect its complexity and diversity. Jane Jacobs (1992 [1961], p. 143) echoes this sentiment by accusing modern orthodox planning of suppressing the organic dynamics and exchanges amongst members of the public. The adaptive and negotiated social order that exists at the Underpass signifies a space that is truly representative of the heterogeneity of its users, where the public is free to express its diverse nature (Cupers and Miessen, 2002, p. 126). Mutual understanding and shared responsibility are values actively upheld by the users of the Underpass, rather than by any signs of prohibition and penalty, or by an authority of the state. While this mutual understanding may come at the cost of occasional confrontations and uncomfortable exchanges, users at the Underpass organically create an internal code of conduct that upholds unique social norms and values.

A Space of Co-creation and Shared Values

Amidst the many activities at the Underpass is a social order that is arguably essential to the negotiation of conflicts and the peaceful coexistence of its users. The lack of surveillance by an external authority, as well as the limited imposition of the rule of law, requires an internal order that the users impose onto one another so as to accommodate the various actors and activities at play. When asked about the conflicts that occur at the Underpass, the majority of users affirmed the mainly peaceful interactions in the space. A skateboarder shared:

This space gets packed with skateboarders on Wednesday nights and on the weekends but there is always space. Skateboarders don't fight over space, we are a very peaceful group. We respect other people's space. We give and take. (Interviewee 17)

Another dancer shared:

Sometimes when we need to film [our dancing], some groups stop their music for us. And when they need to film, we stop our music for them. It's not like we spoke to them or they approached us, but it's because we respect them. (Interviewee 5)

There is tactful yet firm knowledge of how to share space. It is an intentional process, as there is no formal designation of space. The idea of "respect" was often mentioned by interviewees, along with the recognition that users were all facing the same "plight." Everyone needs some space, so everyone gives some space. Everyone needs to film their progress at some point, so users help one another out. In giving respect, users expect respect in return, forging an accountable relationship of "give and take." This value of respect is not directly communicated between users, but it shapes the interactions at the Underpass to a

great extent, as portrayed in these interviews. Users themselves would reinforce the social and spatial order of the space when this mutual understanding is compromised; they become a sort of authority, actively making sure that the norms are upheld and respected.

One dimension of how difference is managed at the Underpass is through a temporal sorting. Middle class office workers dancing at lunch time do not use the space at the same time as the homeless men bedding down for the night, or with the school-aged skateboarders. Early evenings the Underpass is dominated by skateboarders and rollerbladers, and later at night the break dancers arrive. Sunday is when space is shared with domestic workers. Such temporal trends in usage are expected and anticipated. While anyone can come and use the space, there is a general respect for the norms that have naturally emerged from the use of the space over the years.

At the Underpass, the only constant “authority” is the cleaner, whose company is contracted by the LTA. The cleaner comes twice a day to clean the Underpass. The cleaner contributes to the life of the space itself, not only by “holding the space” together through his work of maintenance, but also through his daily participation in the events of the space (Jacobs et al, 2012, p. 3). The cleaner colludes in the making of the Underpass as a public space that accommodates alternative users and uses. He does not report the skateboarders that he sees using the lids of trash bins as obstacles. When the longboard skaters spread chalk over the underpass floor, the cleaner does not report or scold them. Instead, he hands them a mop and a bucket, and asks them to clean up after themselves in an attempt to teach them to be “responsible” and to “respect other people (Interviewee 7).”

Where there is no existing structure and order, there can be more room for invention, creation and collaboration, thus resulting in users of the space being motivated and empowered to “reinvent culture from scratch (Hughes and Sadler, 2000, p. 149).” This reinvention of culture shows itself in the interactions between the cleaner and his friends, amongst the dancers in the space, thus instrumenting a new social imagination that differs from the social programming of public space imposed by those in power (Holston, 2012, p. 424). At the Underpass, property owners do not chase skateboarders out; security guards do not remove unauthorized objects stored by the public. The nature of the relationships that exist at the Underpass is not one between an authority and the public, nor one between a law-abider and a law-breaker. It is an instructive and constructive relationship between co-users of the same space. All of this brings back the centrality of the public into public space.

Conclusion

Despite being a space of transit, the Underpass has been transformed into a space that houses a truly vibrant public life made up of a diverse public. The Underpass was never designed with elements of an ideal public space in mind, and yet it is able to realize and fulfil the promise of a public space that is inclusive, representative and fluid in its meanings and norms. It is a space that succeeds in evoking a sense of ownership, empowerment and freedom, thus lending it the appearance of an ideal public space.

In the words of sociologist Henri Lefebvre, the city should be a space where conflicts are openly expressed and where inhabitants gain full participation in different processes and outcomes (Purcell, 2008, p. 94; Lefebvre, 2003, p. 163). At the Underpass, we see the mixing and mingling of different groups who use the space, all of whom engage in a process of negotiating the space amongst one another. We see official regulations being transgressed, as alternative norms of respect and mutual understanding arise. Such spaces as the Underpass allow users to realize rights to the city that are often lost in the bureaucratic production and control of space. If such a space were to be seriously considered and successfully incorporated into the planning of the city, Singapore would have the potential to become a more vibrant and adaptive city, especially in the fast-changing global scene.

In recent months, new developments have occurred in the space that pose an interesting provocation to this study. When this research was first conducted, there were no CCTV cameras present at the Underpass; now, cameras have been installed at the four exits leading out of the space. Advertising boards that were once dilapidated are now renovated and used by the LTA for the announcement of their future development plans. One hypothesis of this paper was that the lack of tight surveillance at the Underpass has allowed for a diverse range of users and activities to flourish, consequently leading to a more representative and dynamic public sphere. This change in policy and control of the space creates a rare opportunity for a before-and-after study, where it is possible to test for the impact of surveillance and control on the publicness and the use of space. Such work, of which the present study contains many insights of the “before” condition, has the potential to have far-reaching consequence on the future of public space in Singapore.

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Inclusive Open Spaces for Visually Impaired Persons in Densely Populated Cities

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Abstract

The quality of open spaces is particularly important to the public in densely populated cities, because such spaces provide recreation and leisure zones within high-density living environments. Researchers, designers and local authorities have made tremendous efforts to improve the quality of open spaces and ensure that they are accessible to city users. Policy strategies for inclusive and barrier-free environments have been promulgated. However, the quality of open spaces for visually impaired persons (VIPs) is still neither satisfactory nor in line with economic development. Adopting qualitative research methods such as interviews and field observations, this paper examines the current status of open spaces for VIPs through case studies in Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei. It also identifies barriers to inclusive open spaces using the concepts of inclusiveness and openness. The findings show that inclusive open spaces should be addressed and improved in accordance with a 'policy-implementation-management' model. Public participation in the stages of planning, decision making and evaluation is critical to optimise inclusive open spaces in densely populated cities.

Keywords: Inclusive design, open space, public design, quality of life, visually impaired

Introduction

In densely populated cities, open spaces provide much-needed recreation and leisure zones within high-density living environments. However, people with sensory disabilities are one of the most neglected groups of disabled people in the design of open spaces, despite their large population worldwide, according to statistics provided by the World Health Organization (2010). Today, many so-called ‘inclusive’ designs still focus on elderly people and those with mobility disabilities, neglecting people with sensory disabilities. Although policy strategies for inclusive and barrier-free environments have been widely discussed, current public environments and facilities are still unable to address the needs of many with sensory disabilities. Of all people with sensory disabilities, visually impaired persons (VIPs) face the greatest challenge in open spaces: the inability to perceive their surroundings precisely. Unfortunately, however, their physical activities in the public environment have often been excluded from large-scale population studies (Marmeleira et al., 2014). The quality of the public environment in many urban cities is still not satisfactory for VIPs. Most open spaces are not inclusive, and most open spaces designated as inclusive (or, as commonly termed by architects and environmental designers, ‘barrier-free’) do not cater to the needs of VIPs (Phoenix, Griffin, & Smith, 2015). As a result, VIPs tend to stay at home instead of going out to get fresh air. In other words, they are unable to enjoy spending leisure time in open public spaces. There is a pressing need to address this issue by establishing high-quality inclusive open spaces for VIPs.

Inclusiveness and openness are two key concepts in research on inclusive open spaces. Preiser and Smith (2011) and Keates (2015) stated that inclusive design should be accessible to as many users as possible. The British Standards Institution (2005) has provided the most comprehensive definitions of inclusiveness, defining inclusive design as ‘the design of mainstream products and/or services that are accessible to, and usable by, people with the widest range of abilities within the widest range of situations without the need for special adaptation or design’ (p. 4). The Center for Universal Design (1997) has also developed seven principles of universal design to guide designers to develop designs for all. They are (1) equitable use, (2) flexibility in use, (3) simple and intuitive use, (4) perceptible information, (5) tolerance for error, (6) low physical effort and (7) size and space for approach and use. To be considered genuinely inclusive, an open space should possess the features mentioned in these principles. The second concept, openness, was described by Lynch (1990) as comprising

seven important values: choice, mastery, stimulus, contrast, social experiment, orientation and flexibility. He defined an open space as ‘an outdoor area in the metropolitan region which is open to the freely chosen and spontaneous activity, movement, or visual exploration of a significant number of city people’ (p. 396). The level of openness is closely related to the level of inclusiveness, as it also indicates how inclusive the openness of an open space is. Both the definitions and the attributes of inclusiveness and openness indicate characteristics of high-quality inclusive open space. Through case studies in Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei, this paper identifies barriers to the creation of inclusive open space using the two concepts of inclusiveness and openness. A model capable of optimising the current situation is proposed.

Method

The research team at the Public Design Lab has conducted a number of studies of the needs of the visually impaired, with particular attention to VIPs’ access to public space and enjoyment of leisure activities. A comparative research project pertinent to the inclusiveness of public open spaces has been ongoing since 2017. Three Asian cities, Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei, were chosen for comparison because their governments have issued policies related to inclusive/barrier-free environments over the last three decades. Socially, culturally and economically, the cities show some similarities and some differences.

Field observations were conducted in 27 community parks in the three cities. All of the community parks are located next to residential areas, and are thus accessible to VIPs in their daily lives. Conducting the field observations in large district parks would have been impractical, as previous research has shown that VIPs tend not to visit such parks. Table 1 below shows the number of community parks visited and the districts in which the parks are located in each city.

Table 1. Details of field observations in the three cities

City	No. of community parks visited	Districts in which the parks are located
Beijing	9	Xicheng, Dongcheng and Chaoyang
Hong Kong	9	Kwun Tong, Sham Shui Po and Kowloon City
Taipei	9	Da’an and Zhongzheng

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 VIPs aged between 18 and 75. They were recruited from nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and local communities. They were invited to visit community parks next to their homes, accompanied by the researchers. Photographs and notes were taken to record their behaviour in the parks. After the participants had left the parks, unstructured interviews lasting about 30 minutes each were conducted.

Findings and discussion

The findings show that most of the selected community parks were not inclusive for the visually impaired. Figures 1, 2 and 3 show some features of the selected community parks in Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei respectively.



Figure 1 Community parks and their surroundings in Beijing

Most of the community parks in Beijing visited in this study were small seating areas next to residential buildings, although several larger parks were also visited. Beijing is a densely

populated city with heavy traffic, whose citizens tend to use bicycles for their daily commute. The field observations revealed a large number of bicycles, most of which were shared bicycles, as shown in Figure 1, scattered randomly in and around the community parks. These bicycles and other obstacles made the access routes and environments of the community parks dangerous. The VIPs explained in interview that walking outdoors was not a pleasurable experience for them; they seldom went outside or visited open spaces alone.

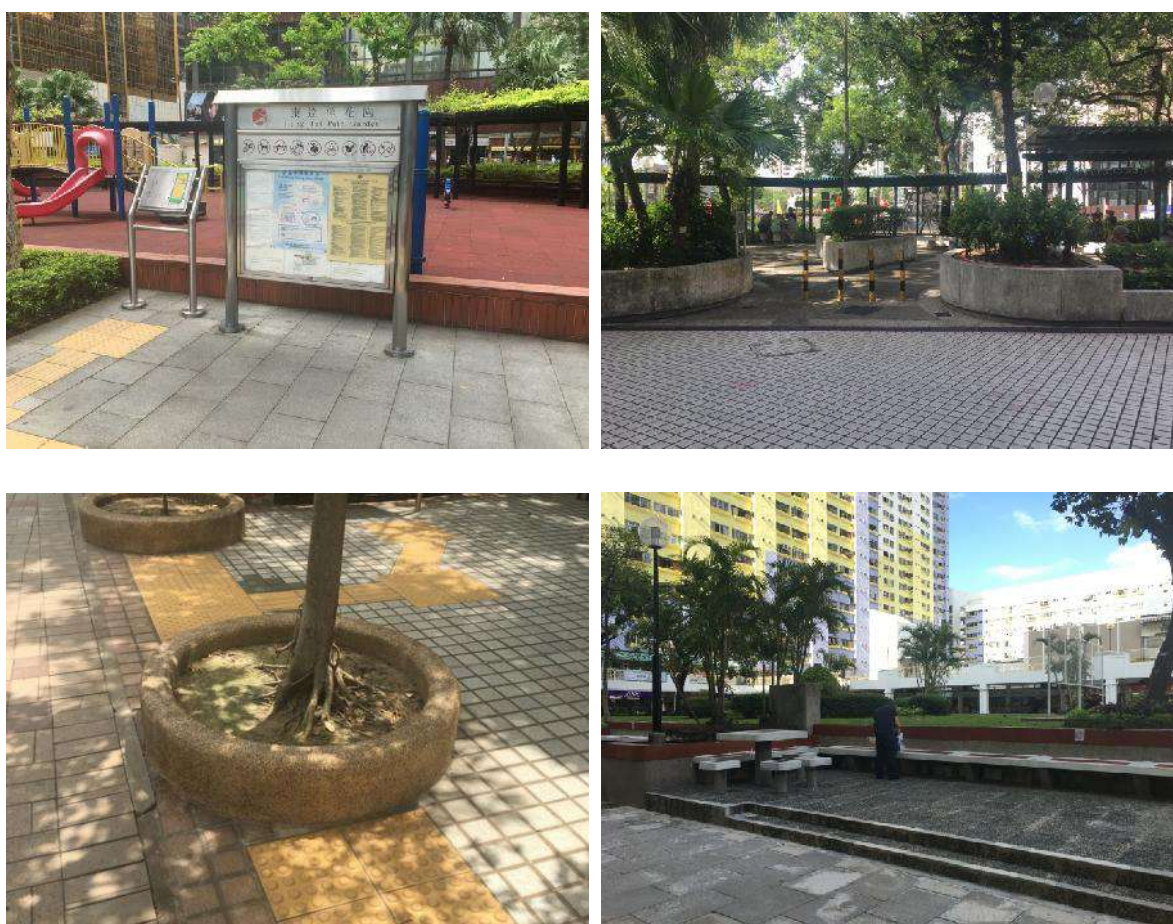


Figure 2 Community parks and their surroundings in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong community parks visited in this study had better physical environments than those in Beijing. Barrier-free facilities were found in the parks. Braille maps were provided to enable VIPs to develop mental maps of the parks. Tactile guide paths had also been built to guide VIPs in walking through the parks, using links or approaching the facilities. However, some tactile guide paths were broken (as shown in Figure 2), which hindered their use by VIPs. In addition, the Hong Kong community parks contained numerous unexpected obstacles such as bollards and staircases with low colour contrast, making it difficult for VIPs to move around safely. Despite these difficulties and hazards, however, the visually impaired participants reported in interview that they felt comfortable about visiting open spaces

because NGO staff had helped them to get used to the environments near their homes. Some of the visually impaired stated that they were confident enough to go out alone.



Figure 3 Community parks and their surroundings in Taipei

The community parks observed in Taipei had well-developed barrier-free facilities and environments to help the disabled to live independent lives. However, VIPs benefited little from these barrier-free facilities, because most had been designed primarily for people in wheelchairs and the elderly. Neither Braille information nor tactile guide paths were found in the community parks, although ramps and wide entrances were provided. Surprisingly, however, the visually impaired interviewees reported that they often visited open spaces because their neighbours were very friendly and willing to help them, and NGOs offered a lot of training and assistance for the visually impaired. They depended on other people's assistance instead of the facilities provided by the government. Although they were less confident than the VIPs in Hong Kong about going out independently, they were used to visiting open spaces.

The findings of the field observations and interviews were used to evaluate the inclusiveness and openness of the selected community parks in Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei. Tables 2 and 3 show the levels of inclusiveness and openness of the selected community parks in the three cities.

Table 2. Inclusiveness for the visually impaired of the selected community parks in the three cities

Universal principles	Beijing parks	Hong Kong parks	Taipei parks
Equitable use	*	**	*
Flexibility in use	*	*	*
Simple and intuitive use	*	*	*
Perceptible information	*	**	*
Tolerance for error	*	***	***
Low physical effort	*	***	***
Size and space for approach and use	**	***	***

Note: * = rarely; ** = sometimes; *** = most of the time

Table 3. Openness to the visually impaired of the selected community parks in the three cities

Openness value	Beijing parks	Hong Kong parks	Taipei parks
Choice	*	*	*
Mastery	*	*	*
Stimulus	*	*	*
Contrast	*	*	*
Social experiment	*	*	*
Orientation	*	*	*
Flexibility	*	*	*

Note: * = rarely; ** = sometimes; *** = most of the time

The findings show that the selected community parks in the three cities were only to a certain extent inclusive and open. The parks in Hong Kong were slightly more inclusive and open than those in the other two cities; however, their design was still inadequate to allow VIPs to live *independent* lives with dignity by enjoying open spaces in their communities. The parks in all three cities were unable to provide a sense of openness to VIPs, primarily because they were not inclusive enough. The observations also revealed that in the densely populated cities

of Hong Kong, Beijing and Taipei, the community parks failed to fulfil other criteria for openness, such as orientation. As no other visually impaired people were using the parks at the time of the study, it was difficult to perform social experiments.

In addition to the parks' lack of inclusiveness and openness, feedback channels were rarely available to allow the VIPs to express their opinions on the provision of open space, as the interviewees explained. Even when such channels were provided, the local governments either responded very slowly or did not take the VIPs' opinions seriously. Damaged facilities took a long time to repair, and the frequent changes to the landscape resulting from construction work made it difficult for the VIPs to adapt to their environment.

To systematically address the barriers to the provision of inclusive open space, a 'policy-implementation-management' (PIM) model is proposed to optimise the current system in densely populated cities (Siu, 2009; Siu, Lu, & Xu, 2009). Figure 4 shows the PIM model for inclusive public space.

