AESOP-Young Academics

Open Access Journal

Volume 10 / December 2020

AESOP

YOUNG ACADEMICS NETWORK

plaNext

NEXT GENERATION PLANNING

Planning Inclusive Spaces:
An Inter- and Transdisciplinary Approach

Open Access Journal

plaNext – Next Generation Planning

Along the concentrated efforts of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) to Open Access scholarly planning debates, the young academics network of AESOP continues to publish its international peer-reviewed open access e-journal, *plaNext*. *plaNext* provides prospective authors an opportunity to engage their ideas in international planning debates as well as make their research available to the wider planning audience. *plaNext* invites authors to submit original work that includes: empirical research; theoretical discussions; innovative methodologies; case studies; and, book reviews on selected books, textbooks, or specific topics dealing within planning.

For more information about *plaNext* and to access all publications, please visit the journal's homepage at http://journals.aesop-planning.eu/. You are also welcome to reach us at planext@aesop-youngacademics.net

plaNext Editorial Board

Peer Review Statement

plaNext is an international, peer-reviewed journal publishing high-quality and original research. All submitted manuscripts are subject to initial appraisal by the Editor, before being reviewed by two or three semi-open expert referees. All manuscripts are open access published. This means that published manuscripts are freely and permanently available to the general public. There is no subscription fee, article pay-to-view fee or any other form of access fee; and no publication embargo is applied.

Open Access Journal

Editorial Board

Editors of Volume 10, Special Edition

Acknowledgment

The Editorial Board of pla*N*ext would like to warmly thank Prof. Roger Keil and the reviewers of this volume whose critique significantly helped the authors to strengthen their manuscripts. The following are the reviewers who accepted to disclose their names.

Reviewers

Open Access Journal

VOLUME TEN, SPECIAL EDITION
Planning Inclusive Spaces: An Inter- and Transdisciplinary Approach

Each year, pla*N*ext aims to publish two volumes; one of which presents a collection of original works following an open call, and the other presents a selection of articles from the AESOP Young Academics (YA) conference of the previous year. This volume includes two sections. Section one represents the 13th AESOP-YA Annual Conference, *"Planning inclusive spaces: An inter- and transdisciplinary approach,"* held in Darmstadt, Germany, April 2019. Invited authors' contributions went through a rigorous peer-review process in which Prof. Roger Keil from York University, was invited to the editors of this volume, formed by Pinar Dörder who is *member of plaNext Editorial Board* and the Chair of *YA-AESOP Coordination Team,* and Batoul Ibrahim who is *member of both plaNext Editorial Board* and the YA-AESOP Network. To this section of volume 10 the editors invited twelve excellent manuscripts, presented at the different sessions of the conference. The ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, however, has had dramatic effects on the review process and certainly on all aspects of life. Only three contributors were able to complete and submit their top-quality contributions. Their manuscripts explore a range of complex matters that challenge but also inspire the "planning of inclusive spaces", reflecting on topical debates in academia and planning practice. With their contributions, this volume seeks new ideas and technologies that can facilitate a sustainable transition towards (more) inclusive spaces.

Section two includes individual articles that are not attributed to any special issue, but they were published Online First. In this section, you will find an article authored by Basak Tanulku, and titled Urban Space-Making through Protests: The Transformation of Gezi Park into a Bricolage.

Content

Section one - special issue

Section two - open call articles

Open Access Journal

Notes on Contributors

Roger Keil is a Professor at the Faculty of Environmental and Urban Change, York University in Toronto, Canada. He is the author of Suburban Planet (Polity 2018), co-editor, with Judy Branfman of *Public Los Angeles: A Private City's Activist Futures* (UGAPress 2020), with Xuefei Ren, of *The Globalizing Cities Reader* (Routledge 2017) and with K. Murat Güney and Murat Üçoğlu of *Massive Suburbanization* (UTP 2019). Keil research areas are global suburbanization, cities and infectious disease, regional governance and urban political ecology.

Pınar Dörder is an architect and urban planner. She is a Ph.D. candidate at the Technical University of Darmstadt and researches the settlement growth and urban green spaces in the Frankfurt Rhine-Main region. She is the Chair of the AESOP Young Academics Network.

Batoul Ibrahim is a Ph.D. candidate at CZU Prague. She has a degree in civil engineering from Damascus University. Her Ph.D. research is about planning in the post-conflict era in Syria and investigating the adequate spatial approach for the reconstruction era. It concentrates on the resettlement process, polycentric development, and planning policies. Between 2018 and 2020, Batoul was an elected member of the Coordination Team of AESOP Young Academics Network.

Céline Janssen is a PhD researcher at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at TU Delft. She holds a master's degree in Urbanism which she obtained at the same faculty. Her research interests concern social sustainability, inclusion, migration, urban development and governance.

Tom Daamen is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at TU Delft, and Director of the Dutch Area Development Knowledge Foundation (SKG).

Co Verdaas is part-time professor Urban Area Development at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at TU Delft. At the same time, he is governor at the waterboard Waterschap Rivierenland. After he received his PhD on planning systems, he has had more than 20 years of experience in both research and practice. He has held various functions in the public sector, private sector and politics.

Dexter Du is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Reading. He is interested in the field of urban governance and its linkage to planning and real estate. Previously, he graduated from the University of Groningen (Research M.Sc. in Regional Studies) and Peking University (B.Eng. in Urban Planning and B.Sc. in Psychology).

Elisa Privitera. received her MSc in Building Engineering-Architecture (University of Catania) with a thesis on constructing an urban community lab within the Sicilian neighborhood San Berillo. She specialized in local participatory action and public debate (IUAV). She is a Ph.D. student at the University of Catania and a member of LabPEAT (Ecological Design Lab). She investigates the hybrid commonground where subaltern communities and engaged researchers contribute to the planning of contaminated areas. In 2020, she co-founded the social cooperative Trame di Quartiere and joined the Coordination Team of the AESOP Young Academics Network.