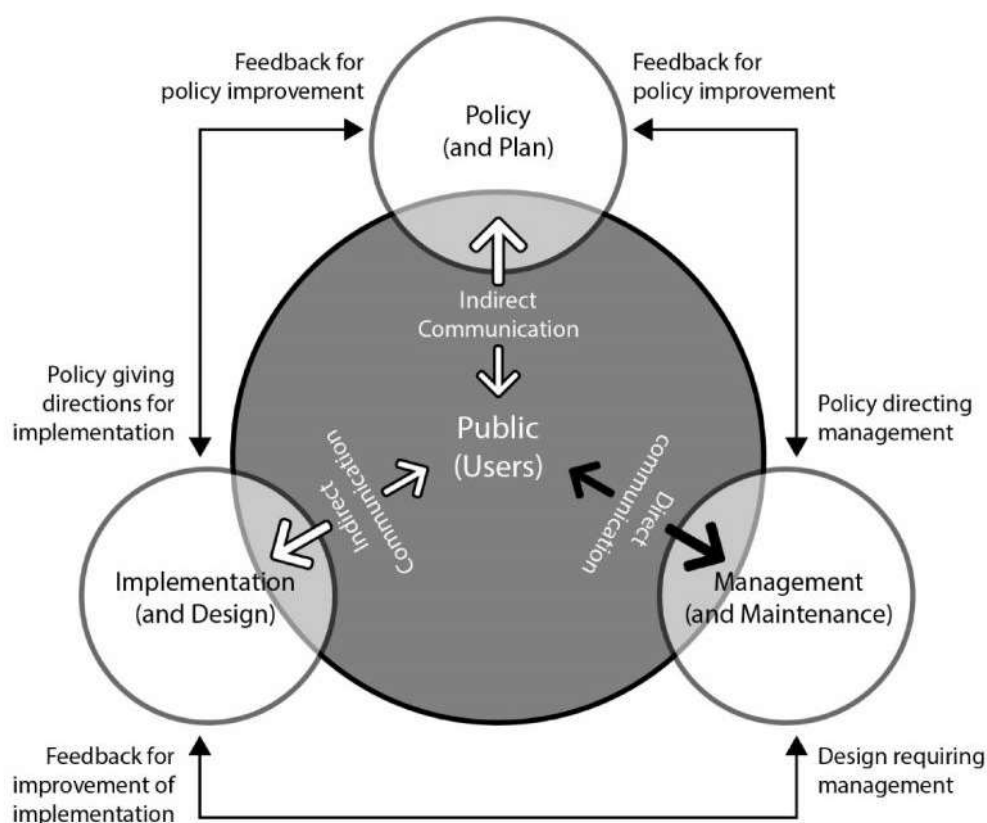


Figure 4 PIM model for inclusive public space

Researchers, designers, policy makers and managers are advised to use the PIM model to improve the quality of inclusive open spaces for the widest spectrum of people in high-density living environments. Designers should adopt a user-centred approach to create facilities and environments that cater to the needs of VIPs. However, the implementation of such designs is not enough to provide high-quality inclusive open spaces; implementation also requires efficient management to maintain dynamic high-quality environments. Both implementation and management should correspond to policies; policy makers should develop adequate guidelines and make appropriate plans to ensure that implementation is carried out to certain standards. Feedback channels must be provided between parties to guarantee effective communication. Public participation (by different groups of users with diverse needs and preferences) at every stage of planning, decision making and evaluation is required to ensure that the other stakeholders mentioned in the model can perform their tasks effectively.

Conclusion

In densely populated cities, open space is essential to allow the public to enjoy recreation and leisure time. Although tremendous efforts have been made to improve the quality of open spaces, many existing designs are still unable to meet the needs of people with sensory disabilities, especially those with visual impairments. Through case studies in Beijing, Hong Kong and Taipei, this paper examines the current status of inclusive open spaces using the concepts of inclusiveness and openness. The findings indicate that the selected community parks are insufficiently inclusive and open for VIPs. In addition, the visually impaired interviewees reported that they lacked feedback channels to express their need for higher-quality inclusive open space to local governments and community councils. A PIM model is thus developed to guide policy makers, designers and management in systematically and effectively planning, designing and managing open space. Public participation in policy making, implementation and management is essential to ensure that spaces designated as inclusive open spaces are genuinely inclusive and open.

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Building Culture: The Pedagogy of Architectural Citizenship

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Abstract

Who makes place and who gets to occupy it? Who is left out and behind in traditional design and development issues? What does it mean when the values of the praxis of architecture differ greatly from those with whom we are supposed to be designing? These larger questions were asked within a graduate studio project centered around the proposition: how to design when the designers are primarily white and when the community-clients (primary Asian and Hispanic immigrants) are not? This exploration of design as a cultural praxis is framed by discussions of: the role of the academy in North America; the role of the architect; definitions of culture; and, community and values-based methods. This paper outlines those discourses, as well as a studio design process undertaken to support design process as cultural practices.

Keywords: pedagogy, design process, culture, values-based design

Introduction

Who makes place and who gets to occupy it? How do spaces construct a particular world view for their occupants; how has the North American discipline of architecture passed on that world view; and, how the profession has embedded that worldview within the built environment? What are the responsibilities of the professorate to address these questions within architectural education? As Shundana Yusaf notes, should we aim “to create a) hireable technocrats, skilled labor and problem solvers, b) critically acclaimed but rarely hireable artists, or c) socially responsible civic actors?”¹ This paper aligns itself with the final assertion by describing a design thinking process predicated on the proposition that design is about people, not architecture or architects. This assertion places design, then, in the realm of the cultural (rather than aesthetics, engineering, etc.) as its primary disciplinary lens. This exploration of design as a cultural praxis is framed by discussions of: the role of the academy in North America; the role of the architect; definitions of culture; and, community and values-based methods. This paper outlines those discourses, as well as a studio design process undertaken to support design process as cultural practices.

¹ Yusaf, S. (Sept. 2018). “Decolonizing Architectural Pedagogy.” Working paper submitted to *Dialectic VII*.

The Role of the (Architecture) Academy

Despite the emphasis on the oft-repeated trinity upon hire, today's professorate is most often evaluated not on teaching or service but primarily through the metric of research—typically defined as a systematic inquiry leading to verifiable (and highly vetted) conclusions. This idea of academia is ubiquitous in North American universities within virtually all disciplines, with architecture and the design fields often struggling to fit within this paradigm (instead of rejecting it as *the* model of pedagogical practices). The academy has forgotten that this has not always been the case, nor is it the only current or future available model.

Ernest Boyer describes the current state of academia as the third phase in a varied trajectory.² Based on a British paradigm, this first stage in the mission of the academic focused primarily on building character, with education understood less under the rubric of science and more under morality. The second phase saw the establishment of the land grant institutions.³ Here the educational emphasis shifted to service, applied knowledge, and promoting the “idea of education as a democratic function to serve the common good” not only the serving of society but also the reshaping of it.⁴ Today's professoriate has inherited the final phase from the influence of German universities and their pursuit of academic scientification.⁵ Here, the primary mission of the academy is research, with research being circumscribed within a scientific paradigm which values gathering observable, empirical, measurable evidence, subject to principles of quantification and objective rationality with the intent of reducing biased interpretation.

The circumscription of the role of the academic continues to embrace these precepts of the “Enlightenment Project” to the detriment of both individual scholars and pedagogy as whole.⁶ In the university system of the 20th and 21st centuries, it is the cultural memory of the Enlightenment Project that still holds fast in describing what the work of the professor

² Boyer, E. (1990). *Scholarship reconsidered. Priorities of the professorate*. New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

³ The Morrill Act of 1862 led to the development of many institutions that are present today as flagship universities for their states; at the time their focus was on promoting technological innovation in agriculture.

⁴ Boyer, op cit.: 5. One can also point to the launching of the first city college in the United States, contemporaneous with the establishment of the land grant institutions, as emphasizing knowledge production based on a service mission.

⁵ The final phase was introduced in the United States at the turn of the 20th century and firmly took hold after World War II.

⁶ The Enlightenment Project is a set of ideas advanced by the discourse of modernity in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries which seeks to promote the values of the Enlightenment—equality, liberty, faith in human knowledge, universal reason, freedom, and democracy—in order to establish a universal culture which is secular, rational, humanitarian, and progressive. The Enlightenment Project follows along the axiom that for any given inquiry there is only one possible right answer. From this, it follows that a controlled and rational picture of the world can be represented. Habermas, J. (1983). *Modernity: An incomplete project*. In H. Foster (Ed), *The anti-aesthetic: Essays on postmodern culture*. Port Townsend, WA. Adorno, T. and Horkheimer, M. (1972). *The dialectics of enlightenment*. New York: Herder & Herder.

and the pedagogy of the discipline should be.⁷ Academic practices, nevertheless, are culturally conditioned.⁸ The argument is not to abandon scientific methods, but to make them one of many ways of pursuing knowledge so that pedagogy does not sacrifice connection and interaction at the altar of rationality. The discussions in this paper assert that the production of architectural knowledge should not be confined to a narrow dictionary or scientific definition that delimits the province of knowing to “the facts, information and skills acquired by a person” which by its narrow circumscription necessarily leaves gaping holes in such production and/or what we mean by architectural knowledge (and, consequently, the role of the architect).⁹

Knowledge production depends on the transdisciplinary, on identifying larger patterns, and on hermeneutics as much as it does on facts, hypotheses and reproducible results.¹⁰ This means moving speculative and inventive inquiry from the margins to the center of what is deemed significant work.¹¹ Thus, in a design practice as cultural praxis knowledge production schema, it is not just the product that is of consequence. The process itself, the search, the inquiry, can be as substantial, if not more so, than the rendering of conclusions. In order to reconsider architectural pedagogy, as such, one must first also examine the role of the architect.

The Designer as Cultural Practitioner

The perception of the architect as a genius artist whose buildings manifest mysteriously

⁷ John O’Toole makes a similar argument noting that the academy validates its mandate based on the intellectual constructs of Logos (“the passing on of the laws through the word of the masters”) and Logic (“the process of systematically establishing and validating fixed objective truths about natural laws”).⁷ He argues that the fixation on Logos and Logic pushes certain disciplines and their processes and products outside of the academy, necessitating the plea to be (re)considered as equals to their academic peers. O’Toole, J. (1998). “Logos and logic under siege: Performance and research in the performing, visual and creative arts.” *TEXT* 2(1):56.

⁸ When historian Raymond Williams critiques the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) as a sociocultural invention and reminds us that words are not just defined by their philological and etymological past but also by their cultural history, he makes transparent the notion that research is a construct. The limitation of unquestioningly relying upon a source like the OED is that the user is limited to meaning based only on the origin of words that, while providing range and variation, sacrifices connection and interaction; it does not render the context legible. Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Croom Helm.

⁹ Definition from the Oxford English Dictionary’s entry for knowledge (<http://www.oed.com>). Also see author discussion: Wortham-Galvin, B. et al eds. *Sustainable Solutions: Community-University Partnerships*, Vol. 2 (Greenleaf, 2016).

¹⁰ The word hermeneutics is derived from the Greek word for interpreter and is related to the name of the Greek God Hermes who served as the interpreter of the messages of the Gods. In classical antiquity (see Aristotle’s treatise, *De Interpretatione*), hermeneutics derived out of the study of literature and the expectation that texts be coherent, consistent in grammar and style. In a contemporary setting, hermeneutics is often narrowly defined as the interpretation of texts or artifacts of the arts and architecture.

¹¹ Sociologist Max Weber advocates the use of hermeneutics as a means for understanding the social context of texts (broadly defined) and for understanding the experiences of the author engaged in the text. This type of knowledge becomes as important as the (factual) knowledge found objectively in the text. See Mommsen, W.J. (1992). *The political and social theory of max weber*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

through an opaque creative process has been a fixture in both the mythologies and realities of real figures and fictions of the architect—Ayn Rand’s Howard Roark remains the archetype despite the fact that most current architectural students and/or the public have never read *The Fountainhead*. Charles-Edouard Jennert changed his name to Le Corbusier in configuring himself as the revolutionary artiste-architect of modernism at the start of the 20th century. Frank Lloyd Wright infamously wanted to be the maestro not only of the design of his buildings, but also to control the furniture, place settings, décor, and even fashion of its occupants. The contemporary generation of star architects (whose father figure is Frank Gehry and whose most recent loss is Zaha Hadid) have fashioned themselves as design commodities whose artistic genius has become branded and consumed. The tenacity of this position of the architect and their work are the predominating contemporary cultural understandings (as well as aspiration of hundreds of North American architects—if not global—and architectural students).

Extant design and development processes are reinforced both by historical precedent and contemporary practices in the Global North that perpetuate a naturalized mainstream praxis and teaching pedagogy.¹² During the Renaissance, Michelangelo would assert in a reply to the cardinals regarding the design of St. Peter’s Cathedral, “I neither am nor will be obliged to tell your lordship or any other person what I intend or ought to do for this work; your office is to procure money [...]; the designs for the building you are to leave to my care.”¹³

Approaching 500 years later, a 1976 *Newsweek* interview with architect Peter Eisenman encapsulates sentiments toward practice that abound still—namely, that the professional architect wields the power and expertise to know what is best for the client and/or the public, and it is the architect’s job to convince them of such.¹⁴ The disavowal of client participation in the design process began with the professionalization of architecture in the United States in the late nineteenth century and, despite the incursions of public interest design, is still the prevailing attitude today.¹⁵

¹² Thomas Fisher discusses the foundations of the architectural profession in the Global North and its biases in Fisher, T. (2001). “Revisiting the Discipline of Architecture,” in *Discipline of Architecture*, J. Williams Robinson and A. Piotrowski, eds. University of Minnesota Press: 1-9.

¹³ Vasari, G. (1550, rev. ed. 1963). *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. trans. A.B. Hinds. New York: Dutton’s Everyman’s Library, 304.

¹⁴ Davis, D. and Rourke, M. (Oct. 14, 1976). “Real Dream Houses,” *Newsweek* 88, 14: 69.

¹⁵ The history of professionalization of architecture in the U.S. is well told by Cuff, D. (1991). *Architecture: The Story of Practice*. Cambridge: MIT Press. On page 40, Cuff quotes Mariana Van Renssalaer writing in 1890 about the problem of client participation: “And if what you get is not quite all you want, or exactly what you think it ought to be, why be thankful still; for changes are (nay, the certainty is) that had you interfered, the result would have been more unsatisfactory still.” In addition, at the AIA Conference on Architecture 2018—themed Blueprint for Better Cities—more than one session attended by the author included discussion of concerns about the role of the client and the expansion of their agency and role in the design process as a negative occurrence.

These attitudes begin in the classroom where architectural pedagogies reinforcing the authoritarian role of the professional as form giver remain. Peter McLaren notes the problem of these naturalized structures that wear the mask of neutrality:

Mainstream pedagogy simply produces those forms of subjectivity preferred by the dominant culture, domesticating, pacifying, and deracinating agency, harmonizing a world of disjuncture and incongruity; and smoothing the unruly features of daily existence. At the same time, student subjectivities are rationalized and accommodated to existing regimes of truth.¹⁶

In other words, unless the ideology of the professional designer and their productions are challenged in school, it is difficult to dislodge the practice of design professionals outside the academy.

This prevalent ethos of what it means to be an architect prompted a counter exhortation, in 1968, at the 99th national convening of the American Institute of Architects. Civil rights leader Whitney Young served as the keynote speaker to this gathering of architects. His lamentation to the group is now infamous in academic circles (whose focus is community-based architecture). Young admonished,

[...] you are not a profession that has distinguished itself by your social and civic contributions to the cause of civil rights, and I am sure this has not come to you as a shock. You are most distinguished by your thunderous silence and your complete irrelevance. [...] That architects as a profession wouldn't as a group stand up and say something about this, is disturbing to me. [...] You share the responsibility for the mess we are in [...].¹⁷

If one takes Douglas Kelbaugh's assessment of architectural education on its face, then almost 40 years later the thunderous silence remains, leading most to believe there has been little movement in heeding Whitney Young's call.¹⁸ Kelbaugh critiques the education of the potential architect based on seven fallacies: 1. The architect as individual artist whose sole (and highest) pursuit is personal expression; 2. The assertion of perpetual innovation and originality in all design work; 3. The embracing of extreme positions for the sake of

¹⁶ McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture: Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Age*. London: Routledge: 231.

¹⁷ Young, W. (1968) Keynote speech made to the American Institute of Architects. Portland, Oregon. Unedited transcript made available in the "20 on 20/20 Vision" report, edited by Linda Kiisk and published by the AIA Diversity Committee and Boston Society of Architects, 2003.

¹⁸ Kelbaugh, D. (2004). Seven fallacies in architectural culture. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 58(1): 66-68.

provocation; 4. The focus on the building as singular object, rather than on context or relationships to that which already exists; 5. The selling of architecture (and architects) as a global commodity and/or brand; 6. The emphasis of architecture and architects as being in service only to those with power and/or wealth; and, 7. Architecture as an act of consumption. In many ways Kelbaugh's concerns about architectural education (and praxis) are still true today. Nevertheless, in the past decade there has been a move of, what is now termed, public interest design from the margins to a new re-centering of architectural education and practice.

Acknowledging this stasis, a cultural praxis pedagogy seeks to allow students to critically question the way things are and replace them with the way things might be. It seeks to subvert who makes the built environment and who occupies it as a static giver and receiver relationship with a conflation of multiple peoples supporting a co-production of place. A cultural praxis pedagogy allows for students to transform from sole author of a unique form to mediator of an adaptive built environment wherein reality and forms are understood as *in process*. It also sanctions access for those people left out and behind of traditional design practices to participate in the making of the places they occupy. Thus, the right to place is not just about its occupation, but also its inception.¹⁹

Building Culture

What, then, is meant by design as culture? The distinction between Culture as a noun and culture as a verb is paramount as the former derives its definition from a conception of culture that is bound in formalism and fixed in the inert qualities of the material object. It is often reified as the high arts (painting, sculpture, opera, ballet, literature, architecture, etc.) produced by an individual's creative genius.²⁰ The later anthropological conception of culture is produced by many peoples, representative of everyday activities and a "way of life."²¹ It is a protean and plural version of cultures that this paper ascribes to design activities with an emphasis on an anthropological design praxis.²² A populist notion of culture allows for the processes of dynamic social interactions to take precedence in the design product. Thus, the defining of culture as a verb is a means to rethink design processes (and products). This paper outlines a design methodology wherein the notion of the cultural verb takes precedence and informs the architectural noun in the design process. This performative gesture is necessary because the design process discussed begins with an

¹⁹ Here I am making a play on Henri Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city. Henri Lefebvre, H. (1968, 1996). "The Right to the City" in *Writing on Cities*, E. Kofmann & E. Lebas, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.

²⁰ For a further discussion of culture see author's book chapter: B.D. Wortham-Galvin, B.D. (2012) "Making the Familiar Strange: Understanding Design Practice as Cultural Practice," *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs*, ed. S. Hirt. New York: Routledge: 229-244.

²¹ Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen.

²² Wortham-Galvin, B.D. (Autumn, 2013). "An Anthropology of Urbanism: how people make places (and what designers and planners might learn from it)," *Footprint: Delft School of Design Journal*. 13: 21-40.

anthropological notion of design practice as cultural practices; and, a desire to understand culture as a verb.²³ The directed student projects take the subject of culture as their object in the envisioning of a design for a multi-cultural center.