Basak Tanulku independent researcher from Istanbul, Turkey, with a PhD degree in Sociology from Lancaster University, the UK. Tanulku aims to understand and demonstrate the relationship between people and space, particularly how they shape each other. Tanulku mainly focuses on urban transformation, various conflicts over the ownership of and access to urban space, different forms of urban vacant land, and socio-spatial fragmentation and housing. Tanulku has also published on urban activism and alternative spaces such as urban guerrilla gardens and squats. Tanulku has also published works on social and political issues such as environment, urban and rural natural and cultural heritage, urban animals and gender. Last but not least, Tanulku is interested in Cumbria and the Lake District (the UK), particularly the dilemma between its cultural and natural landscape.

Open Access Journal

Editorial: Planning inclusive spaces–in a new light

Pınar Dörder
TU Darmstadt, Germany
Corresponding author, pinar.bilgic@stadt.tu-darmstadt.de

Batoul Ibrahim
Czech University of Life Sciences Prague, Czech Republic

Roger Keil
York University, Canada

Please cite as: Dörder, P., Ibrahim, B. & Keil, R. (2020). Editorial: Planning inclusive spaces – in a new light. *plaNext – next generation planning*. 10: 5-9. DOI: 10.24306/plnxt/63.

It is deeply satisfying to know that Volume 10 of AESOP Young Academics' peer-reviewed journal pla*N*ext – Next Generation Planning is now available to you. This volume stems from the 13th Young Academics conference which took place from the 2nd to the 5th of April 2019 in Darmstadt and was hosted by the Graduate School of Urban Studies (URBANgrad) at the Faculty of Architecture of Technical University of Darmstadt. The conference was held under the title "Planning inclusive spaces: An inter- and transdisciplinary approach" and provided 50 young planning researchers with a platform for exchange for the following themes: "'Public space' and the dilemma of inclusion," "Health promoting urban planning and design," "Citizenship and governance in the production of space," and "From sustainable to resilient urban strategies."

This volume comprises three top-quality papers which were presented at the conference. These are highly valuable contributions, as they approach complex matters of "planning inclusive spaces" from a variety of aspects, make critical observations, and reframe and reflect on topical debates in academia and planning practice. By presenting these papers, we believe this volume provides an insight into advancing our collective knowledge through the debates on inclusivity. We learn our lessons from policies and practices that are "good" but also from those that are "not so good". The volume, therefore, shares these perspectives and viewpoints with relevance to the conference theme, and it does so by trying to identify what is really needed to adequately address spatial challenges and to facilitate a sustainable transition towards (more) inclusive spaces through inter- and transdisciplinarity.

Open Access Journal

The complexities of life in cities, including but not limited to the consequences of recent migration flows and patterns and climate change have exposed societies to a precarious present and future, and socially unjust urban development. Unless these complexities are managed by democratic, progressive and redistributive planning models, living urban spaces would become dysfunctional, with worsened conditions to the disadvantaged. Several planning scholars thus call for inter- and transdisciplinary approaches that are needed to rethink the principles of inclusion to inform the current planning models in the face of unprecedented global challenges. In this context it is perhaps legitimate to discuss not only planning for inclusivity but also inclusive planning. This also aligns with the transformative promise of the 2030 United Nations Agenda for Sustainable Development, 'leave no one behind.'

The contributions in this volume explore this and other related questions from different perspectives and contexts. While they investigate the contribution of public participation to inclusive cities, they explain how uncritical engagement in the principles of inclusion risk the production of new patterns of injustices. The main questions investigated in the contributions, among others, are: what forms of governance and planning governance are needed to promote contextualized inclusion? Why is (local) politics a game-changer? What principles should be taken into consideration to ensure inclusive processes when partnering the private and voluntary sectors?

Social sustainability, urban innovation, and collaborative production of space

In the paper "Implementing Social Sustainability in Area Development Projects in the Netherlands," the authors Céline Janssen, Tom Daamen, and Co Verdaas look at the interdisciplinary practice of area development in the Netherlands. Two main questions guide the discussion: how are perceived social sustainability dimensions operationalized, and how does this relate to governance configurations and decision-making? Priorities for social sustainability emerging from the housing shortage, rising land prices, immigration, socio-economic segregation, as well as their spatial representation are pointed out as the centers of gravity in the debate going on at the intersection of area development projects and social sustainability. When it comes to implementation, the ambiguity of concepts and variety of dimensions and definitions of the term "social sustainability" adds another layer of complexity.

To further the discussion on operationalization, the authors employ Dixon & Woodcraft's (2013) conceptualization of social sustainability. Through this lens, one also acknowledges what is beyond the 'area' itself: a space to grow, a connection to the local and regional economy, and a consideration of environmental objectives. Although area development can be imagined as a tangible process that is bound to its on-site spatiality and temporality, it is not without its intangible tensions and conflicts among actors from various levels and scales, from individual to international, including private investments and political tendencies. This is a clear demonstration that governance conditions indeed shape urban processes. At this point, the first paper of this volume, written by Janssen et al., refer to an example by Elander & Gustavson (2019) for the case of Sweden that a successful integration of social objectives in policies does not guarantee anticipated outcomes. A mismatch in the levels and scales of administration seems to be evident: the central government is "governing from distance" with its regulatory power and financial and steering measures, whereas local authorities need to make all efforts compatible with the actual local needs. Another misalignment in this respect is found to be evident between the public interests which tend to be long-term and are facilitated by slower actions, and private interests which tend to be short-term and focus on quicker financial gains.

Open Access Journal

All these necessitate a new look into the implementation of social sustainability in the context of area development, and perhaps a reframing. Janssen et al. propose that the conceptual foundation they build can, in fact, be put into use as it enables an analytical approach, which is supposed to help look into governance dynamics surrounding social sustainability. They conclude that implementing social sustainability in area development projects is indeed a governance process, which is vulnerable to the tensions between politics on the public end, and market-driven economy on the private end. One has to understand the complex nature of the variables at play well, and embrace their cognitive, strategic, and institutional uncertainties, as this seems to be a precondition that implementing social sustainability brings the outcomes it promises.