Culture as a bottom up process wherein the ordinary is made visible (as opposed to a top down imposition of singular creative genius) rests on the disciplinary circumscriptions of anthropological work in the twentieth century via the ethnographic practices and theories of anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski, Clifford Geertz, and Ruth Benedict.²⁴ Malinowski's revolution in cultural conception (followed and deepened by Geertz's thick description and Benedict's patterns of culture) rested on the belief that anthropologists needed to immerse themselves in the daily life of the people they are studying in order to understand culture. This fixation with the quotidian stands in contrast to design praxis as a celebration (or commodification) of aesthetic genius in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Is it possible to counter notions of cultural commodification and aesthetic genius in search of extending architecture culture to those people and places left out or behind of cultural discussions?

Community and Values-Based Design

A critical step in moving from an object-oriented urban design to a cultural practice-based design lies in how the "client" is defined. Design practices based on cultural praxis rejects the homogenizing view of people as community (with its implication of shared values and practices) and replaces it with a plural notion of peoples—implying a variable set of cultures that circumscribe many people and their many conflicting actions. The move from the goal of achieving common community (whether local, regional, or national) to valuing difference entered academic discourse in earnest at the close of the twentieth century.²⁵ Different groups understand place differently and people's experience of spaces are not often revealed or made visible in the complex politics of space that overlap with issues of memory, heritage, and experience. This is not just true of place, but also of design and cultural productions.

When Iris Marion Young proposes that city life should not aspire to community (which excludes those not a part of the predominating homogenous group) but to "difference without exclusion,"²⁶ this aligns with Henri Lefebvre's proposition of the right to the city as

²³ I introduce the notion of design practice as a cultural practice in Wortham-Galvin (2012) op cit.

²⁴ I describe them in more detail in Wortham-Galvin (2012) op cit. See also Ruth Benedict, R. (1934, 1989). *Patterns of Culture*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.; Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.; and Bronislaw Malinowski, B. (1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Routledge.

²⁵ I discuss the issue of difference relative to public space and place making in Wortham-Galvin, B.D. (2015). "Put a Bird On It: Mythologies of Portland(ia)." *Architecture and Culture*, 3(2): 199-218.

²⁶ Young, I.M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Quote from Young, I.M. (1990, 2014). "City Life and Difference," In J.J. Gieseking & W. Mangold, Eds., *The People*,

the right to “enabling the full and complete usage of [...] moments and spaces.”²⁷ Young asserts that urbanity should emphasize a publicness that is “heterogeneous, plural, and playful, a place where people witness and appreciate diverse cultural expressions that they do not share and do not fully understand.”²⁸ Kurt Iveson notes that: “The multi-sphere model of public space replaces the liberal model’s attachment to the ideal of a universal public sphere with an ideal of the public sphere as the structured setting for the interaction of a number of publics.”²⁹ This occupation of difference is precisely what an anthropologically-based design can facilitate, counter to a Neo-liberal design praxis wherein commercialization cloaks culture in a false rhetoric of publicness.

The use of values-based and/or participatory processes also becomes a key element in understanding the nuances between design for community and design for difference. Public interest design, democratic design, and/or tactical urbanism share philosophical foundations that emphasize that the design of our built environment is socially and politically charged and, thus, design thinking should be a tool for furthering social justice issues.³⁰ All three engage in socially-oriented, civic practices that emphasize the role of the public in place making in an increasingly privatized society. All three also emphasize various levels of participatory action in the making of things and places. These movements are now world-wide as they intertwine the cultural and physical in cities in the Global North and South. What these various practices suggest is the need for value-based processes in design. The methodology used by Kounkuey Design Initiative (KDI) in the Kibera Space Project is exemplar of value-based processes being implemented in architecture.³¹ While working in Nairobi’s informal settlements, KDI sought to transform marginal waste areas into “Productive Public Spaces.” For KDI, productive public space:

1. transforms an environmental liability into usable public space;
2. is authored and operated by its end-users collaborating with outside groups;
3. integrated income-generating and socially empowering uses;
4. adds value to a space without alienating the original community;

Place, and Space Reader. New York: Routledge: 247.

²⁷ Lefebvre, H. (1966, 1996). “The Right to the City,” In E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Eds., *Writing on Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell: 179.

²⁸ Young, “City Life and Difference,” op cit.

²⁹ Iveson, K. (1998, 2014). “Putting the Public Back into Public Space,” In J.J. Giesking & W. Mangold Eds., *The People, Place, and Space Reader*. New York: Routledge: 189.

³⁰ Key texts for further reading on these topics include: Wortham-Galvin, B.D. (Autumn 2013). “An Anthropology of Urbanism.” *Footprint: Delft School of Design Journal*. 7: 21-40; Hou, H. ed. (2012). *Insurgent Public Space: guerrilla urbanism and the remaking of contemporary cities*. Oxford: Routledge; Lydon, M. et al, eds. (2012). *Tactical Urbanism: short term action, long term change*, The Street Plans Collective and Next Generation, http://issuu.com/streetplanscollaborative/docs/tactical_urbanism_vol_2_final; and, Meron, G. (2012). “Public Interest Design: An Annotated Bibliography.” Center for Sustainable Development, School of Architecture, University of Texas.

³¹ Odbert, C. and Mulligan, J. (2014). “The Kibera Space Project. Participation, Integration, and Networked Change,” in *Now Urbanism, The Future City Is Here*, J. Hou, et al. eds. London: Routledge: 177-192.

5. meets expressed community priorities and links to larger improvement efforts; and
6. uses strong design concepts to create beautiful places.³²

This process shifts architecture from a focus on the aesthetic object to its significance. Thus, the defining of design as cultural practice herein is deployed as a means to rethink design processes (and products) as actions of agency by the users-cum-makers *in concert with* professionals, rather than as an inert gift from a Maker (or financier) to users. This transition involves the co-production of making place wherein both professionals and residents are valued for their relative expertise related to culture, inhabitation, and creating. Professional practice in this schema involves the facilitation of cultural practices as an equal (and/or foundational) design activity to the manipulation of form and space. It also implies that design practice is plural in authorship. The making of the built environment, then, is not just a neutral, aesthetic manipulation of technique under the rubric of art praxis, but more broadly encompasses the politics and ethics of making.

The Pedagogy of Architectural Citizenship

The pedagogic goals for this studio were not to forward a singular cultural position but to elicit an awareness of the competing contexts involved of making the built environment. Thus, the design process was understood via simultaneity in this endeavor with an emphasis on the competing political, economic, emotional, ecological, cultural, and social values both between the cultural groups that would occupy the public design and within the metropolis at large. The design methods asked students to consider the designer's capacity to move through varying values-based contexts in the conceptualizing of a design process and product.³³ If place represents the "unwitting autobiography" of peoples, while simultaneously situating issues of present and future contestations, how can designers help facilitate the telling of the story that does not leave out or behind people within a given culture?³⁴

Thus, on the first day the following questions were asked: Who makes place and who gets to occupy it? Who is left out and behind in traditional design and development issues? What happens when a primarily white U.S. city and a primarily white North American discipline tackle design-based inequities in the making of a built environment upheld as a model for non-white residents? How do spaces construct a particular world view for their occupants; how has the North American discipline of architecture passed on that world view; and, how the profession has embedded that worldview within the built environment? What

³² Odbert and Mulligan, op cit.: 179.

³³ Matless, D. (2003). "Introduction: landscape," In *Handbook of Cultural Geography* by K. Anderson, ed. London: Sage: 227-232.

³⁴ Blomley, N. (2004). *Unsettling the city: urban land and the politics of property*. New York: Routledge.

does it mean when the values of the praxis of architecture different greatly from those whom we are supposed to be designing with?

To address these questions via a cultural praxis design thinking model, students were asked to conceptualize a multi-cultural center for the diverse neighborhoods of Portland, Oregon wherein culture was defined: as a set of practices not objects; and, as plural and therefore supporting a place of difference. To implement this cultural of design, students:

- First, engaged in architectural precedent research (both vernacular and contemporary) while simultaneously interviewing and interacting with various cultural groups interested in supporting and occupying a multi-cultural center.³⁵
- Second, based on the initial research, engagements, and its critique, students created taskscapes to visualize what they had learned about culture as a verb.
- Third, students developed goals and action-based programming based on their resident interactions and architectural research in order to refine notions of what a multi-cultural center could mean.
- Finally, students engaged in site analysis and formal design in order to take their cultural and architectural verbs into the world of nouns.

This process framework in the first three phases emphasized student attention to the practices of culture and its architectural potential. For example, while precedent research is not an uncommon initial task, students were asked to examine the cultural performance of a minimum of six vernacular architectures representative of the heritage or home countries of the ethnic and/or immigrant residents populating Portland and supportive of the development of a multi-cultural center. In other words, the people and their actions were a critical part of the research analysis, not just the tectonic or climatic performative nature of the vernacular architectures (Figure 1). In addition to the vernacular studies, students were also asked to research at least six contemporary cultural centers globally, not only for their formal architectural orders, but also for how they defined and deployed a notion of culture. Most students began to note the objectification of culture in the architectural development of contemporary cultural centers as part of their analysis and/or the design of the architectural object as independent of for whom or for what happened within. They were encouraged to take those critiques into the next steps.

Inspired by anthropologist Tim Ingold's conception of the cultural landscape as action

³⁵ The resident stakeholders for the project included members of the East Portland Action Plan, Multi-Cultural Subcommittee as well as: IRCO—Immigrant & Refugee Community Organization, Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon, Lao Cultural Center, Latino Network, Slavic Community Center, St. Mary's Romanian Orthodox Church, ASIUS—Association Slavic Immigrants, and Iraqi Society of Oregon. Other groups that the studio reached out to as "unofficial" stakeholders included the Rosewood Initiative, Asian Family Center (APANO), Oregon Nikkei Legacy Center, and Center for Intercultural Organizing.

oriented—a.k.a. “the taskscape”³⁶—, students were then asked to qualitatively describe how they might achieve a culturing of urban architecture by constructing visual taskscapes. Since students were not given predetermined architectural programs for their multi-cultural centers, this was an opportunity for them to explore how human activity might inform an urban design project, rather than the former determining the latter. Students, thus, had to two-dimensionally represent the cultural significance of a new public architecture first before making any other discreet architectural decision regarding tectonics, program, and spatial order (which would be determined later). With the only requirement being that the taskscape be represented perspectively and via collage, students explored both hand and computer techniques as forms were (more or less) made subservient to cultural actions.

While there were fourteen students, the taskscapes show potential environments that engaged activities around four common themes: food, education, the arts, and recreation (Figures 2-4). Some merge interior and exterior cultural activities without any suggested architectural frame. Others show architectural or physical contexts without any clear sense of a discreet building as object; and, yet, still convey a strong sense of place. When a clearly defined image of a building did appear, it was made subservient to human action either by compositional placement, rendering, and/or abstraction. A sense of temporal simultaneity prevailed as students sought to show a plurality of practices rather than depict a specific, discreet scene. The culturing of the taskscape was the first moment in the design process of trying to synthesize the cultural verb with elusive architectural nouns. But the success of them lay in establishing a capacious making of place first, rather than an architectural object meant to drive and circumscribe a place made.

The taskscapes clearly place cultural action in a hierarchically significant position for the architectural decisions that came next. Following the construction of taskscapes, students were asked to:

1. summarize their interviews and interactions with the various cultural groups,
2. visualize what goals specific groups might have in establishing a multi-cultural center,
3. visualize their own goals in designing a multi-cultural center; and,
4. visualize an architectural program based on the taskscapes and their interactions with residents wherein the program was conceived of as verbs rather than nouns.

The taskscapes, goals and programs were critiqued in conversation with visiting guest critic anthropologist Tim Ingold. This decision was purposeful in order to emphasize the foundational role of cultural practices in the design process. The goals co-produced by students and potential center residents clearly place an emphasis on cultural practices—

³⁶ Ingold, T. (1993). “The temporality of the landscape.” *World Archaeology* 25(2): 152-174.

historic and contemporary, and how they might be negotiated in the cultural terrain of Portland. Goals either emphasize social, economic and environmental justice as a driver for architectural significance (Figure 5) or focus more discreetly on the various cultural groups, their practices, and how to celebrate those differences through shared rituals (like story-telling, food, or making practices).

An attempt to make past heritage practices relevant to the next generation prevails within goals; practical issues also are emphasized in helping make their current situations more livable. Rather than being object oriented or spatially circumscribed, potential architectural programs embrace human action as a starting point for architectural definition (Figure 6). This led to a spate of more inventive programming opportunities as students realized the needs of the potential center residents within their programs to include: sustaining cultural practices from the temporally and geographically remote; reinforcing generational connections; receiving assistance in negotiating the bureaucracies and opportunities of their new home country; and, addressing rather than hiding current and potential tensions between these cultural groups.

Following the critique with Ingold, students asserted they were envisioning a “culturing” center rather than a cultural center. In the site analyses and architecturally formal decisions that followed, students clearly attempted to keep cultural action at the forefront of architectural creation. Students were asked to pursue three schemes for presentation to cultural group leaders and local architects in what would traditionally have been their “final” review (Figures 7-9). Keeping three schemes viable to this moment was deliberate as a cyclical and dynamic process was emphasized over authorial ownership of the designed architectural object. Following that “final” critique, students designed boards for exhibition after the end of the term at Mercy Corps. Billed as a workshop, the design exhibition was open to the public and instigated further dialogue on the tensions and opportunities of a culturing center rather than a cultural center (Figure 10). After the workshop students and all feedback and critique from professionals and potential users, students produced a final book of their work to meet the final studio requirements.

Conclusion

If the 21st century aim is to educate future architects as global citizens rather than as instruments of the marketplace, how to do we do so when the idea of global citizenship is complicated by anti-democratic or conversely neo-Liberal places that predominate the global built environment? How do we challenge a globally predominant Euro-North American frameworks of both architectural pedagogy and praxis? In part, the pedagogical goals of this studio project start to address those questions:

- Challenging the notion of expertise and the authority of the architect as author
- Finding plural ways to engage communities in the discussion of their needs and desires in order to achieve co-production.
- Using design-thinking to find opportunities in disinvested communities and recognizing and supporting what is already successful socially-culturally.
- Rethinking static notions of cultural and community centers by supporting new hybrids that respond specifically to the constituents.
- Using architectural design studio as a way to construct the start of a conversation—versus as the offering of a finite solution.
- Emphasizing research based-design and the importance of visualizing socio-cultural research and conditions
- Challenging student assumptions and perceptions and those of various cultures involved.

Difference is critical to an essential rethinking of how the everyday can transform design process because it means that the makers and users of cultural practices have as much to offer, if not more, than just an expert curation of the architecture itself. The line between the trained and untrained cultural maker is no longer a clear linear demarcation but a fuzzy mass or series of Venn diagrams, as the nature of expertise has changed in the co-production of knowledge. Design practice as cultural praxis allows for the potential for: plural conceptions of place, making and culture that support a large range of values; capaciously considers values and priorities as a co-production rather than a priori which allows for the inclusion of more stakeholders; allows social justice issues to drive economic gains for the architectural institution rather than the later delimiting the former and thus generating comprehensive knowledge about a site's value beyond the financial; values processes; and, links to local priorities and neighborhoods' concerns.

A culturaling of architectural pedagogy expands an understanding of place not as merely scenographic, but as a “complex moment in a system of social reproduction” wherein variability and dynamism are foundational characteristics of ‘the social embodiment of the relations and struggles that went into building’ that place.³⁷ These ideas intersect with those of Edward Casey for whom the cultural landscape is a messy set of sociocultural intersections occurring at multiple scales and with Richard Schein's descriptions of competing socio-cultural narratives and ideologies.³⁸ Because the studio project lay at the intersection of

³⁷ Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: social justice and the fight for public space*. The Guildford Press: 240.

³⁸ Schein, R.H. (1997). “The place of landscape: A conceptual framework for interpreting an American scene.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 87(4): 676; Casey, E. (2001). “Between geography and philosophy: what does it mean to be in the place-world?” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 91(4): 683-693.

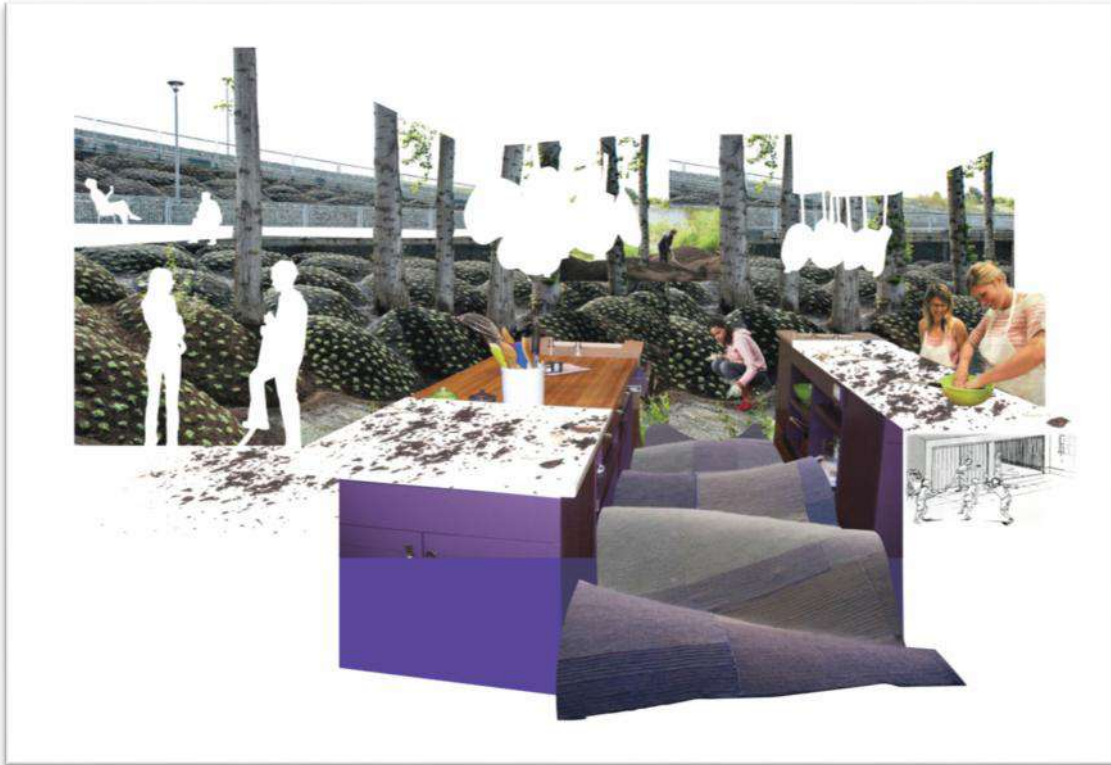


Figure 2. Taskscape study for a multi-cultural center by Dylan Morgan.



Figures 3- 4. Taskscape study for a multi-cultural center by (top) Josiah Henley and (bottom) Chris Klein.

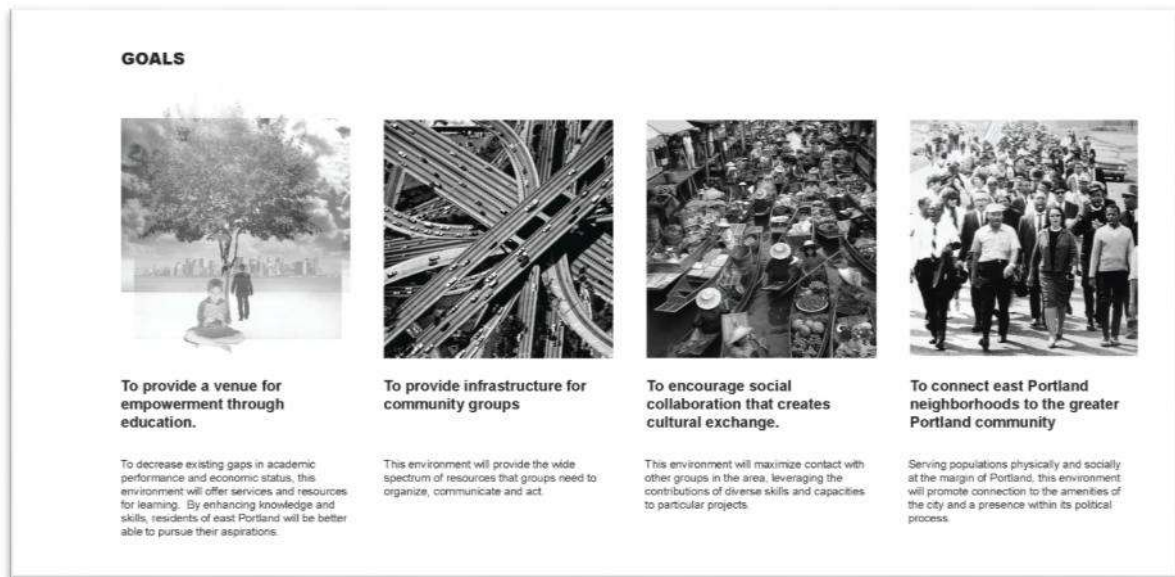


Figure 5. Design goals for a multi-cultural center by Andrew Pulliam.

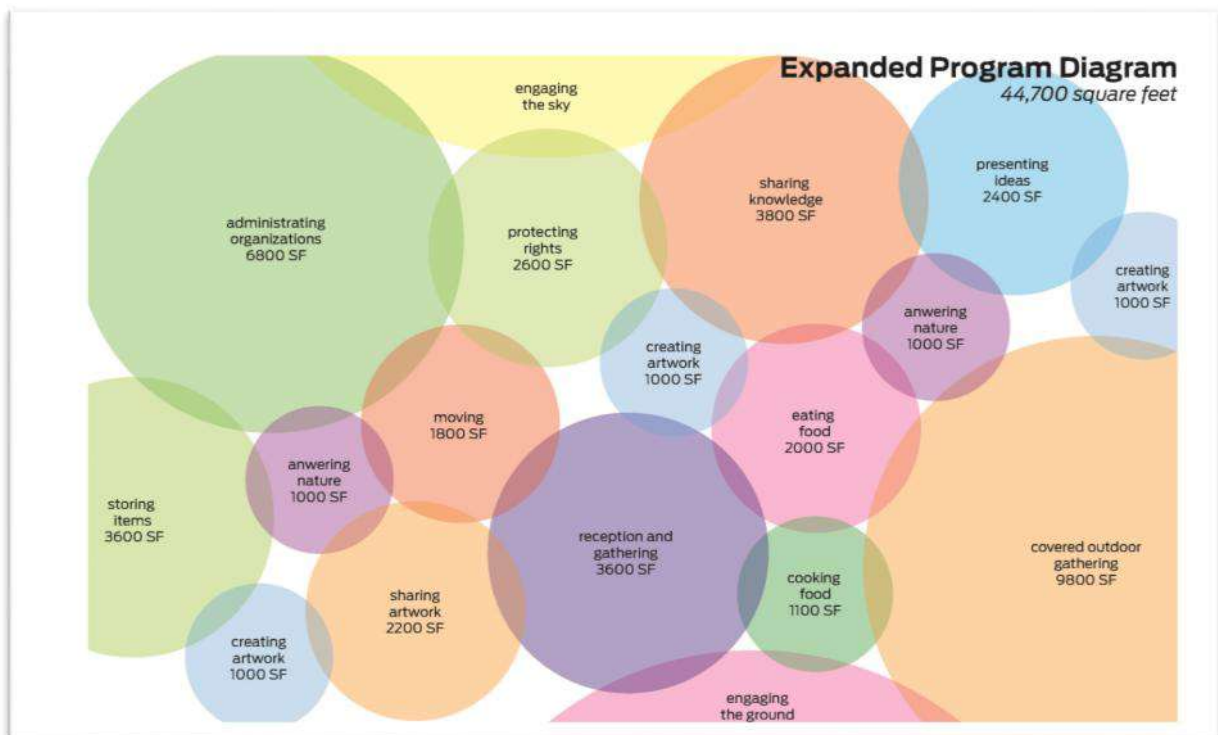


Figure 6. Multi-cultural center program (defined by actions) by Ben Deines.

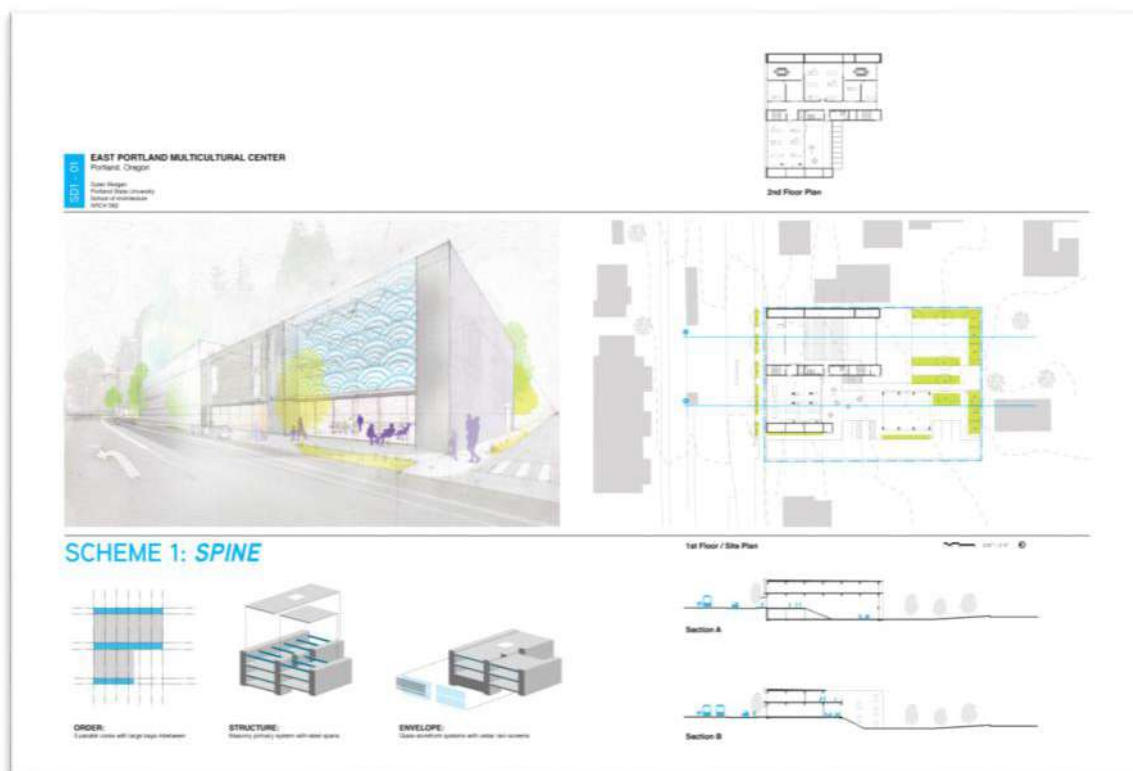
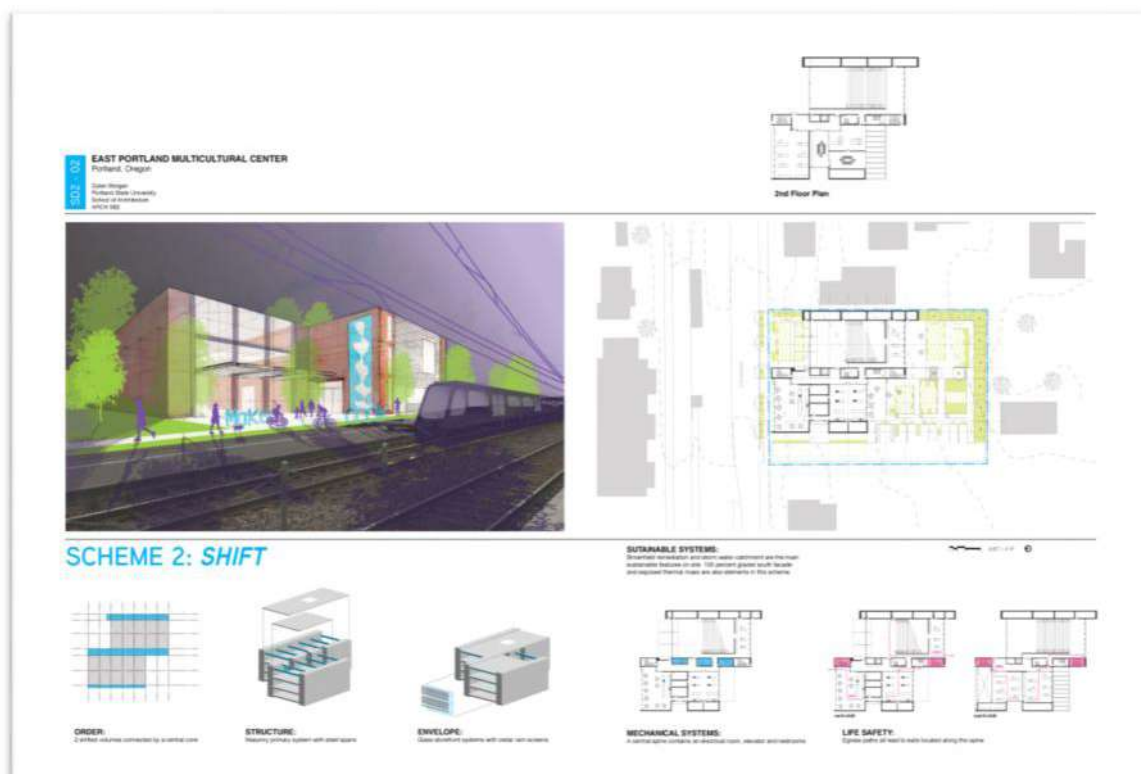
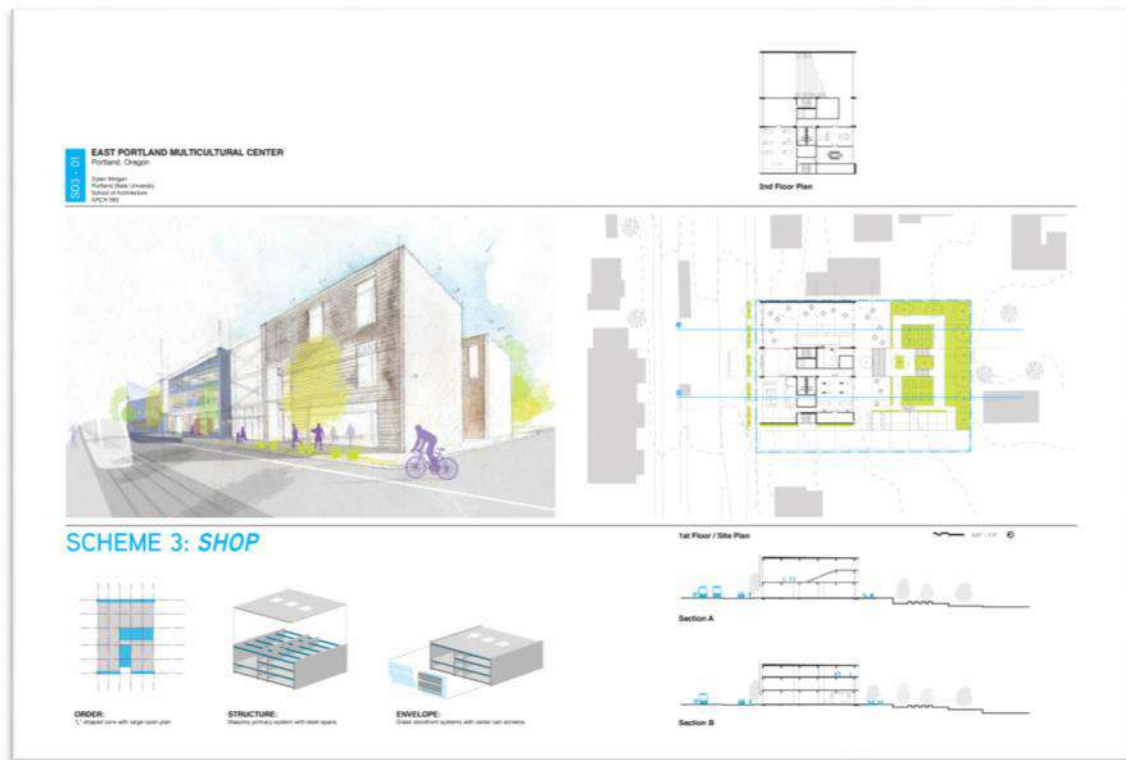


Figure 7. Design scheme 1 by Dylan Morgan, reviewed by cultural organization members and architects in preparation for a final revision for a public exhibition-discussion.





Figures 8-9. Design schemes 2 & 3 by Dylan Morgan. All 3 schemes were presented as “equal” at the conventional “final” review attended by cultural organization members and architects in preparation for a final revision for a public exhibition-discussion.



Figure 10. One of the boards prepared by Dylan Morgan for the public exhibition, discussion and workshop.

Transculturally Sharing a World Heritage Site towards Sustainable Tourism: Studies on Perceptions and Satisfaction of Inbound Tourists in Pingyao Ancient City, China

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Abstract

Culture has been earmarked by marketing theorists as one of the essential determinants of consumer behavior. This trend necessitates transcultural inquiries in tourism. The heritage transcultural sharing plays a crucial role in heritage tourism which attracting multicultural tourists. However, in China, specific groups of inbound tourists are difficult to share the unique heritage transculturally, due to physical and cultural locality. Pingyao Ancient City, World Cultural Heritage, contains Han Chinese history differing greatly from other cultures. It was named by New York Times the top eight tourist destination around the world. As a result, Pingyao is an interesting case to examine the diversity in the transcultural perceptions of inbound tourists with diverse cultures. Semi-structured interviews and questionnaire survey were conducted in Pingyao. Data analysis included AHP and IPA analysis methods.

The results demonstrated that the diversity in perceptual focus among the tourists with diverse languages and regions. First, the number and education of heritage in their own country are related to tourists' attention to heritage resources. Second, tourists' perception of the natural scenery and landscape may be influenced by their national environment and culture. Third, excessive commercialization and homogenization have impacted negatively on the satisfaction of local characteristics. Lastly, it is vital that Pingyao tourism management provides service facilities that are of international standards and customized service for inbound tourists.

Keywords: World Cultural Heritage, Inbound tourist, Pingyao Ancient city, Cultural perceptions, Transcultural sharing

1.Introduction

Tourism perception has long been researched and is key to understanding tourist behavior. Due to the underlying reasons as to how people feel about in travel are difficult to understand, many scholars have studied this topic and substantial progress has been achieved (e.g., Dann, 1981; Pearce & Lee, 2005; Plog, 1974). Culture—defined as a set of beliefs or standards shared by a group of people (Goodenough, 1971)—is widely accepted by marketing theorists to be one of the underlying determinants of consumer behavior, including that of tourists. These widely consensus is subtly inculcated into individuals from an early age (Otaki, Durrett, Richards, Nyquist, & Pennebaker, 1986) and is resistant to change (Hofstede, 1997). The incorporation of culture into the study of tourism motivation is therefore more crucial than ever.

By early 2018, the number of world heritage sites in China has reached 21, and the total number of world heritage sites has been already ranked second (after Italy) in the world. The core of the cultural heritage site lies in the experience of traditional culture and local characteristics. However, due to the lack of service capacity and language and culture differences in some ancient city heritage, it is difficult for some inbound tourists to experience a unique culture (Frey & Steiner, 2001). This phenomenon is more common in China, because of the huge differences between Eastern and Western languages and cultures. This phenomenon has had a significant negative impact on the development of global sustainable tourism in these regions (Arezki R, 2004), and has affected the attractiveness of China's World Heritage.

As a world-famous tourist destination, Pingyao Ancient City is located in Shanxi Province, China, with a total area of about 2.5 square kilometers. ^[1] It has become a world cultural heritage in 1997 and is one of the only two, in China, that have successfully declared the World Cultural Heritage, in the ancient city heritage. The UNESCO Committee commented on it: "Pingyao is an exceptionally well-preserved example of a traditional Han Chinese city, founded in the 14th century. Its urban fabric shows the evolution of architectural styles and town planning in Imperial China over five centuries. Of special interest are the imposing buildings associated with banking, for which Pingyao was the major center for the whole of China in the 19th and early 20th centuries." ^[2] The ancient city of Pingyao itself contains the history of the Han people, which greatly differs from other civilizations. The ancient city retains many original folk customs. Because of this, the cultural value of Pingyao Ancient City has a natural barrier to transcultural sharing for inbound tourists. Therefore, studying the perception and satisfaction of the inbound tourists, with different cultural backgrounds, in Pingyao Ancient City is of great significance to understand their differences

in cognition of Chinese traditional culture.

2.Literature Review

2.1 Sustainable tourism development in World Cultural Heritage Sites

Since 1981, the sharing of World Heritage has gradually attracted the attention of the academic community. The achievements concluded: research on the cultural value of World Heritage (Kim, 2007; Tucker & Carnegie, 2014), the utilization of World Heritage (Wu, 2002; Wang& Bramwell, 2012), research on tourists' behavior in heritage sites (Zhang, 2009), Analysis of the spatial-temporal Characteristics of World Heritage (Wang, 2010; Wang, 2015), research on the relationship between World Heritage and tourism (Ashworth, 2000; Zhang, 2015).

2.2 Transcultural consumer research

In recent years, intercultural sharing has attracted the attention of more and more scholars. Edward Hall (1987) first addressed that the intercultural sharing refers to the special communicative groups that emerge from different cultures. The components of culture include language(s), nationality, education (general), country of residence, profession (specialized education), groups (ethnicity), religion, family, gender, social class, and corporate or organizational culture (Legoherel et al., 2009; Usunier, 2000). Hofstede (1997) suggested that culture influences behavior through four manifestations: values, heroes, rituals, and symbols. A value has been described by Rokeach (1968) as a “centrally held, enduring belief which guides actions and judgments across specific situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence” (p. 16). Culture in its various manifestations has significant impact on tourist behavior, and studying the topic of cross-cultural tourist behavior is pertinent because tourism is an international industry (Li, 2017).