In the second paper, titled “Urban living lab: What is it, and what is the matter?”, Dexter Du introduces and highlights the current debates around the concept Urban Living Lab (ULL). To put it simply, ULL can be understood as a form that urban innovation and experimentation takes. Du’s point of entry is that, though there are some gaps which need to be addressed, a critical confrontation seems to be lacking. To tackle this, the ambiguity of spatiotemporality of ULL’s emphasis on “real” time and environment is questioned: attention and popular perception may hinder the questioning of the political context—as this is often the case with such highly-contested issues. The motivation for ULLs rests on the premise that a conventional business-as-usual is no more sustainable, and urban innovation and experimentation in actual situations beyond artificial environments and controlled conditions can provide the necessary responses. Against this backdrop, the research follows the line of thinking which leads to asking why ULL has had this certain development path and not any other, and how they may unfold in the future.

Du’s critical reflection on ULL’s spatiotemporality shows that in terms of its spatiality, it is true that an urban experiment would be limited to a space, but this is not to separate or isolate it from what is going on in its surroundings in a physical sense. Though such place-boundness is clear, temporality is a bit tricky, because it is oftentimes referred to as being “real” time, without further exploration on what being “real-time” actually entails. Another critical reflection delves deeper into the origin of the term and uncovers that although the MIT definition of ULL from the 2000s is frequently referred to, an older definition by Bajgier et al. (1991) was able to better capture ULL’s recent implications. Such revelations are proof enough that questioning what is beyond apparent meanings is indeed a critical practice. Still, if the definitions and origins are so inconclusive, what is the way forward?

Du points out that one way of finding this is to be proactive and connect the dots. In the article, this is done by bringing together the discussions around production of knowledge and the knowledge economy, with an emphasis on the role universities and politics play. For instance, the fact that most ULL projects are also smart city projects is indeed an interesting one. Most of the time, data collection tends to be entirely open. But is the decision-making based on this data also an entirely open process? In this case, if the university-end of this equation represents “openness,” then is the politics-end representing “closeness”? In an attempt to respond to these questions, one thing to do could be to take a step back and reset our intentions to the benefit of the greater good, which may then diminish the importance of labelling any practice (e.g. as ULLs).

In her paper “The third sector in the planning, production, and regeneration of inclusive public space: Notes from an ongoing experience in a distressed Sicilian neighborhood”, Elisa Privitera focuses on formal and informal re-appropriation and self-recovery practices in distressed neighborhoods in San Berillo.

In Southern Italy, both public and private funds for production and regeneration of public spaces have diminished. However, there are collaborative efforts to produce and regenerate public space, though such practices may be ineffectual and confront the consequences of informality and irregularity, potentially diminishing their power to become a highly beneficial, consistently applicable local strategy. As tensions among the main actors, i.e. individuals, collective public, private, and social actors are shaping the intangible aspects of "space," the third sector (non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, volunteers, etc.) receive attention. In search of an answer to the question, how collaborative paths emerge and in what ways they are important for the public spaces of such distressed contexts, the author introduces a fundamental line of thinking: collaboration, when deliberate, triggers innovation. And this innovation takes place in the "third-place," which is where experiences (the first place: the tangible aspect of built environment, actual, real) and expectations (the second place: the perception of the first place, virtual, imagined) unite. This is then the "enabling" space for experimental, collaborative processes, which is to some extent conditioned by planning practices, but in turn also influence planning processes.

Based on this, Privitera decodes the invisible practices of regeneration by site visits and systematic observations of social interactions. The core issue is, therefore, the collaborative experiments of "enabling" spaces, exemplified by the "invisible" practices of regeneration, which exist in-between inclusivity and exclusivity, formal and informal, conditioned and influential. This alone emphasizes the importance of the third sector, third place, and that deliberate efforts of collaboration which triggers innovation. But there are several dead-ends. The way to resolve challenges will include finding innovative ways to involve administration in self-organized inclusive placemaking and coming up with bottom-up proposals, but not without taking up on the responsibilities that come with it.

Towards post-pandemic inclusive spaces

There is no doubt that the recent COVID19 pandemic has been introducing countless unprecedented challenges to the communities worldwide, including all aspects of life such as public health, economic prosperity, including the way cities function. But more importantly, if we are to "plan" our way out, a better approach to inclusivity, beyond disciplinary or sectoral limitations, will be imperative. It seems that the core issues the authors talk about in this volume—social sustainability, urban innovation, co-production of public space—are not only the debates of the pre-pandemic planning research and practice, but also the building blocks of a post-pandemic urban life.

Resilience theory tells us that crises have transformative power and are therefore windows for opportunity. However, a crisis alone does not inherently bring about a systemic transformation towards a better world. There is still a lot of uncertainty surrounding the move towards post-pandemic phase. Despite the intense research regarding the virus, and the vaccine, people may need to be vaccinated against the coronavirus for "many years to come" (Euronews, 2021). This means that the virus is "here to stay" Scudellari (2020), and therefore, the gap between the rich and poor countries will widen in terms of providing the vaccine, and the consequences that will follow, which raises the question of what the new normal will be. The work towards the new normal will be "built on an oscillating reality with no fixed parameters" (Keil, forthcoming).

Currently, our capacity to navigate our way through is indeed dependent on how we deal with inclusivity: the pandemic has not just revealed where our social fabric has gotten thin—with

most damage done by the virus among the poor, racialized and precariously housed and employed communities—it has also deepened those inequalities even further with no clear exit strategy to make the structural changes that created those injustices in the first place. From the point of planning research and practice, having embraced the crisis "as a moment of change rather than continuity" (Hertel & Keil, 2020), followed by witnessing "urban planning's insurgent moment" after George Floyd's killing (Keil & Hertel, 2020), it is high time that we ask ourselves the extent to which we have made effective use of the instruments the planning profession provides us with.

References

Bajgier, S., Maragah, H, Saccucci, M., Verzilli, A. & Prybutok, V. (1991). Introducing students to community operations research by using a city neighbourhood as a living laboratory. *Operations Research, 39*(5): 701-709. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1287/opre.39.5.701

Dixon, T., & Woodcraft, S. (2013). Creating strong communities – measuring social sustainability in new housing development. *Town & Country Planning, 82*(11), 473-480.

Elander, I., & Gustavsson, E. (2019). From policy community to issue networks: Implementing social sustainability in a Swedish urban development programme. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 1-20. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654418820077

Euronews (2021). *We may need COVID vaccines for 'many years to come', says German Chancellor Merkel.* Retrieved February 02, 2021, from https://www.euronews.com/2021/02/02/we-may-need-covid-vaccines-for-many-years-to-come-says-german-chancellor-merkel

Hertel, S. & Roger K. (2020) After Isolation: Urban Planning and the COVID-19 Pandemic, Ontario Professional Planners Institute (blogpost), Retrieved April 27, 2020, from https://ontarioplanners.ca/blog/planning-exchange/may-2020/after-isolation-urban-planning-and-the-covid-19-pandemic

Keil, R. (forthcoming) The "after time". How do we know what normal to plan for? *disP – The Planning Review*.

Keil, R. & Sean H. (2020). COVID-19: Climate emergency, COVID-19, Black Lives Matter: urban planning's insurgent moment, COVID-19: The future of cities and urban living, Public Policy Institute, The University of Western Australia, Retrieved July 1, 2020, from https://www.news.uwa.edu.au/archive/2020070112198/uwa-public-policy-institute/covid-19-climate-emergency-covid-19-black-lives-matter-urb/

Scudellari, M. (2020). How the pandemic might play out in 2021 and beyond. *Nature.* 584: pp. 22-25. DOI: 10.1038/d41586-020-02278-5

Open Access Journal

Implementing Social Sustainability in Area Development Projects in the Netherlands

Céline Janssen
Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands
*Corresponding author: Celine.Janssen@tudelft.nl

Tom Daamen
Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands

Co Verdaas
Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands

During recent decades, urbanization processes and changing population compositions in European cities have underlined the relevance of social sustainability for urban development. Despite a growing amount of research on the social sphere of sustainability, the actual implementation of social sustainability in area development projects remains problematic. In the Netherlands, as in most other European countries, area development is understood as an interdisciplinary practice that strives to integrate strategies, activities and interests of public and private actors into perceived sustainable projects. If area development projects are considered as acts of policy implementation, two questions rise: 1) How are social sustainability dimensions planned, operationalized and implemented through area development projects? and 2) How are they related to governance configurations and mechanisms that relate to decision-making and interventions in these area development projects? The main aim of this paper is to construct a theoretically informed analytical approach to be further developed and applied in PhD research about the implementation of perceived “social sustainability” in area development projects in the Netherlands. We conclude that the implementation of social sustainability in area development projects is a governance process that requires political interventions in a market-driven society and hypothesize that the outcomes of social sustainability in area development are dependent on various aspects of this governance process.

Keywords: area development; social sustainability; implementation; urban governance

Please cite as: Janssen, C., Daamen, T. & Verdaas, C. (2020). Implementing social sustainability in area development projects in the Netherlands. *plaNext – next generation planning*. 10: 10-21. DOI: 10.24306/plnxt/64.

Introduction: a changing demography, housing shortage and a call for inclusive cities

During the recent decades, urbanization processes and changing population compositions in European cities have underlined the relevance of social sustainability for urban development. While sustainability has gained grounds in the fields of urban policy, planning and development, an increasing attraction of urbanized areas for people, as well as for industries to locate themselves in inner-city areas puts space in cities under pressure. Many West-European cities are experiencing rising land prices and shortages in the housing stock (Knight Frank Research, 2018), increasing immigrant inflows (Goodson et al., 2017) and increasing socio-economic segregation (Musterd et al., 2017). These trends particularly emphasize the need to pay attention to social sustainability in urban development.

In the Netherlands, demographic prognoses show that the population is changing (Kooiman et al., 2016). Three main trends are observed: 1) the Dutch population ages and the percentage of single households grows; 2) the interest in collaborative housing grows, along with the risk for segregation between population groups; 3) the amount of immigration increases more than emigration, resulting in an increase of diversity of origin among the population. These demographic trends call for a transformation of the housing stock in a way that it will provide more space for one-person households, more variety in housing typologies and will stimulate social cohesion (Daamen & Janssen, 2019).

At the same time in the Netherlands, a housing shortage of 1 - 3 % is faced in most of the regions of the country (Lennartz, 2018). The national government has expressed its ambition to build 1 million new homes by 2030 and to create spaces that are available for ‘everyone’. Also on the local level, an explicit call for ‘building for everyone’ – or ‘inclusive cities’ as used in the spatial planning debate – has been made in the coalition agreements of the four largest cities of the Netherlands. Within the policy objectives of these agreements, several aspects of social sustainability are emphasized, such as quality of life (Gemeente Den Haag, 2018), affordable housing (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018), safety (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018) and healthy environments (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018).

Despite the above-mentioned ambitions, the national government has not provided distinct spatial visions or spatial planning tools on how to achieve the ambition to build 1 million new homes. As agreements in national investments funds for infrastructure do not seem to correspond with the locations available for housing in the Netherlands, practical hindrances are foreseen in the realization of the 1 million new homes by 2030 (BNR Webredactie, 2019; Redactie Gebiedsontwikkeling.nu, 2019).

In this research, we assume that there is a discrepancy between policy ambitions for socially sustainable cities from a political perspective and the operational outcomes in urban areas, which we connect with a dearth of understanding about the governance of area development projects. Therefore, this PhD research aims to identify governance aspects that are related to the way that social sustainability is implemented in area development projects. This paper builds an analytical approach from a governance perspective that will be applied in further research about social sustainability in area development projects in the Netherlands. The next section elaborates on the definition of social sustainability in urban areas and defines the normative approach of this research. Section 3 addresses the implementation process of social sustainability in area development projects. Section 4 is concerned with governance issues of area development projects and results in the analytical approach to perceive the implementation of social sustainability from an urban governance point of view.

Open Access Journal

Social sustainability in urban areas

In the Netherlands, the significance of sustainability in area development is underlined in the professional debate: every next area development should be sustainable (Daamen, 2019). Definitions of sustainability often refer to the definition of sustainable development by the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) in the Brundtland Report: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This definition implies that sustainability is something positive that should be pursued, as emphasized by Davidson (2010, p. 872): "Sustainability, it seems, has now become a prefix for almost anything…for example, 'sustainable hair' is better than the 'old hair'." From this broad, normative notion of sustainability, we question in this section what it is that social sustainability in urban areas should pursue.