In the realm of cross-cultural consumer behavior research, historical reviews of the methodological approaches have suggested that existing studies have yet to resolve many conceptual and methodological issues (Lenartowicz & Roth, 1999). Additionally, the assessment or identification of a proper cultural unit, which was identified as a vital issue of cross-cultural research by Rick, Toyne, and Martinez (1990), remains largely unexplored. Recognizing the aforementioned limitations, based on a review and evaluation of current culture assessment approaches, Lenartowicz and Roth (1999) identified four basic approaches to culture assessment: ethnological description, use of proxies (validated regional affiliation), direct values inference, and indirect values inference.

2.3 Tourist attributes and tourist satisfaction

Towards the nature of tourism, the experience of inbound tourists is one of the core

elements of tourism. The satisfaction of inbound tourists in the scenic spot is an important factor in measuring the experience of inbound tourists. The satisfaction refers to the comprehensive psychological evaluation of the inbound tourists' satisfaction with the tourism resources, infrastructure, entertainment environment and hospitality services, including architectural landscape quality perception, characteristic cultural quality perception and service quality perception (Gallarza, 2006). Therefore, the satisfaction of inbound tourists is affected by many factors: physical fitness, cultural background, occupation, age, perceived expectations, and dynamic perception factors during the amusement process (Li, 2008). At present, domestic satisfaction with inbound tourists is mainly a comprehensive evaluation (Cai, 2011) and impact factors (He, 2013; Zhang, 2018). The object of research is mainly concentrated on residential community (Huang, 2009), the group of domestic tourists (He, 2013) and the tourism management (Feng, 2008)

2.4 Identification of knowledge gap

With the increase in the popularity of heritage sites and the deeper understanding of sustainable tourism in heritage sites, scholars have begun to pay more attention to the importance of sustainable tourism in world heritage. The study of the experience and perception of inbound tourists in the heritage sites is still based on foreign research, and China's research in the field is scarce. Also there is little research on the experience of inbound tourists in Pingyao Ancient City, especially the lack of perceptual research on the inbound tourists with different cultural backgrounds. Therefore, this paper selects the tourism behavior in cross-cultural consumer behavior to study. The author used ethnological and linguistic classifications to analyses inbound tourists from diverse cultural backgrounds.

3. Research Method and Framework

3.1 Establishment of evaluation index system

Because the factors affecting the satisfaction of inbound tourists are complex, it is more appropriate to use the index system of AHP. According to the research objectives and the complexity of the research objects, the evaluation index of inbound tourists' satisfaction in Pingyao Ancient City is divided into three levels. According to the relevant research results (Kozak M, 2001; Wong, 2003), set the highest level, the target level (A), for the overall satisfaction of inbound tourists. The second level is the feature layer (B); the third level is the index layer (C). The feature layer (B) needs to be determined based on the index layer (C) of the satisfaction level. Based on the review of relevant research results (Dong, 2005), the feature layer (B) of the evaluation is set as tourism heritage resources (B1), tourism products (B2), travel safety and quality (B3), local cultural characteristics (B4), and tourism service facilities (B5). The indicators of the index layer (C) are classified according to the content, characteristics and attributes of the feature layer (B). The evaluation system is as follows.

Table 1. Index System of AHP for Tourist Satisfaction

Foreign tourists satisfaction evaluation system (A)	Tourism heritage resources (B1)	Historical attractions and architectures (C11)
		Natural scenery (C12)
		Beautiful ancient scenery (C13)
		Landscapes around the town (C14)
	Tourism product (B2)	Entertainment and nightlife (C21)
		Local souvenirs (C22)
		Participating in conventional activities (C23)
	Travel safety and quality (B3)	Service in hotels or guest houses (C31)
		A safe place for tourists (C32)
		Environment of accommodations (C33)
		Tour guide service (C34)
	Local cultural characteristics (B4)	Local cuisine (C41)
		The unique culture (C42)
		Attitude of Pingyao people towards tourists (C43)
		Communication with local residents (C44)
	Tourism service facilities (B5)	Tourist Facilities (C51)
		Local shuttle bus (C52)
		Hygiene (C53)
		Convenient transportation to Pingyao (C54)
		The guide sign; garbage; restroom (C55)

3.2 Questionnaire design and distribution

According to the research method of tourism, the questionnaire is mainly divided into three parts.

- (1) Investigate the travel characteristics of the sample of inbound tourists, including whether the inbound tourists come to Pingyao for the first time, whether to travel with the group, whether to travel with the family, where to obtain information about Pingyao, and the motivation to travel to Pingyao.
- (2) Survey on the satisfaction of inbound tourists in Pingyao Ancient City. The survey on the perception of inbound tourists is conducted by using the Likert Scale survey. The satisfaction criteria are divided into “Strongly dislike”, “Dislike”, “Neutral” and “Like”, “Strongly like”.
- (3) Survey of demographic characteristics of inbound tourists, including the gender, age, education level, occupational characteristics, country, etc. of the inbound tourists.

The investigation time is September and October, 2018. The survey location and objects

were in Pingyao Ancient City, Shanxi Province. A total of 161 questionnaires were distributed, all questionnaires were collected, and a valid questionnaire was 149. The effective rate of the questionnaire was 92.54%. After the statistical analysis of the samples, the results showed that the respondents with high school education or above in the effective questionnaire accounted for 98.66%, which indicates that the majority of respondents have capacity to understand and judge the questionnaire and related issues.

4.About Inbound tourists in Pingyao

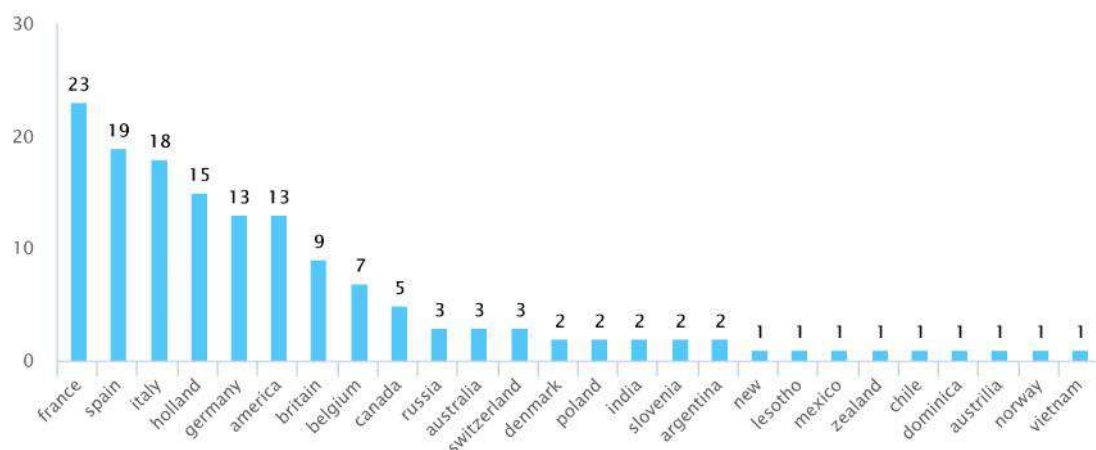


Figure 1. Nationality

Most of the inbound tourists in Pingyao Ancient City come from Europe, and Western Europe account for more than 70%. This shows that Western European countries are an important source of tourists. Visitors from Western Europe are mainly concentrated in Latin-speaking countries, indicating that these countries are more culturally inclined to transcultural travel and communication.

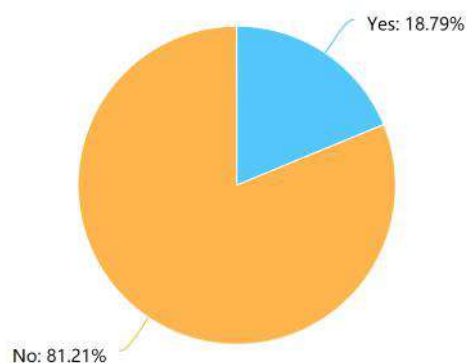


Figure 2. Group status

Most of the tourists interviewed were free, and less than 20% chose to travel with the group. It indicates that inbound tourists are usually more willing to choose the form of self-going travel and have a longer preparation for the situation.

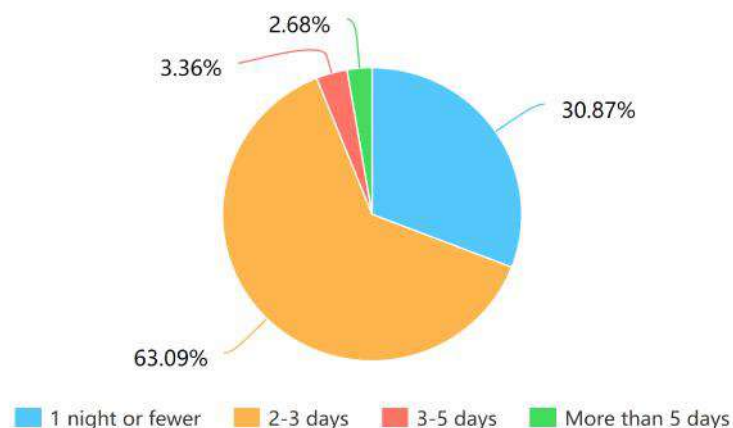


Figure 3. Staying Duration

More than 30% of the tourists surveyed stayed in Pingyao for only one night. Less than 10% of visitors stayed in Pingyao Ancient City for more than 3 days. It is proved that the ancient city of Pingyao is mainly for sightseeing for inbound tourists, and it is not a tourist destination for deep experience.

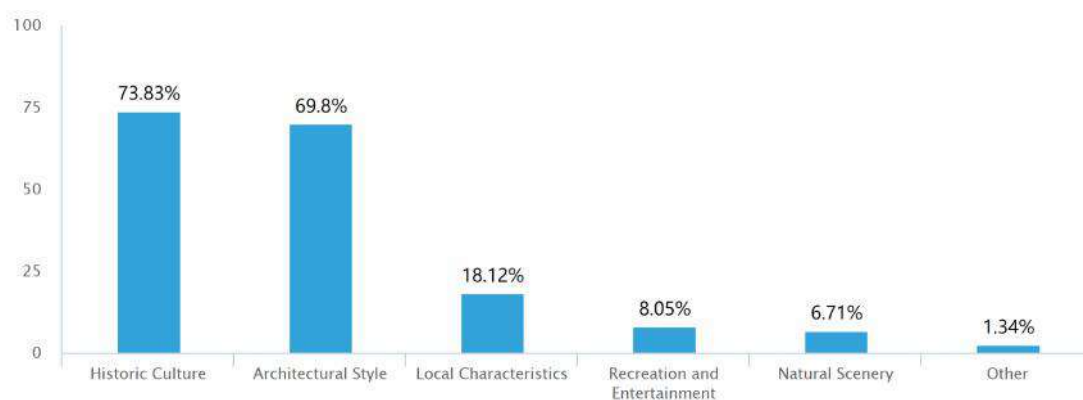


Figure 4. Overall Satisfaction

In the tourism experience, most tourists are more satisfied with the ancient city is the historical culture and architectural form, which also shows that Pingyao Ancient City is more of a destination for sightseeing attributes, lacking enough tourism experience activities.

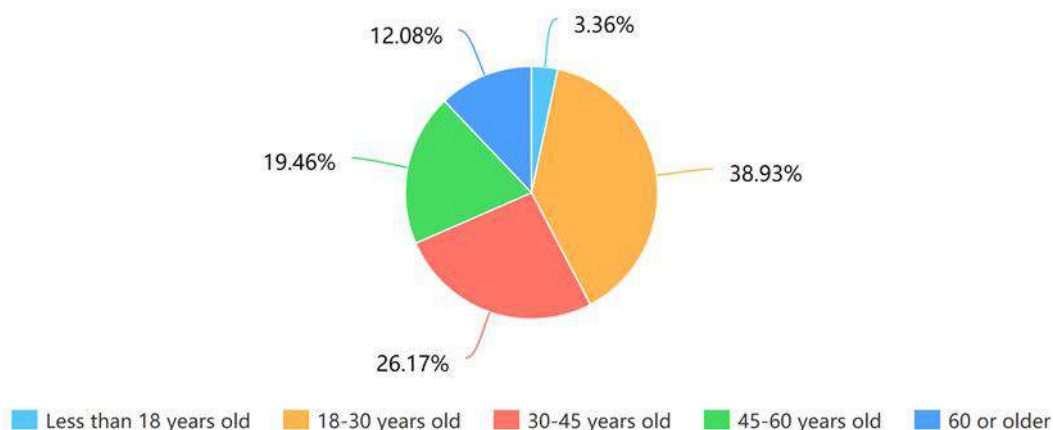


Figure 5. The age group

Among the visitors to Pingyao, the proportion of adolescents and the elderly is small, and the proportion of young and middle-aged people is over 80%. Young and middle-aged travellers have more obvious activities and experience needs, and Pingyao Ancient City has great potential for development in this respect.

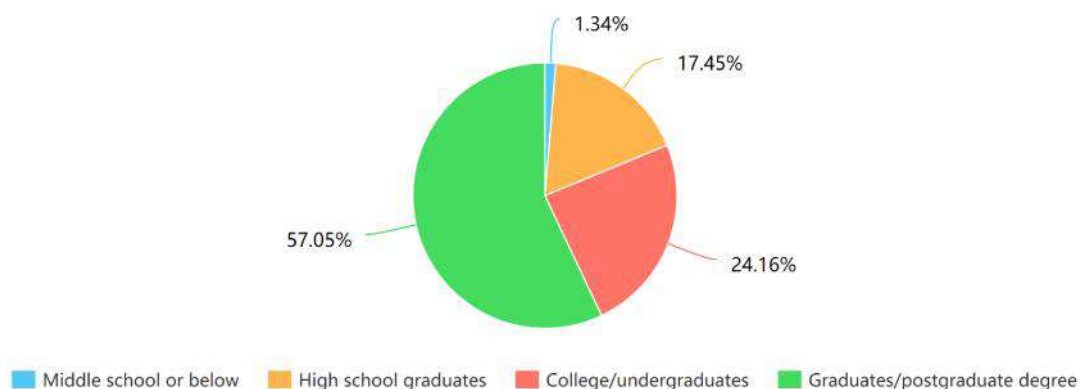


Figure 6. The education level

Inbound tourists in the ancient city of Pingyao generally have a high cultural quality, and more than 80% of the tourists have received higher education. Relevant research has shown that tourists with higher education background have more obvious requirements for cultural experience and communication, which is both an opportunity and a challenge for the development of Pingyao ancient city tourism.

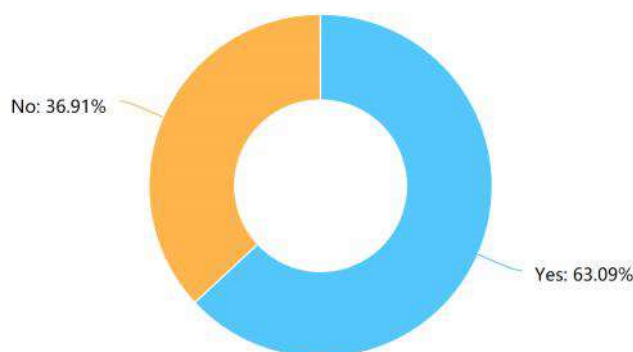


Figure 7. Willing to Return or Recommend

About 40% of the respondents are reluctant to come back, and they are not willing to recommend friends. This shows that a certain group of inbound tourists are not satisfied with the tourism experience of Pingyao Ancient City, which will have a greater impact on the future sustainable tourism development of Pingyao Ancient City.

5. Inbound Tourists' Perception and Satisfaction Evaluation

5.1 Analysis of the Overall Perception and Evaluation of Inbound Tourists

According to the proportion of tourists' choice of neutral opinions, the analytic hierarchy process is used, according to the indicator system, to calculate the overall awareness of the importance of the tourism tourists. The organized data as shown below.

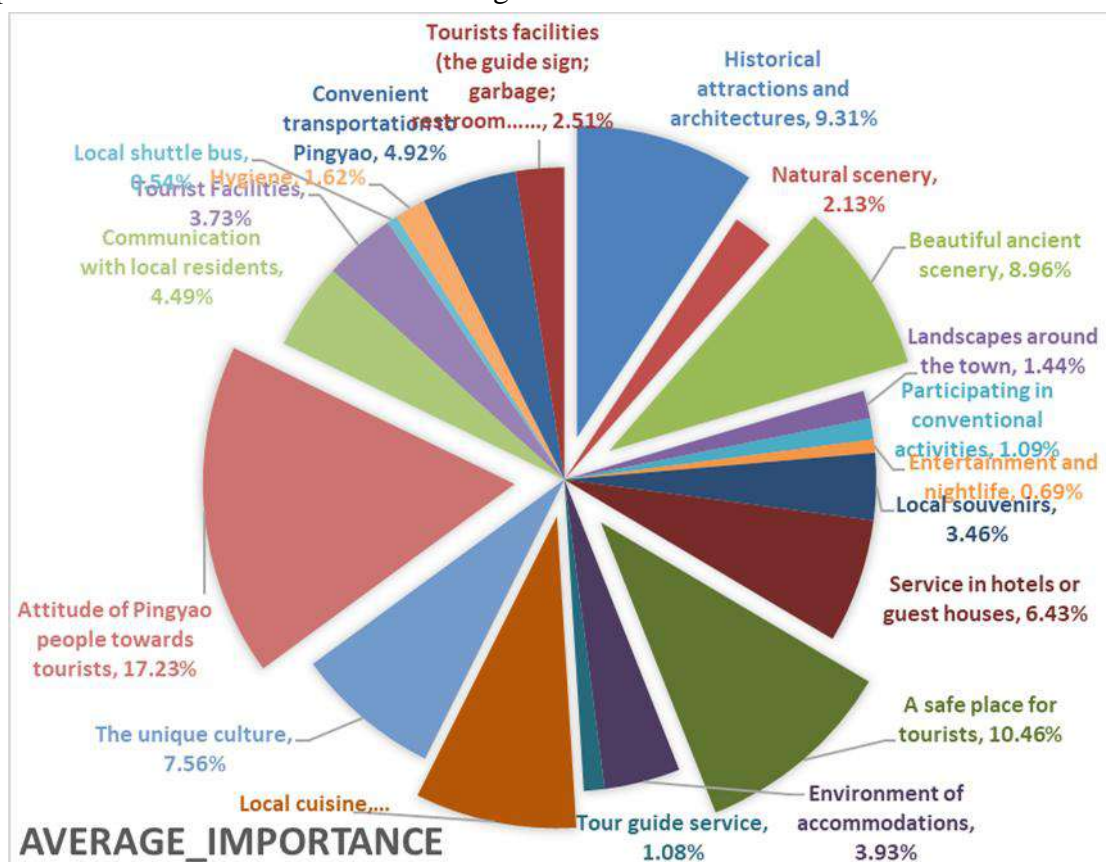


Figure 8. The Importance of Tourism Indices in Tourists' Perception

Among the perceptions of inbound tourists, the attitude of local residents of Pingyao to inbound tourists is most valued by inbound tourists. It reflects that the performance and attitude of local residents can often play a decisive role in the experience of tourists, and it also reflects the importance that inbound tourists pay attention to cross-cultural communication between people. The more important parts also include the sense of security of travel, historical sites, the overall style of the ancient city and local cuisine. In the interview, many tourists said that the sense of travel safety is an important reason for their choice to travel to China. The existing research that the data is in line with the perception of tourism can judge that the inbound tourists are high-end travellers as a whole, and have the highest demand for communication, security and heritage.