Social sustainability: an ambiguous concept with various dimensions

Despite a growing amount of research on the social sphere of sustainability, the actual implementation of social sustainability in area development projects remains problematic. Although the Netherlands has a long tradition in socio-spatial policies, evaluators are critical about the positive effects that previous social policy programmes for urban development have had (Engbersen et al., 2007; Permentier et al., 2013). Social sustainability is an ambiguous concept with various conceptual definitions and normative dimensions (see Table 1 and Table 2), which may explain why no consensus on its definition has been reached yet and why implementation efforts are challenging. As McKenzie (2004, p. 30) argues, comprehensive definitions are often too vague and don't clarify the aspects and interconnection between the aspects that are suggested. Obviously, one single definition of social sustainability does not represent the complexity of the concept and so efforts to define it are futile (Rashidfarokhi et al., 2018, p. 1272).

Table 1. Conceptual definitions of social sustainability.

	Conceptual definitions
(McKenzie, 2004)	as a positive condition within communities, and a process within communities that can achieve that condition
(Gressgård, 2015)	as a way to mobilize people under a future vision
(Boström, 2012)	as a frame that can assists in discussions about social policies, rather than a concept with a ready-to-use definition
(Missimer, Robèrt, & Broman, 2016)	as the lack of hindrances in society for health, influence, competence, impartiality and meaning-making
(Chiu, 2003)	as the social conditions necessary to support environmental sustainability
(Chiu, 2003)	as the maintenance of social structures during activities for social change
(Chiu, 2003)	as the maintenance and improvement of the well-being of people in this and future generations

Table 2. Normative dimensions of social sustainability, based on (Boström, 2012; Bramley et al., 2006; Chiu, 2003; Dempsey et al., 2012; Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013; Eizenberg & Jabareen, 2017; McKenzie, 2004; Polèse & Stren, 2000; Rashidfarokhi et al., 2018; Shirazi & Keivani, 2019; Vallance et al., 2009)

Social equity	**Sense of community**
Quality of life	Social cohesion
Democracy	Social capital
Diversity	Social inclusion
Individual well-being	Collective well-being

Open Access Journal

The pursuit of improved quality of life

Among the various definitions, social sustainability is in this paper conceptually interpreted as the pursuit of maintaining people's well-being, now and in the future (Chiu, 2003) (see Table 1). This interpretation emphasizes the normative dimension of social sustainability, arguing that the essence of social sustainability is about the aspiration of 'better' social conditions for all people. Yet within this broad normative interpretation of social sustainability, numerous fundamental values are mentioned in literature that are associated with social sustainability. Whereas some authors point out an elaborative number of values, such as social equity, social inclusion, social cohesion, social capital, community participation and safety (Rashidfarokhi et al., 2018) other authors are more distinct in pointing out that social sustainability is in essence about social equity and a sense of community (Dempsey et al., 2012). In Table 2, the fundamental values of social sustainability found in literature are listed.

Social equity and sense of community

The various values distinguish between 'social equity' and 'sense of community'. The difference between them is that values related to the former one address all individuals within society, whereas values related to the latter one can apply merely to a specific group in a society. In area development, this distinction between equity-related and community-related values appears when projects that include forms of co-creation or community participation are claimed to be socially sustainable, while societal issues on a larger scale level, such as the duplication of the number of homeless people in the Netherlands during the recent decade (CBS, 2019), remain. It is argued by Davidson (2010) and Maloutas (2003) that a majority of work in the social sustainability discussion passes over its normative content; a trend that these authors relate to a withdrawal of social objectives in urban policies as politically necessary under neoliberalism. Similarly, Rashidfaroskhi et al. (2018) claim that social sustainability is too often translated as community participation. In the same vein, Woodcraft (2016) criticizes housebuilders in the United Kingdom who legitimize their involvement in social sustainability by the efforts put in quality of place and social capital, but tend to neglect concerns about social equity.

In an attempt to capture both radical and less radical social values within social sustainability, we consider 'quality of life' including collective well-being and individual well-being, suggested by Dixon and Woodcraft (2013) as the most accurate description of the core value of social sustainability. Social sustainability is not just about a community feeling or a socially pleasant environment for a certain group, and not just about social justice for all inhabitants in one place – it is about the combination of both that contributes to an overall quality of life for all inhabitants locally, nationally and world-wide.

Implementing social sustainability in area development

From planning to operationalization

The discussion on social sustainability in urban development and its underlying values covers several 'stages' of urban development: ranging from how social sustainability can be planned to how social sustainability can be operationalized through specific programmes or projects. In this paper, urban development projects are seen as 'processes of implementation' that include several stages such as planning and operationalization. During the recent decades, the principle of equity has received increasing attention in planning theory. Following Harvey's (2003) plea for social justice as a normative concept for contemporary cities in democratic

societies, Fainstein posits the just city as the appropriate object of planning (Fainstein, 2005, p. 126). The 'just city' models proclaims that in a neo-liberal societal context, incomes and public resources have become more unequally distributed in cities and that inequality must be overcome by an active role of urban planners (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2015, p.8). While a theoretical debate on a conceptual and normative level can lead to initial planning principles built on values such as equality, diversity and democracy, the discussion of social sustainability at a further 'stage' of urban development is concerned with the operationalization of social sustainability in urban areas through urban development programmes (Elander & Gustavsson, 2019; Vranken et al., 2003) or urban development projects (Dixon & Woodcraft, 2013; Langergaard, 2019).

In this research, we turn our perspective towards area development projects and ask ourselves how through such a project social sustainability in urban areas can be advanced. We build on Social Life's social sustainability framework that integrates different dimensions and provides a framework for practical action to build new communities that are successful and sustainable in the long term (Woodcraft et al., 2012). It subdivides social sustainability into four dimensions: 1) amenities and infrastructure, 2) social and cultural life, 3) voice and influence and 4) space to grow. Complementary, there are overarching dimensions which goes and relate (i) to the way the area is connected to local and regional economy, and (ii) to environmental objectives (see Figure 1).

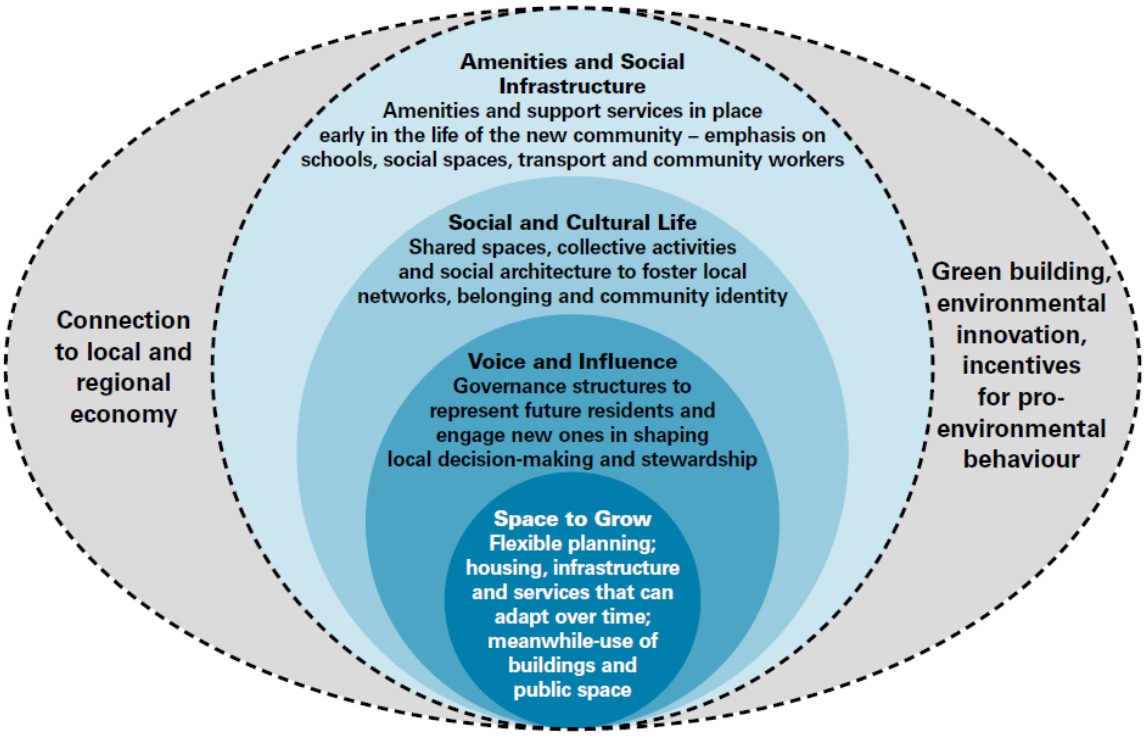

***Figure 1**. Social Life's social sustainability framework (Woodcraft et al., 2012, p. 22).*

Yet, it has to be taken into account that physical space in urban areas is typically limited and that in all projects, decisions have to be made about what operational indicators are actually implemented and which ones are not, leading to unique outcomes in each area development project. In this research, we are especially interested in the reason why outcomes of social

sustainability in projects become the way that they are. Therefore, we focus on the implementation processes of moving from normative, conceptual definitions to operationalization in area development projects. By taking pragmatic concerns into account and by focusing on the operational side of area development projects, it can be understood in a better way how decisions on interventions and investments in real estate are made and how the concept of social sustainability is translated by different actors (Woodcraft, 2012, p. 30).

Area development: the Dutch practice

In the Netherlands, area development is understood as an interdisciplinary practice that strives to integrate strategies, activities and interests of public and private actors into projects that concern the sustainable development of a specific area within a town or city or the expansion of a town or city. Interaction among a wide variety of actors is key for the practice of area development, as Franzen et al. (2011) describe: “Area development, - ‘gebiedsontwikkeling’ in Dutch - is part of a broad range of activities involving government intervention at various levels, from local (municipal), regional or provincial to national or even international level, and in interaction with the activities of private organisations such as property developers (which these days are also often international players)” (p. 9). The multiplicity of actors involved in area development projects becomes more complicated when dealing with a fuzzy topic such as social sustainability. Integrating social sustainability in the built environment is not a task of the government alone, but a shared contribution of politicians, lobby groups, property owners, developers and citizens. When it is not clear among those various actors who are responsible for the implementation, this risks the consequence that social policy objectives are omitted (Weingartner & Moberg, 2014, p. 124). Managing activities, responsibilities and influences of those various actors is therefore essential for implementing social sustainability into practice.

Whereas strategic processes in area development used to be managed mainly by governmental bodies, they are nowadays part of organisational and decision-making processes from multiple actors that have different interests, visions and opinions (Franzen et al., 2011, p. 47). In a governance structure rather than a government structure alone, governmental actors are more dependent on private parties and are forced to collaborate with various actors. Torfing et al. (2012, p. 14) define governance as “the process of steering society and the economy through collective action and in accordance with common goals”. The increasing focus on governance structures instead of government structures alone has emerged out of the belief that acts of governing also take place outside the boundaries of the state or local governments and emerge from an interaction between public and private actors (Ansell & Torfing, 2016). As a result of this shift towards governance that also took place in area development, Franzen et al. (2011) argue that policy objectives that are originally grounded in principles, such as equality, durability and prosperity, have made room for objectives in market efficiency and yield requirements. This implies that more emphasis on relation management is required, which deals with the dualities and tensions between public and private actors that occur in area development. Besides, it implies that economic forces have an influence on the way that social sustainability policy objectives are implemented in area development projects.

In addition, area development projects contain a political dimension. Despite the delay and disturbance that accidental political decisions or coalition changes occasionally may cause in ongoing projects, it is argued that including the political debate and acknowledging conflicts – for example between social needs and market-driven developments -, are essential parts of development projects (Woodcraft, 2012).