Based on the satisfaction survey of tourists, the data is as follows.



Figure 9. Satisfaction Performance of Tourism Indices on Average

From the analysis, inbound tourists have a high evaluation for the historical relics and the impression of the ancient city. Part of the dissatisfaction of tourists includes participation in traditional activities, entertainment and nightlife, local shuttle buses and communication with local residents. Praise data shows that Pingyao Ancient City, as a World Cultural Heritage, its material space has a great attraction on inbound tourists. On the level of service

capability, the praise of Pingyao Ancient City is mainly concentrated on the just-needed services such as public security and accommodation. The bad reviews mainly concentrate on the in-depth experience, cultural exchange services and activities in Pingyao Ancient City, reflecting the lack of sufficient cultural exchange and service capabilities of Pingyao Ancient City as a cultural heritage site. In the interview, we learned that local residents and traders lack English communication skills. In addition to purchasing food, it is difficult for inbound tourists to participate in other activities, which greatly affects the cross-cultural experience of tourists.

5.2 Analysis of Perception and Evaluation of Inbound Tourists from Different Cultural Backgrounds

In order to study transcultural tourism from different levels, this paper refers to linguistics, ethnology, and sociology related research, and compares the perception and evaluation of inbound tourists from the national and regional level and the linguistic level.

According to the relevant research results of linguistics (R.H.Robins, 1983), the inbound tourists questioned are divided into Latin countries, Continental Germanic countries, English-speaking countries, and Slavic countries. Latin countries include France, Spain, Italy and other countries. Latin countries include France, Spain, Italy and other countries. The Continental Germanic countries include Germany, Denmark, Norway and other countries. English-speaking countries include the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, Australia and other countries. Slavic countries include Russia, Poland, Slovenia and so on. According to the data and classification, the analytic hierarchy process is used to study the importance of different linguistic countries to different tourism indices.

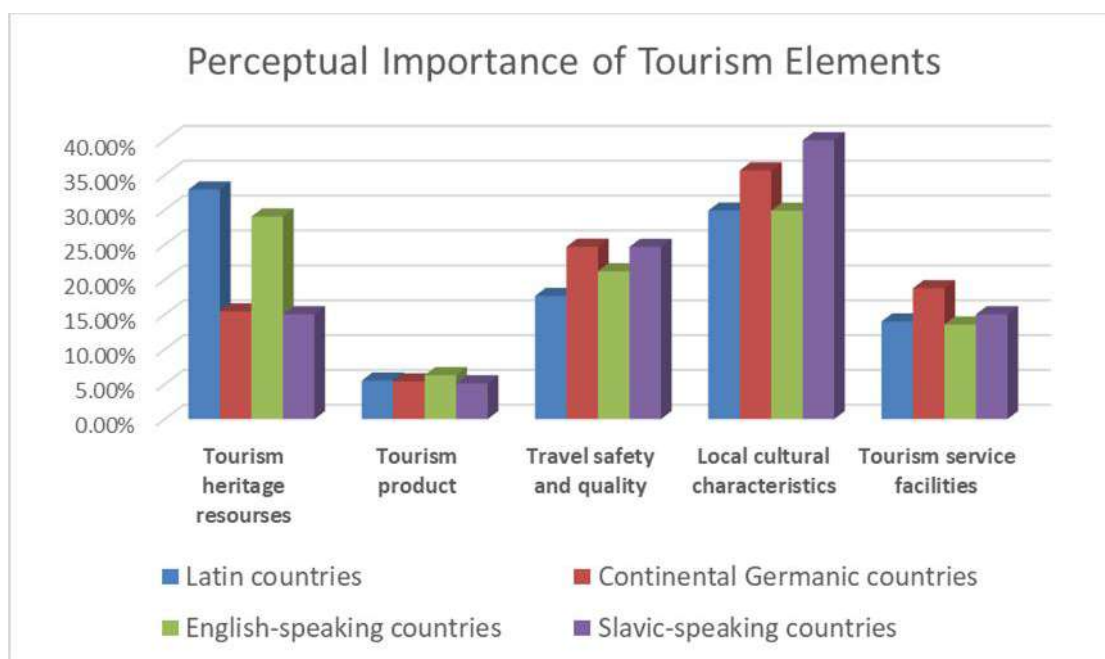


Figure 10. Perceptual Importance of Tourism Elements

According to the results, inbound tourists of different cultural backgrounds have significant differences in the importance of tourism heritage resources and local cultural characteristics. Latin countries and English-speaking countries have the highest priority for heritage resources. This may be related to the fact that these countries have more historical heritage. The profound history, culture and education make the Latin language tourists attach great importance to the historical heritage resources in the journey. In the comparison of local cultural characteristics, the Slavic-speaking inbound tourists pay high attention to the customs of local characteristics. This may be related to the lack of self-confidence in the culture of Slavic language tourists (Yu, 2006). The Continental Germanic countries are most valued for the service attributes in travel. They placed the highest priority on travel safety, quality and destination travel services. In the interview, most of the Continental Germanic language tourists would do more detailed preparations before they travel, and they have a better understanding of the historical resources. Therefore, when they travel, they often pay more attention to the service facilities and security situations that they cannot know in advance. The importance of tourism products to inbound tourists is not high, which reflects that inbound tourists do not have high expectations for tourism activities and products in Pingyao Ancient City. At the same time, it may also show that Pingyao Ancient City has no special customized activities and products to attract inbound tourists to consume. In other words, Pingyao Ancient City lacks propaganda and decoration for inbound tourists. Therefore, it is impossible to obtain a higher benefit added value.

A detailed comparison of the perceptual importance of Latin American countries and English-speaking countries on the classification of various indicators of tourism heritage resources. The result is as follows.

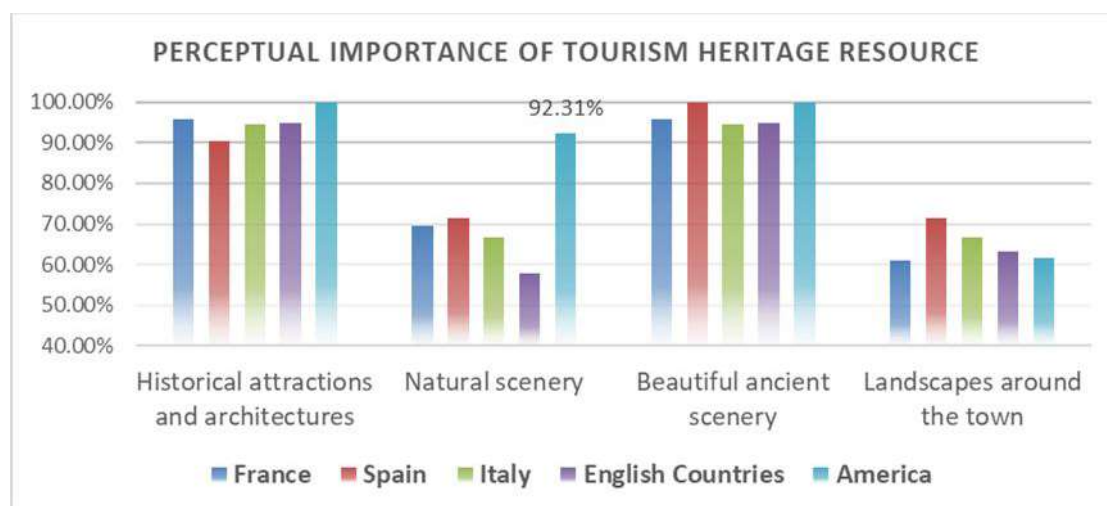


Figure 11. Perceptual Importance of Tourism Heritage Resource

In the figure, we find that the Latin countries and the Commonwealth countries, such as

the United Kingdom, are similar in perception of the indices of heritage resources. However, US inbound tourists pay high attention to natural scenery indicators. In the interview, some American tourists also expressed their disappointment with the natural scenery inside and around Pingyao Ancient City. This shows that, received the same education in English, American tourists are influenced by the adventure culture and western culture, and have a higher tourist expectation for the natural scenery of the tourist destination.

The author compared the satisfaction of the Latin countries and English-speaking countries with indices of tourism heritage resources. The result is as follows.

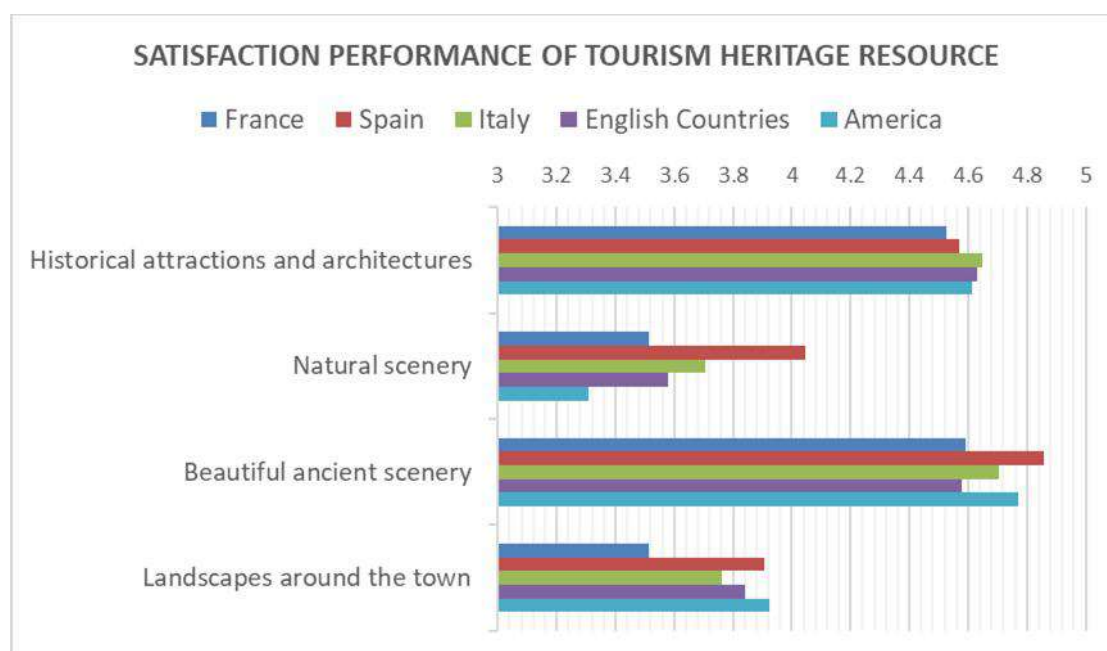


Figure 12. Satisfaction Performance of Tourism Heritage Resource

In the scoring of tourism resource satisfaction, the natural scenery and the surrounding landscape of the town have lower scores, and the historical monuments and ancient city impression scores are very high. The result is similar to the average satisfaction of inbound tourists. But there is a big difference in the satisfaction of natural scenery. Spanish tourists are more satisfied with the natural scenery, showing that they have higher recognition of the natural scenery of Pingyao Ancient City. This may be related to the fact that Spain has less precipitation than France and Italy, so Spanish tourists are more accepting of the dry environment in Pingyao. The scores of natural scenery of US tourists are very low, reflecting that the dry environment and lack of greening in the ancient city and Shanxi Province is difficult to attract American tourists.

The author studied the importance of the Continental Germanic languages to the safety and quality of tourism, local cultural characteristics, and tourism service facilities. The results are as follows.



Figure 13. Perceptual Importance of Travel safety and quality

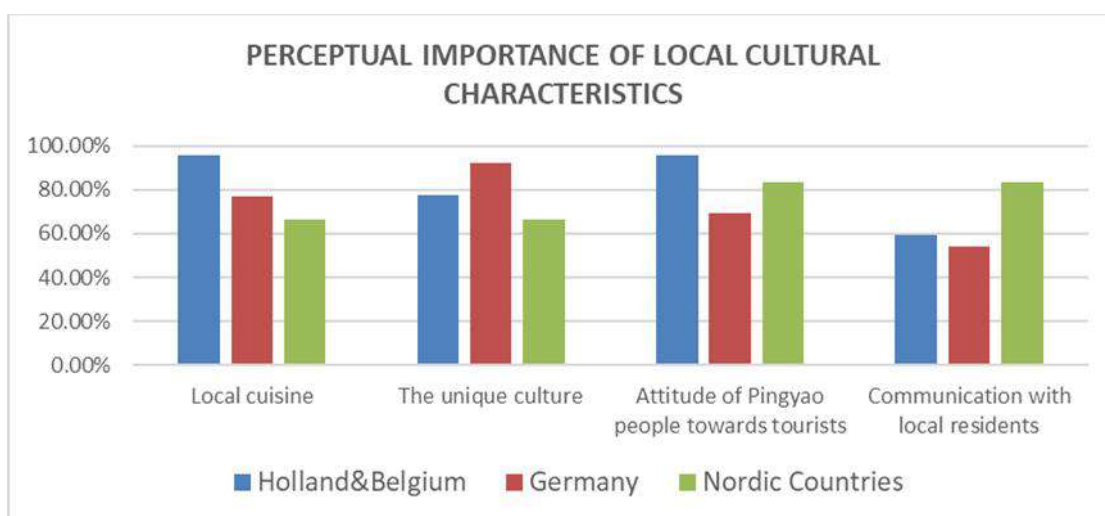


Figure 14. Perceptual Importance of local cultural characteristics

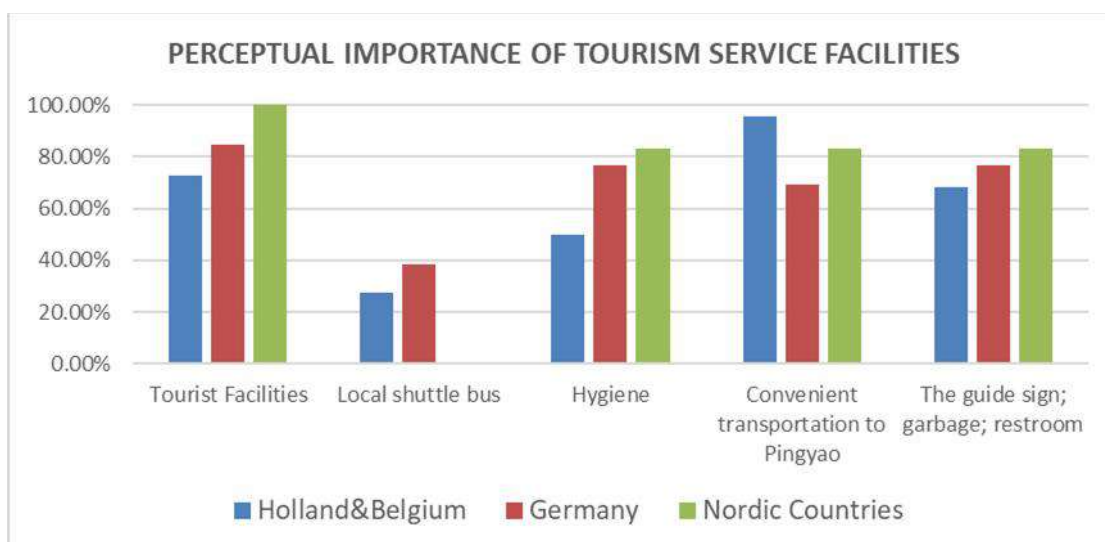


Figure 15. Perceptual Importance of Tourism service facilities

From the analysis of tourism safety and quality, it refers that these countries attach great

importance to the sense of security in tourism. Therefore, improving the security environment of tourist destinations is of great help to attracting inbound tourists. Tourists in the Nordic countries pay less attention to hotel services, accommodations and tour guide services, reflecting the obvious independence of the travelers. This may be related to the small income gap between the country and the self-service awareness. In the analysis of local cultural characteristics, it shows that Holland and Belgian tourists pay the highest attention to local cuisine, which is significantly higher than Germany and Nordic countries. It may be related to that they were impacted by Spanish and French food culture. Therefore, they have higher expectations for Chinese food, which means that Holland and Belgian tourists are more accepting of Chinese food. In the interview, the Belgians said that they very much appreciate the Pingyao ancient city merchants and hawkers do not pull tourists into the store, in line with their perception towards the attitudes of locals. Tourists in the Nordic countries attach great importance to communication with local residents, which may also be related to their autonomy and want to know more about what they can't know from the website and journals. The analysis of tourism service facilities shows that Nordic tourists attach great importance to facilities and hygiene, which may be related to the high development of the Nordic society and their beautiful environment. The data shows that the use of the inbound tourists for local electric shuttle bus inside the ancient city is very low. In the interview, we found that Nordic tourists would not use the shuttle bus at all. They said that walking in the ancient city is an important tourist experience. Some German tourists complained about the service capacity of the shuttle bus. Because they couldn't communicate with the drivers in English, they thought that the electric shuttle bus without scheduled lines made them feel insecure.

5.3 Analysis on The Difference of Tourists' Satisfaction with Different Cultural Backgrounds

The tourists are classified according to the country and region, and the standard deviation of the score of each tourism index is calculated. The author analyses the differences in the evaluation of ancient city space by tourists from different cultural backgrounds.

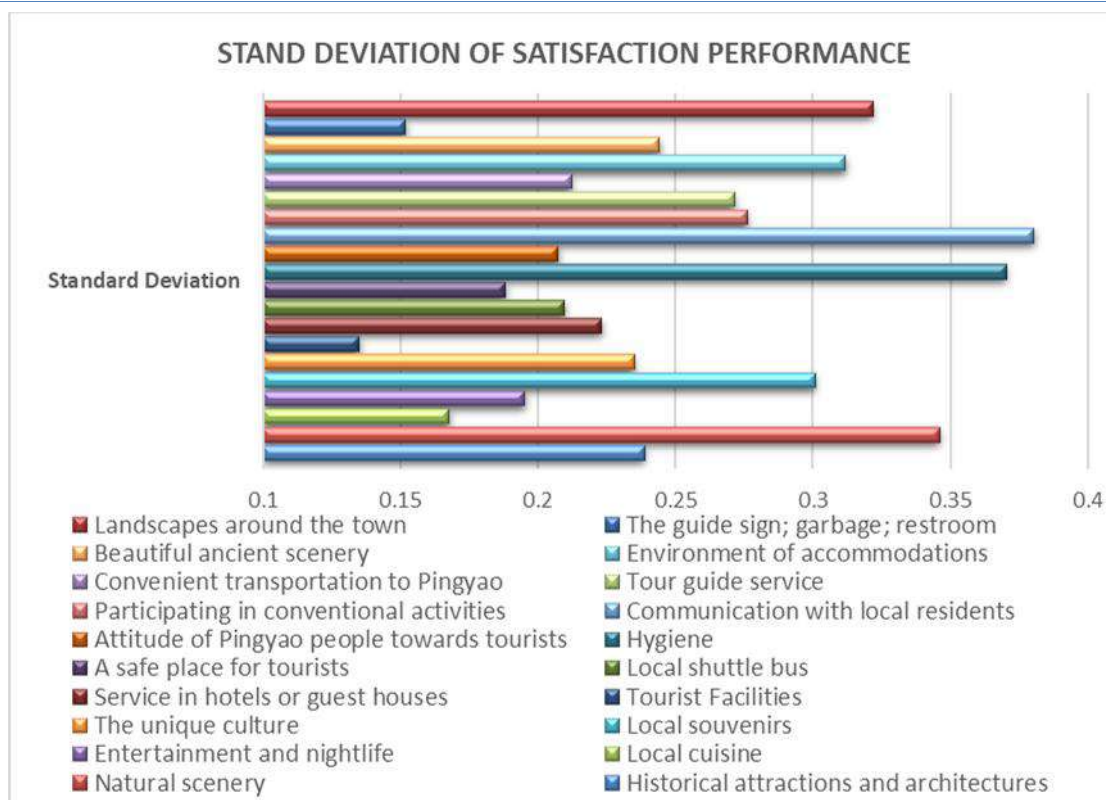


Figure 16. Stand Deviation of Satisfaction Performance

The indicators with the smallest standard deviation are small facilities such as service facilities, guide sign, garbage and etc. It reflects that inbound tourists, come from different cultural areas, have the basically same evaluation of service facilities and supporting facilities. In other words, such service facilities have common international standards.

The indicators with a large standard deviation include communication with local residents, hygiene, natural scenery, landscapes around the town, environment of accommodation, and local souvenirs. The analysis of the scores of these indices is as follows.

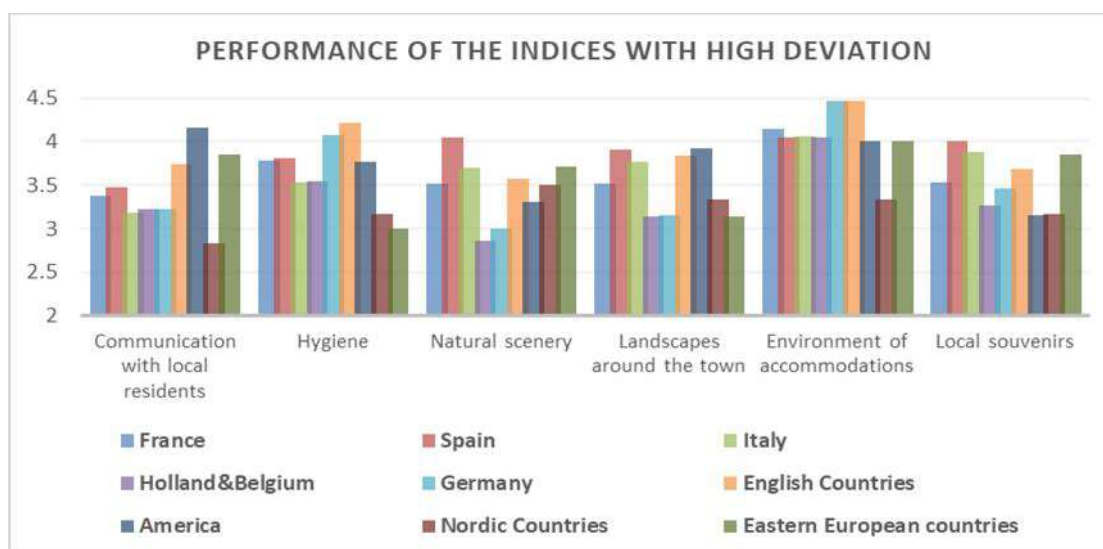


Figure 17. Performance of The Indices with High Deviation

American tourists gave the highest scores to communication with local residents, while Nordic tourists gave the lowest scores to that. In the interview, we also found that American tourists were more likely to be positive, and their use of body language made communication transculturally easier. Nordic tourists are more expected to communicate with local residents, so they are some sorts of disappointed about the language barriers. In hygiene, the tourists from northern Europe and eastern Europe were more dissatisfied than others. In the interview, visitors expressed the discomfort of the type of restrooms. The main reason is that there are few public restrooms with closestools. Visitors from the Holland, Belgium and Germany have a low satisfaction of the natural scenery, probably because of their country's high greening rates and beautiful environment. The scores for the landscape around the town also showed this. Some Holland tourists have expressed discomfort with the lack of plants around the city. German and British tourists are most satisfied with the accommodation environment. The Nordic tourists were the least satisfied with the accommodation conditions, which may be related to the high degree of autonomy in travel. Some of the Nordic tourists reflected that they were not particularly satisfied with the customs they booked themselves. Tourists from the US, Nordic countries, Holland and Belgium were the most disappointed with local souvenirs. The study found that tourists from these countries generally accepted higher education and had higher appreciation ability and cultural demands. In the interviews, a number of Dutch and Belgian tourists stressed their dissatisfaction with the excessive commercialization of Pingyao and the uncomfortable perception of the low-end souvenirs with excessive homogeneity.

6. Conclusions and Limitation

6.1 Conclusions

This paper focuses on the different perceptions and satisfactions of tourists from different cultural backgrounds towards China's World Cultural Heritage tourism. Based on tourists' opinions on the importance and performance of tourism indices, this study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to study the differences in the perception and acceptance of Chinese traditional culture of inbound visitors from different languages and regions. The author tried to discuss the influence of its education background and cultural background on its transcultural tourism in China. The case studied is Pingyao Ancient City, Shanxi Province, China, a famous World Cultural Heritage site, which attracts millions of inbound tourists every year. The research adopts the methods of questionnaire survey and semi-structured interview combined with AHP and IPA. The paper has been able to interpret the results with the help of the existing theoretical knowledge related to tourist performance-based entertainment, tourist experiences, and tourist satisfaction.

The analysis shows that most tourists are satisfied with the experience of Pingyao, however, about 36 percent of tourists are disappointed by the travel experience in Pingyao and will not come again or recommend it to their friends. A large number of bad tourist comments will have bad social impact on sustainable tourism (Peter J, 2011). From the general perception, the inbound tourists of Pingyao belong to the relatively high-end group of tourists, with strong purpose of cultural tourism. Inbound tourists have higher demand for communication with local residents, travel safety and heritage resources. On the contrary, inbound tourists generally have lower demand for tourism products. It may be related to their travel habits, or it may be because there are no transcultural tourism products designed for inbound tourists (Heslop, 2010). From the satisfaction of inbound tourists, they had high satisfaction with the basic service ability of tourism, such as the public safety and hotel services, and low satisfaction of deep experience and transcultural communication. Language barrier and lack of customized service ability have a great impact on the tourist satisfaction of inbound tourists (Mancini-cross C, 2009). Moreover, Pingyao lacks promotion and designation for tourist products, which causes the loss of higher value-added benefits.

This paper found that there were significant differences in the perception and satisfaction of the tourists with different languages or from different countries and regions. Latin and English-speaking countries attach the highest importance to the heritage resources of tourism destinations, which shows that the quantity and education of heritage are related to tourists' attention to heritage tourism resources. Slavic countries attach most importance to local characteristics and attitudes of local residents, which may be related to their appeals on national and linguistic identity (Dai, 2011). Continental Germanic countries attach the highest importance to local service facilities and quality, and the interview results show that it may be related to their detailed preparation for the historical heritage and culture before the departure.

To some extent, it reflects their careful and meticulous cultural character (Zhang, 2012).

With the similar language, the perception of tourism experience in different countries is also quite different. American tourists pay far more attention to the natural scenery than other English-speaking and Latin countries. This reflects that American tourists, influenced by American western and exploration culture, tend to be more longing for the natural scenery and have higher requirements for the natural beauty of the tourist destination. Spanish tourists are more receptive to the dryness and lack of greening in Pingyao than other countries, which may be related to the relatively large semi-arid area in Spain, with much less rainfall than France and Italy (Haase P, 1996). For all the Germanic tourists, it is considered that the tourism safety is the most important index. The Nordic tourists' perceptions show a clear sense of autonomy. They have the lowest requirements for human services, the highest requirements for service facilities, and strong self-service awareness. Influenced by French and Spanish food culture, Belgian and Dutch tourists have a higher demand for local cuisine and higher acceptance of Chinese food. Inbound tourists rarely take the shuttle bus in the ancient city, because they lack the sense of security. The reason may be that the parking line is not scheduled and they cannot communicate with the driver in English.

According to the overall satisfaction performance, although the inbound tourists come from different cultural regions, the evaluation of service facilities and guide system is basically similar. In general, such facilities have viable international standards. The analysis found that the body language and cheerful personality of inbound tourists may be related to the help of solving language barrier and improving communication with residents. Additionally, inbound tourists are generally more accustomed to using the closetool, which is an important reason of their dissatisfaction on hygiene conditions. The excessive commercialization and homogenization of Pingyao has exerted a negative impact on the tourists with high education level, which is also an important reason of tourists' reluctance to come or recommend.

To sum up, this study provides a further and original support for the study of transcultural tourism in Chinese heritage sites. There are significant differences in the perception and satisfaction of the intercultural tourists with different languages and regions. Travel safety and cultural communication are the most important tourism impact indices for inbound tourists. Heritage quantity and education may be related to tourists' attention to heritage tourism resources. Meanwhile, the weather, the natural environment and education of their own country may affect the tourists' perceptions of the natural scenery and landscapes of the tourism destination. For Pingyao tourism management, it's important to optimize service facilities in international standards and provide customized experience service for

inbound tourists, at this stage.

6.2 Limitation

It is difficult to issue questionnaires in this study, so the number of samples is not large enough. It may have a negative impact on the accuracy of the research results. The research selected the inbound tourists in Pingyao Ancient City as the research object. However, due to the lack of tourists from Southeast Asia in the ancient city, the sample lacks relevant tourist data. Meanwhile, the method of distinguishing the domestic tourists and foreign tourists is checked on the spot, which makes it difficult to distinguish Japanese and Korean tourists and domestic tourists. It has a negative impact on the comprehensiveness of the coverage of language and culture in cross-cultural studies.

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From Exclusive to Inclusive: Studies on the Transformation of Spatial Performance in Niujie District, Beijing, China

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Abstract

The Niujie district is a noted settlement of Hui Minority people in Beijing, China, which brings together multiple cultures. Since 14th century, Hui Muslims have formed a relatively independent “Jamaat” community at Niujie. During late 1990s, the area experienced a large-scale urban renewal under the Dilapidated Housing Reform, and gradually turned into a multilayer-unit modern residential community. The use of space in the Niujie district has also changed from exclusive to kind of inclusive.

This paper takes the Niujie district as a specific case, and investigates the changes of its spatial performances, both tangible and intangible, via documental research and field works. The research explores the various spatial perceptions by multiple users throughout the “top-down” urban renewal and “bottom-up” community building. The paper will further reveal the reasons behind the transformation from exclusive to inclusive, against the political, economic, social and cultural contexts.

The research finds that in terms of population structure, many Han people entered this area during the gradual disintegration of the “Jamaat” community. There were also periodic influxes of minority migrants based on cultural and religious identity. As for its spatial form, the original pattern of living around the temple has changed. Public space was traditionally organized along “Mosque-Street”, but it has been weakened after urban renewal. While excessively wide roads and independent high-rise residential buildings being built up, Hui community’s internal interactions have decreased. However, with infrastructure improvement and the inflow of migrants, the local community became less exclusive. Noteworthy, this large-scale renovation of Niujie was promoted mainly by Beijing’s municipal government. Considerable residents passively accepted it and adapted to the changes. Via questionnaires, interviews and internet open data analyses, the research will uncover the perceptions and opinions of the local residents after the renewal, and further brings forward suggestions for better sharing particularly in the ethnic settlements.

Keywords: Inclusive Ethnic Community, Urban Renewal, Niujie district, Spatial Performance

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to study the transformation of spatial performance in ethnic settlement, especially the Muslim settlement, during the process of top-down space reconstruction, in order to provide theoretical support and a practical example for the renovation of large-scale ethnic gathering areas.

Beijing Niujie District is a noted settlement of Hui Minority people in Beijing. Since the 14th century, Hui Muslims have formed a relatively exclusive “Jamaat” community with the Niujie Mosque as the core. This kind of community is not the administrative unit of the local government, but organized by the Hui Muslims based on the geographical relationship and the common religious beliefs. There is no affiliation with the local government. In the late 1990s, the area experienced a large-scale urban renewal led by the government. The independent Jamaat block, which was formed by the low-rise buildings surrounding the Niujie Mosque, became the modern block of high-rise residential and public buildings divided by major urban traffic routes. In the past 20 years, the indigenous people in the Niujie district and the newly moved residents have redefined the space performance after the transformation. Generally speaking, the use of space has transformed from exclusive to kind of inclusive.

2. Review

The discussion on sharing cities is in the ascendant. The Ninth World Urban Forum and the Habitat III Conference all propose the “Cities for All” as the core vision. The ethnic settlement is different from the administrative division. As a cultural and spatial phenomenon with strong social relations, it should be considered independently under the topic of sharing cities. This kind of gathering has the characteristic of “exclusiveness” and it’s the Muslims’ choice to maintain their own unique lifestyle in an alien culture. However, in the context of globalization, contemporary society has begun to transcend national and religious boundaries and accommodate more cultural forms (Wei Fang, 2016). It is a difficult problem to figure out how to balance the space use needs of aborigines and new residents in the process of opening up the community, and maintain the characteristics of ethnic gathering areas while promoting the inclusive sharing of the community, this question needs to be negotiated by the government, residents, developers and planners.

After the 1980s, there were some studies on minority groups in Chinese cities. The earlier research involving the topic of Chinese ethnic communities is Dru C. Gladney's research on

the identity of Chinese Muslims (Gladney,1991). Since then, some Chinese researchers have conducted in-depth discussions on the Hui people's settlements. For example, Chen Wenyan used the Huimin Street in Xi'an as an example to study the factors influencing the selection of Hui residents and the corresponding planning strategies for the transformation of the old city (Chen Wenyan,2001). Yang He analyzed the beginning and end of the reconstruction of Niujie and the planning problems (Yang He,2004). Liang Jingyu detailed the history of the change in Niujie community, and proposed that the development of urban minority communities is the result of the interaction of various factors (Liang Jingyu,2003), which provides Wei Fang the basis for the study of public space elements and public cognition in Niujie as a “sub-society” in recent years (Wei Fang,2016).

In summary, the research on the representation and mechanism of spatial use transformation in the process of large-scale urban renewal in ethnic minority areas under the perspective of sharing city is still blank. Noteworthy, under the new "state-society" relationship, ethnic gathering areas are driven by capital interests, often forming a non-humanized spatial pattern of "close, high, mixed, and blocked", resulting in the destruction of the block scale, the urban texture mutation, the public space encroachment and the neighborhood relationship weaken (Huang Ling,2017). The renewal of Niujie is just reflecting this problem. Through this article, it can provide new ideas on how to evolve from this passive space open use to true community inclusive sharing.

3. Urban Renewal under the Dilapidated Housing Reform

3.1 History of Niujie

The focus of this case study is the urban renewal of Niujie district which is located in the south-central part of the old city of Beijing, under the jurisdiction of Xicheng District. As the largest Hui people's settlement in Beijing, Niujie has a long history. The textual information that clearly records the early development of the Niujie Hui community is found in the records of Gangzhi. The originally formed Niujie is a relatively independent “Jamaat” community. Jamaat can be understood as an independent religious unit. Muslims live in a Jamaat with a mosque as the core. Before 1949, Niujie Jamaat was relatively exclusive in terms of economy, social status and culture.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, a large number of central units and state-owned enterprises entered the western side of Niujie (formerly wasteland, vegetable garden, graveyard), where gradually formed a unit compound with central state-owned enterprises and residential facilities as its main functions, such as steel community. After the 1960s, the nationalization of private houses caused many Han people to flood into this area, and there was a degree of Hui people and Han people mixed living. Since then, the population

density of Niujie has become larger and larger, with the economic income of community members extremely low. Beijing has implemented a strict household registration management system, and it is difficult for the population to move out and move in this area. Therefore, population of the Hui population in this community has been objectively promoted.

During this period, the population density of Niujie increased sharply and the living conditions continued to deteriorate. Since the 1980s, Niujie has been renovated as a key crisis area in Beijing. The renewal project was mainly carried out in two stages.

The first batch of Dilapidated Housing Reform project is the transformation of the Niujie Chunfeng Hutong. The core goal of this stage is to improve the living problems of the residents. At that time, the renewal emphasized social benefits, which was entirely driven by the government and did not involve housing system reform. The project began in 1990 and was completed in 1993. 428 households were involved (Zhang Jinggan, 2001) (of which Hui residents accounted for 72.4% of the total households), and the relocation rate reached 84.6%. However, in this project, the residents' feedback was poor, and the living area and quality after the renovation did not improve, nor did they consider the protection of the original urban texture and social structure.

With the advancement of the market economy, the renovation of dilapidated buildings in Beijing has gradually turned to marketization. At that time, the local government took the residents' relocation as a precondition for bidding to the development company. The policy was that the households who are able to pay for the housing reform can move back. In October 1997, the overall renewal of Niujie was officially launched. The area ranges from Nanheng West Street and Zaolin Street in Xuanwu District to Guang'anmen Inner Street in the north, Jiaozi Hutong in the east and Baiguang Road in the west. The plan covers an area of 35.91 hectares. The original hutong became a number of planned roads with complete municipal facilities. The original 7.2-meter-wide Niujie street was widened to a 40-meter-wide avenue, leaving the shadow wall of the Niujie Mosque in the middle of the road. Other Hutong which were not demolished, such as the Shuru hutong, was also extended to 30 meters wide. The original residential area became a group of tall buildings (Figure 1).