Open Access Journal

The governance process of social sustainability: seeing area development projects as a way of policy implementation

So far, we have argued that the implementation of social sustainability in area development projects is concerned with the management of the various interests of actors, political decision-making and tensions between public and private actors. From here, we consider area development as a governance process in which economic and political dimensions come together. Elander and Gustavsson (2019) have analysed a Swedish national policy programme for sustainable cities and showed that integration of social objectives in policy programmes does not unquestionably lead to corresponding outcomes in area developments. In 2008, the 'Delegation for Sustainable Cities' programme was launched by the Swedish government: a national institution on the meso-level that invested in renovation and new construction housing projects with an ambition for sustainable urban development. It was analysed how the actors involved in this programme approached the ambition of the programme and what strategies they applied in order to relate their actions to social sustainability. It was observed that, in a context where the housing sector had moved towards a market-driven format during the recent decades, the DSC programme had a fragmented implementation structure in which the central government governed from a distance with financial measures, regulatory power and soft steering measures, but local authorities played a leading role in constructing policy actions for social sustainability. This type of governance process had led to a plurality of ways that social sustainability was interpreted. Elander and Gustavsson labelled the different interpretations under three aspects: social inclusion and integration, participation and place identity. The researchers are critical against the social content that was realized by the programme and conclude that "despite socially sustainability labelled programmes and projects, socio-spatial inequalities and segregation have continued to increase in Sweden" (Elander & Gustavsson, 2019, p. 16). The case shows that there is a tension between a normative meaning of social sustainability, deriving from political convictions, and an operational interpretation of social sustainability, stemming from executing actors in the market society and that this tension is related to the manner of governance.

Balancing public and private interests

In practice, the operationalization of normative goals such as sustainability is challenged by the disparity between public and private interests and the allurement to decide on pragmatic solutions that stray off overarching ambitions. Dualities in public-private partnerships and its relation to sustainability are discussed from a perspective on urban infrastructures by Koppenjan and Enserink (2009). In theory, a combination of features of the private sector on the one hand, such as innovation, financial capacity and entrepreneurial spirit, and features of the public sector on the other hand, such as social concern and environmental awareness, is seen as a solution for both market and government failure in urban problems. However, Koppenjan and Enserink raise the question whether it is conceivable that short-term interests of private actors concerning investment returns are compatible with long-term targets of sustainability. They address three issues: 1) Since governments often "go to great lengths to convince private parties to invest in public infrastructures", private monopolies must be avoided and a balance between private investors' willingness to invest on the one hand, and long-term sustainability objectives on the other hand must be guarded by public authorities (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009, p. 288); 2) since inadequate contracts may result in undesired outcomes, that "may not meet the demands of local users and may create affordability problems", an incentive structure must be developed that wardens both economic and sustainability objectives (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009, p. 291); 3) since existing regulatory capacity is often mainly focused on economic dimensions, new regulation frameworks that concentrate on

social, environmental and long-term financial sustainability should be integrated within existing economic regulation systems (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009, p. 293).

Many of nowadays' policy issues that concern safety, health or the environment are complex issues - so-called 'wicked problems' - and have to be dealt with under a high level of uncertainties (Van Bueren et al., 2003, p. 193). These uncertainties are sorted as 1) cognitive uncertainty of not knowing much about the causes and effects of the problem; 2) a strategic uncertainty of not knowing to where exactly the actions of a high number of actors involved will lead; and 3) an institutional uncertainty of not being able to oversee the relations between all interventions taken at many different institutions, on various levels. It is argued by Van Bueren et al. (2014) that this uncertainty in addition to inherent trade-offs between actors and ambiguity of responsibility for the policy objective among individual actors can block problem-solving in wicked problems.

Social sustainability as a dynamic concept

If we consider the implementation of social sustainability in area development as a wicked problem because of the multiplicity of interpretations of social sustainability and because of the high number of public and private actors and disciplines involved in area development projects, we must be aware of the cognitive, strategic and institutional uncertainties during the implementation process (Van Bueren et al., 2014). In area development projects, tensions between short-term and long-term, and between economic and environmental or social objectives affect the way that social objectives are translated into operational outcomes in projects. Market-driven incentives and political episodes are part of area development projects and leave a mark on the way that social sustainability is operationalized. As has been warned by researchers (Davidson, 2010; Woodcraft, 2012), fundamental values such as social equity are vulnerable to be forgotten or to be replaced by less radical values such as social cohesion in situations of conflict.

However, it must be taken into account that social sustainability objectives are often in essence too conceptual to be operationalized in perfect accordance with an ideal situation, left aside what this ideal situation would be. As area development projects are multi-actor governance processes including interaction through networks and partnerships, policy implementation through those projects always involves multiple perspectives and interests. During this process of policy implementation, social objectives and the ways that they are operationalized are shaped by the interaction between various public and private actors in area development projects. From this respect, social sustainability can be considered as a dynamic concept that evolves from conceptual definitions and normative dimensions to operational indicators during area development projects.

Analytical approach: urban governance of social sustainability

In this research, we aim to identify variables that affect the implementation of social sustainability in area development projects. Therefore, we will apply an analytical approach that addresses the relations between institutions, actors and their activities from an urban governance point of view. Urban governance is concerned with the way that strategic resources are mobilized by leading actors in cities, which are not considered to be merely the local state but also to be corporate or societal actors (Ansell & Torfing, 2016, p. 479). If we consider a neoliberal society that is based on free choices, a market-economy and limited political power for social and economic interventions as our societal context, adequate forms of urban governance are needed to warrant social values (Jessop, 2002, p. 470).

Open Access Journal

When concentrating on the various public and private actors that are involved in area development projects, an urban governance perspective is supportive to the analysis of the implementation process by identifying social partnerships, negotiated agreements and ways of coordinations among actors (Ansell & Torfing 2016, p. 479). While an urban governance setting in which several public, private and societal actors collaborate raises expectations for higher efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy, this type of governance also raises some severe normative issues concerning accountability, inclusion and throughout legitimacy (Ansell & Torfing, 2016, p. 402). When referring to the operational framework of Dixon and Woodcraft (2013), it inevitable that normative issues mentioned will play a central role in the analysis of the implementation of social sustainability. As the perceived dimension of social sustainability, - 'social and cultural life' - is difficult to quantify and risky to invest in for market parties, the question raises to what extent market parties are accountable for its operationalization in a governance setting. In addition, 'voice and influence' is a dimension that concerns the inclusion of inhabitants as actors in decision-making processes, so the question raises to what extent inhabitants are represented by the actors involved in the governance setting.