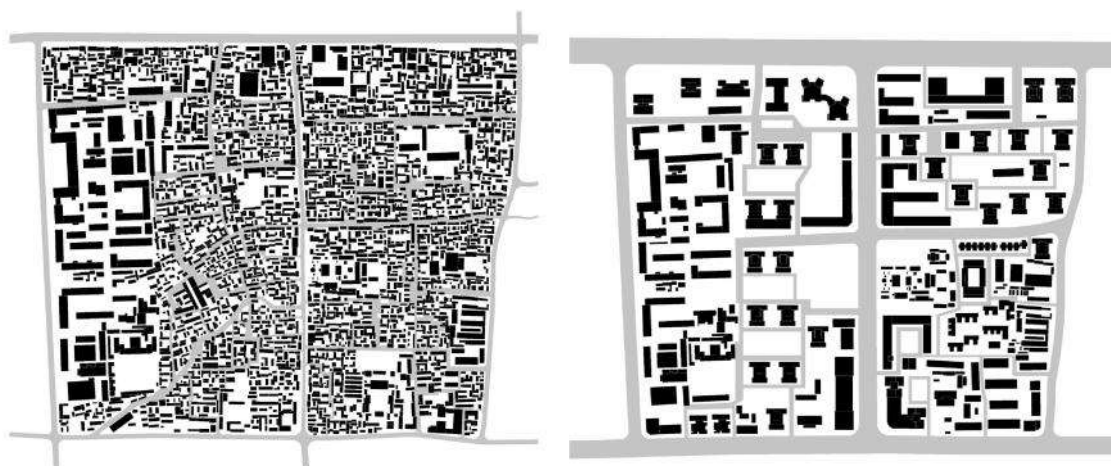


Figure 1. Textures of Niujié before and after the renewal

3.2 Multi-stakeholders behind the Dilapidated Housing Reform

Until 1997, Niujié has always maintained its post-liberation appearance. On the one hand, the pattern of street is preserved intact. On the other hand, various infrastructures are outdated and the problem of residential housing is becoming increasingly prominent. There is no major change in the social structure, but while maintaining the consistent tradition and lifestyle, people become more and more eager to the quality of modern life, and willing to integrate or partially integrate into the life and work mode of modern society. Since the 1990s, with the reform of the economic system and the rise of real estate, the value of land in the old city of Beijing has become increasingly prominent. The transformation of the old city has become a profitable economic activity. Real estate developers carry out commercial development in the name of “renovation of dilapidated buildings” in areas with good geographical location in the old city, where is easy demolition and low cost. In October 1997, the relevant departments of Beijing arbitrarily revised the “Niujié Protection Area” that had been placed under the key protected areas, and the large-scale renewal of Niujié began.

However, for sensitive areas such as Niujié, this large-scale commercial activity that relies on huge investment by real estate developers actually excludes the local original users, and real estate developers can obtain real income because they have mastered huge funds. During this process, original residents are in an absolute disadvantage. The large-scale renewal process may subjectively solve the housing problem for the residents, but objectively it has caused great unfairness in social distribution, which has triggered and deepened various social contradictions.

Despite this, the project has contributed to many changes in the Niujié settlement. These factors will undoubtedly have an impact on the interaction and identity of community

members. Coupled with the popularization of popular education, the generation of culture, the change and flow of members' social status due to different levels of education and occupational stratification will affect the interaction opportunities and group cohesion among members of the settlements to varying degrees.

4. The Transformation of Spatial Performance

4.1 Population Structure Periodic Influxes

In the process of the gradual disintegration of the Jamaat community, many Han people entered this area, and at the same time there was a periodic influxes of minority migrants based on cultural and religious identity.

Since the 1960s, the urban population in Beijing has grown dramatically. At that time, the government crowded a large number of new population into the Siheyuan in Niujie District, and the population density reached 37,400 people per square kilometer. In the renewal block, a total of 42 towers were built, 18 of which were commercial buildings, and the remaining 24 were "relocation buildings". The actual construction area was 520,000 square meters and 560,000 square meters, close to 1:1. This kind of development content has greatly increased the population density of the entire Niujie area, and the proportion of the Hui population has fallen sharply, which is followed by dramatic changes in the social structure.

With the development of transportation and communication, there are more and more pilgrims in the Niujie Mosque. These periodic influxes include the population of other provinces and cities that live in Beijing or temporarily come to Beijing, as well as Beijingers outside the Niujie community; not only Hui people, but also other Muslim and non-Muslim people. On the main day of the week (Friday), especially the annual Eid al-Fitr and the Eid al-Adha festival, these people will flock to the Niujie Mosque from all directions in Beijing to participate in the weekly gatherings. In particular, Xinjiang Muslims working in Beijing are mainly young and middle-aged, and some teenagers have become a particularly prominent group to attend the worship service at Niujie Mosque. At the end of November of the Islamic calendar, Muslims from all over the country who travel to Mecca via Beijing will also visit the Niujie Temple for worship.

4.2 Spatial Texture Change

From the perspective of space texture, the original hutong pattern on both sides of Niujie has undergone major changes, and the spatial scale of buildings and streets has become larger. The traditional public space organization system with "Mosque -Street" structure is weakened. The traditional space of the Hui community originally formed in the Niujie area is a model of "living around the Mosque", with the mosque as the core and the east-west streets. Niujie

Mosque is the most striking landmark building in Jamaat. The traditional Hui people believe that the buildings around the mosque cannot be higher than Mosque buildings. The Wangyue Building (formerly known as Bunker House) has always been the center of space and vision of the Hui people's residential area. Within 350 meters of the center, Bunker House summoned the Hui people to worship in the way of ringing the bell.

The structure of the religious center, which is unique to the Hui community, has changed during the road widening and housing renovation. The new road is a traffic trunk road connecting You'anmen and Xizhimen Street. The Shuru hutong and the Jiaozi hutong on the east side of Niujie are preserved, but the Zaolin hutong and Niujiesitiao hutong have completely disappeared. The street and lane pattern after the transformation began to reduce the support of the Mosque, and the core position of the mosque changed. Commercial activities and social activities carried out by Hui residents in the Hutong were also weakened.

4.3 Changes in the Use of Living Space

The residential space of the original Niujie Street has a pleasant space scale and is controlled to a height of less than 5 meters. It has a continuous architectural interface, a unified architectural style, harmonious architectural color, and partly reflects the characteristics of the Hui-Han-combination of business and residence. After the renewal, the Siheyuan turned into high-rise towers and multi-storey residential buildings up to 50 meters high. The bottom floor was attached with the business space, and the commercial functions and residential functions were almost completely separated.

In the transformation of the traditional courtyard living space, the traditional Hui residents' use of the courtyard is not only living, but also production and commercial activities. After the renewal, some of the people who have no economic ability to purchase houses have to leave Niujie and are arranged to live in other areas. The living space was changed from the residence of the cottage to the apartment, which reduced the opportunities for interaction and connections between the neighbours.

4.4 Changes in the Use of Public Service Space

Although the wide roads and independent high-rise residences have reduced the main forms of communication of the Hui people to a certain extent, the transformation of infrastructure, the improvement of public service space and the inflow of migrants have made the aborigines more integrated in social life, the community itself has also moved from exclusive to inclusive. Niujie Street Park and other large open spaces are not only for internal residents, but also serve nearby neighboring communities such as Fayuan Temple Block. During the transformation process, more convenient medical facilities and educational facilities were built or renovated in

the area, such as Beijing Changan Hospital, Chunfeng Community Health Service Station and Xuanwu Huimin Primary School. At the same time, more community service centers, banks, cinemas and other facilities have emerged. Most of these infrastructures were added after the renovation. While providing basic living security and convenience for local residents, the original closed space has been opened and shared to a certain extent through the public service space, making Hui residents and other people more ways and opportunities for communication.

4.5 Changes in Commercial Space Use

The commercial space before the renewal is mainly based on small-scale independent shops. The shops are small in size, mostly traditional buildings with a depth of 6-8 meters, a height of 3 meters and a width of 10-15 meters. In terms of distribution, all commercial hutongs are east-west, because Hui people used their own courtyard houses as commercial buildings. Therefore, the layout of the courtyards facing south and north makes the east-west commercial hutong very convenient. After the renewal, most small shops were integrated into the large-scale residential space, mostly 15-20 meters deep, 4 meters high and 25 meters wide. It retains the trend of the main commercial hutongs, such as Shuru hutong, but the total number of shops has declined, forming a large sales area such as Niujie Halal Supermarket, beef and mutton market. Besides, it lost the original “Front shop and back factory” pattern for business activities (Figure 2).



Figure 2. “Before and after factory” mode before transformation

Most of the daily activities of the residents on former community rely on the main street of Niujie. Now, although the types and organization of business have changed, the commercial activities are still the most dynamic part of Niujie street. The coincidence of commercial streets and traffic trunks has a negative impact on both functions, and the excessively wide road surface has caused a fatal split to the Niujie community (Figure 3). Before the transformation, Niujie had a large number of traditional old-fashioned shops, which gradually formed a good business culture atmosphere of hospitality and integrity. These distinctive business cultures

were very visible in the original small-scale shops and create a friendly atmosphere of communication. During the size of a single store space changing from small to large, the original space use characteristics and Hui business culture characteristics are weakened. However, it can also accommodate more foreign consumers to a certain extent, which increased the range of users of commercial space. Niujie's diverse and distinctive formats have attracted minority travel shoppers across the country, and have also met the needs of Chinese and foreign tourists and Beijing residents. These ingredients and multi-level consumer groups have brought new open features to Niujie.



Figure 3. Residential and business mode after transformation

4.6 Changes in Mosque space use

Before the transformation, the mosque was not only a religious center in the Jamaat, but also a political, economic, cultural, educational, civil and social activity center of the community. The first is to serve as a place to satisfy Islamic religious activities and major folk customs. For example, at the funeral every Friday, the annual Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr, Muslims go to the mosque for group worship; not to mention the festival celebrations, weddings and funerals of the Hui people, etc. Etiquette activities are also held in the mosque; in addition, the Niujie Mosque is also responsible for managing the daily life of the Hui people, in addition to its religious significance.

After the reconstruction of Niujie, the mosque was placed in the geographical center of the Jamaat in isolation. Regardless of its image, its appeal was significantly lower than that before the large-scale renewal in psychological position or the overall effect of the whole block. On the one hand, the image of the mosque is quite different from that of the high-rise towers. It is not as good as the previous comparison with the Siheyuan in terms of scale and color. Secondly, on the psychological scale, although many towers are still “circling around the Mosque”, they are suspected of “hiding” it. The excessive space and psychological distance between them and the mosque caused a psychological barrier between the Hui people and the mosque.

However, when other Hui communities gradually disappeared and declined in the new urban planning and construction, Niujie as a window to display the national style, its symbolic features gradually appeared. As an increasingly influential Muslim pilgrimage site, Niujie Mosque has become an important place for foreign pilgrims to communicate with local residents.

5. Conclusions

5.1 The Transformation of Space and Spatial Performance

The research finds that in terms of population structure, many Han people entered this area during the gradual disintegration of the “Jamaat” community. There were also periodic influxes of minority migrants based on cultural and religious identity. As for its spatial form, the original pattern of living around the temple has changed. Public space was traditionally organized along “Mosque-Street”, but it has been weakened after urban renewal. While excessively wide roads and independent high-rise residential buildings being built up, Hui community’s internal interactions have decreased. However, with infrastructure improvement and the inflow of migrants, the local community became less exclusive. Niujie as a window to display the national style, its symbolic features gradually appeared. As an increasingly influential Muslim pilgrimage site, Niujie Mosque has become an important place for foreign pilgrims to communicate with local residents.

Noteworthy, this large-scale renovation of Niujie was promoted mainly by Beijing’s municipal government. Considerable residents passively accepted it and adapted to the changes.

5.2 Critical Thinking on Opening and Sharing

As a special cell that constitutes the urban body, ethnic minority areas carry the daily clothing, food, shelter and transportation of ethnic minority residents. The opening of the Hui people's gathering area faces many challenges from ideal to reality. From policy formulation to implementation, it involves design specification revision, planning improvement, compensation mechanism, security guarantee and interest negotiation. Opening the original exclusive community, realizing the sharing of space, and finally achieving social sharing and inclusive development require a long process.

Community opening is the premise of space sharing. The original Hui community are exclusive in the commercial space and public space, the publicity is greatly weakened. It is difficult for residents to fully enjoy the scarce public space resources, and the good public facilities possessed by other communities cannot enter. But we should realize that the openness brought about by the simply massive refurbishment of communities and the influx

of migrants is not the same as sharing. The practice of not considering the social structure and the living habits of the aborigines in the process of opening up is not conducive to the inclusive sharing of the neighborhood, and only allows the residents to passively accept and adapt to this open form. Therefore, in the process of transformation and renewal, we should pay attention to the protection of the original texture of ethnic minority communities, as well as the coordination with urban texture, maintain the original social structure, and retain its traditional community culture. On this basis, through the combination of top-down government-led renewal and bottom-up self-renewal, the inclusive sharing of minority communities will be gradually promoted.

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The Impact of Community-Based Care Planning on Daily Life

Circles of the Elderly in Singapore

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Abstract

The Asian population is rapidly aging. It is predicted that more than 60 percent of global population over 60 years will live in Asia by 2030. Many of the physical and psychological changes associated with aging will pose a challenge to the care services for those frail elderly. Communities, where most senior citizens live and carry out their daily life, will become the best physical and social area for the implementation of formal and informal care services. To support happy and healthy older people aging in communities, we have to provide supportive physical environment, appropriate social and health services and programs, as well as sufficient caregivers within communities, which constitute the three key dimensions of community-based care planning for the elderly. The aim of the present study is to explore the impact of community-based care planning on the daily life circle of the elderly in Singapore.

Four public housing communities from four new towns with different physical environment, social and health services and programs, and caregivers were chosen as the case studies. First, current provision and configuration of community-based care facilities will be obtained via field observation, interviews of service providers and managers of care facilities, and documents. Second, ten elderly participants (over 55) will be selected using a snowball sampling method according to five levels of instrumental activities of daily living (IADL) in each community (n=40). Data about seniors' daily life circles (frequency, distance, duration etc.) will be collected through Global Positioning System (GPS) tracking of elders' everyday activity patterns and semi-structural interviews with the elderly participants and their caregivers. Qualitative analysis (mapping and content analysis) and quantitative analysis (GIS spatial analysis) will be used to explore the individual and collective influences of the main dimensions on seniors' daily life circles. We find that daily life circles of the elderly differentiate between the participants living in different communities. The outcomes of this study can contribute to the improvement of planning and designing of community-based care for the elderly in Asian high-density urban context or urbanising rural areas.

Keywords: community-based care planning, daily life circle, elderly

The Changing Nature of Urban Public Spaces within Sharing

Economies

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Abstract

Urban public spaces ensure the functional operation and resource sharing of a city. For centuries streets, plazas, and parks have played a key role in affording cultural, social, political, and economic activities for the benefit of society. However, because of new technologies and the evolving concept of sharing economies and the urban realm, the use of urban spaces are changing rapidly. Sharing economies, often defined as collaborative consumption or economy, or peer-to-peer economy, provides a process for underused resources to be easily shared or transferred to others to create more value or bring more benefits to society. As part of the ongoing smart city discussions planners and economists are looking into these concepts, questioning the socio-cultural and economic effects of a shared economy on the use of public space. For so long cities have looked at public spaces to ‘segregate, contain or enclose uses’ (Furman, 2017), which resulted in spaces with minimal cohesion among people. Designers have been considering how urban public spaces provide affordances that help create new relationships of use through technology and provide engaging public experiences within these spaces. However, how does a shared economy change the activities and ‘formation of space’ in city parks, plazas, and streets?

This study explores the impacts that a sharing economy may have on the way urban public spaces are generated, used, and changed. If we consider that ‘space’ in cities is a spectrum from the most public, such as the street to the privacy within homes, how is this spectrum is being revised or blurred by the technologies and socio-cultural and economic practices of the sharing economy? At the public end, we review the use of space along streets that change as autonomous cars and sharing technologies alter parking and drop-off patterns as well as dominion over the road. We examine the way that Privately Owned Public Spaces, introduced in New York in 1961, blurred the line between public and private use and enjoyment of urban spaces in plazas, parks, and even building interiors. We look at how the sharing economy may have increased, clarified, or confused POPS in cities such as New York or Seoul. Streets, sidewalks, porches, yards can all be altered by the technology and economics of sharing. At

the extreme end of the public/privacy spectrum, we investigate how sharing technologies such as AirBnB may change the intimate character of our living rooms, streets and neighborhoods.

Keywords: Collaborative Placemaking, Sharing Economy, Public/Private, Urban Spaces, Affordances

Transforming the Social and Ecological Landscape of an Inner-city Neighborhood: A Test Case of Tokyo's Kyojima Smart City Project

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Abstract

The proposition *urban systems design*, a smart city design method is proposed to integrate urban design, system thinking and emerging technologies such as IoT. It is a joint process of system science and creative co-design activities. The method was applied to a smart city project in Kyojima of Sumida Ward, an inner-city neighborhood of Tokyo. The paper reviews the process how the *urban systems design* method was tested in the actual urban context of Kyojima, from defining the problems, mapping the community to modeling the performance, including energy, carbon, mobility, human comfort and system resiliency. A key question is asked in this paper: How is the urban systems design approach, an iteration of modeling and designing, realized in actual urban context of Tokyo's Kyojima? The Kyojima smart city project defines a CD-J (a Conceptual Design in Japanese context) scenario, a future city model that connects Kyojima's smart city systems design to its social network, ecological landscape and profound cultural meanings in history. Kyojima was transformed incrementally from an agricultural landscape before WWII to its urban environment of the 2010s today, which lacks modern city planning because of its intricate ownerships and geographic location. The urban road networks were built on top of irrigation patterns, and the fact that its terrain is below the sea level explain urban problems and environmental crises in which high-density urban development confronts natural environments. The consequences of the organic urban growth resulted in a walkable neighborhood environment, narrow street network and intricate block structure reflect the patterns of irrigation systems of its historical landscape of Kyojima. The narrow alleys and streets, however, have been concerns of Tokyo's Sumida Ward district government about urban fire safety during disaster risk planning of the earthquake and flooding. The government has been moving the "road widening" project, open space planning and community revitalization under the disaster conscious policy. The challenge of the Kyojima smart city project is to enhance those community resiliency and disaster risk management,

without compromising its existing quality of street patterns and pedestrian friendly and walkable environment by simply widening the road using modern city planning tools. The paper concludes with a bottom-up approach of “green urban systems design”, a small-scale experiment by readjusting urban network, enhancing pedestrian flows, reducing the car driving trip generation and mitigation risks and carbon emission through a green and smart community revitalization.

Keywords: urban systems design, co-design, smart city, social network, ecological landscape

Book Wall - Adaptive and Integrated Urban Shared Reading Space

Abstract ID # pUS1

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Abstract

The reading level of Chinese urban inhabitants is backward compared with that of the developed countries, so it is an important aspect of the cultural and ethical progress to improve the reading habits of citizens. Plenty of researches have revealed the significant relationship between human behavior in the public space and characteristics of the built environment. As the common spatial element in Chinese cities, walls, which mostly act as urban barriers, lead to the formation of numerous negative boundaries, hinder the openness, accessibility and continuity of urban public space, and set a strong limitation on people's activities and cognitions in the urban space. The design project, 'Book Wall', is a small-scale intervention that answers directly to the problems mentioned above. Through the redesign of existing walls, they are no longer the pure urban barriers, but available, accessible and flexible reading places in daily life with their level of permeability adapting to the changing needs and conditions. The poster starts with a brief introduction including the reading conditions of Chinese urban inhabitants, the influence of urban exterior space on people's reading behavior and the spatial characteristics of Chinese cities. After that, the aim of this poster that is to promote paper reading and build up shared reading space in the city is illustrated and interpreted. Then the poster analyzes the distribution and operational mode of 'book wall', together with its innovative tectonic design and multiple ways of utilization. 'Book wall' won the first prize of Zijin Design Competition in 2016. Shortly after that, a 1:1 scale model has been built and tested in use which showed great feasibility and potential of improving public reading.

Keywords: Urban exterior space; Book wall; Shared reading space; Human Scale; Adaptive design

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