Conclusion: Need for empirical research on governance performance in area development projects

Concluding, the implementation of social sustainability in area development projects is a governance process that is affected by the tension between political decisions from the public side and economic forces from the private side. If we consider social sustainability as an issue that requires political decisions in a market-driven society, we must be aware that its implementation is affected in several ways. Social sustainability is a dynamic concept that evolves from conceptual definitions and normative dimensions to operational indicators during area development projects. When brought into practice, fundamental values of social sustainability as a promotion of quality of life, as a democratic, equal and diverse condition or as a just city are translated into operational forms during a governance process in which interventions and investments are decided upon by various public and private actors.

Therefore, it is hypothesized that the outcomes of social sustainability in area development are dependent on various aspects of this governance process. In this PhD research, we are especially interested in getting to know the variables that affect this governance process and in understanding how they are related to social sustainability. Further research will focus on the governance performance as the main variable which influences the extent that objectives for social sustainability are eventually realized in practice.

By reviewing the variables that affect the governance process, this research will contribute to a better understanding of how different actors translate the concept of social sustainability and how decisions on interventions in area development project are made. We acknowledge that there is a discrepancy between policy and practice and aim to develop an insight in the processes that explains this observation. Based on the findings, we will better understand the steering possibilities to implement social sustainability in practice, in order to advise city planners, real estate developers and other actors of area development on how to contribute to socially sustainable environments.

References

Ansell, C., & Torfing, J. (2016). *Handbook on Theories of Governance*. Cheltenham UK, Northampton USA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Open Access Journal

BNR Webredactie. (2019). PBL: Bouw miljoen woningen in gevaar door besluiteloos kabinet Retrieved May 12, 2020, from https://www.bnr.nl/nieuws/bouw-woningmarkt/10381448/pbl-bouw-miljoen-woningen-in-gevaar-door-besluiteloos-kabinet

Boström, M. (2012). A missing pillar? Challenges in theorizing and practicing social sustainability: introduction to the special issue. *Sustainability: Science, practice and policy, 8*(1), 3-14. DOI: 10.1080/15487733.2012.11908080

Bramley, G., Dempsey, N., Power, S., & Brown, C. (2006). *What is 'social sustainability', and how do our existing urban forms perform in nurturing it?* Paper presented at the Planning research conference, London.

CBS. (2019). Aantal daklozen sinds 2009 meer dan verdubbeld. Retrieved May 12, 2020, from https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2019/34/aantal-daklozen-sinds-2009-meer-dan-verdubbeld

Chiu, R. L. (2003). 12 Social sustainability, sustainable development and housing development. In *Housing and social change: East-west perspectives* (Vol. 221): Routledge.

Daamen, T. (2019). Praktijkleerstoel verbindt maatschappelijke opgaven. Retrieved May 12, 2020, from https://www.gebiedsontwikkeling.nu/artikelen/praktijkleerstoel-verbindt-maatschappelijke-opgaven/

Daamen, T., & Janssen, C. (2019). Wat, waar en voor wie bouwen we? Anticiperen op demografische trends in gebiedsontwikkeling. *Gebiedsontwikkeling.krant, 2*(2), 1-2. Accessed from http://resolver.tudelft.nl/uuid:39e06b49-208c-460e-9afd-eb397582a60c.

Davidson, M. (2010). Social sustainability and the city. *Geography Compass, 4*(7), 872-880. DOI: 10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00339.x.

Dempsey, Brown, C., & Bramley, G. (2012). The key to sustainable urban development in UK cities? The influence of density on social sustainability. *Progress in Planning, 77*, 89-141. DOI: 10.1016/j.progress.2012.01.001

Dixon, T., & Woodcraft, S. (2013). Creating strong communities – measuring social sustainability in new housing development. *Town & Country Planning, 82*(11), 473-480.

Eizenberg, E., & Jabareen, Y. (2017). Social sustainability: A new conceptual framework. *Sustainability, 9*(1), 68. DOI: 10.3390/su9010068

Elander, I., & Gustavsson, E. (2019). From policy community to issue networks: Implementing social sustainability in a Swedish urban development programme. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space, 0*(0), 1-20. DOI: 10.1177/2399654418820077.

Engbersen, G., Snel, E., & Boom, J. d. (2007). *De adoptie van wijken*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit/ RISBO Contractresearch.

Fainstein, S. (2005). Planning theory and the city. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 25*(2), 121-130. 10.1177/0739456X05279275.

Fainstein, S., & DeFilippis, J. (2015). *Readings in planning theory*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.

Franzen, A., Hobma, F., de Jonge, H., & Wigmans, G. (2011). *Management of Urban Development Processes in the Netherlands: Governance, Design, Feasibility*. Amsterdam: Technepress.

Gemeente Amsterdam. (2018). *Een nieuwe lente en een nieuw geluid*. Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam.

Gemeente Den Haag. (2018). *Den Haag, Stad van kansen en ambities*. Den Haag: Gemeente Den Haag.

Gemeente Rotterdam. (2018). *Nieuwe energie voor Rotterdam*. Rotterdam: Gemeente Rotterdam.

Gemeente Utrecht. (2018). *Ruimte voor iedereen*. Utrecht: Gemeente Utrecht.

Goodson, L., Thomas, S., Phillimore, J., & Pemberton, S. (2017). *Mass migration and real estate in European cities*. London.

Gressgård, R. (2015). The Power of (Re)Attachment in Urban Strategy: Interrogating the Framing of Social Sustainability in Malmö. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 47*(1), 108-120. DOI: 10.1068/a130167p.

Harvey, D. (2003). The right to the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27*(4), 939-941. DOI: 10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x.

Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, neoliberalism and urban governance: a state-theoretical perspective. *Antipode, 34*(3), 452-472. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8330.00250.

Knight Frank Research. (2018). *European Cities Report 2018*. London

Kooiman, N., Jong, A. d., Huisman, C., Duin, C. v., & Stoeldraijer, L. (2016). *PBL/CBS Regionale bevolkings- en huishoudensprognose 2016–2040: sterke regionale verschillen*. Den Haag:

Open Access Journal

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
Koppenjan, J. F. M., & Enserink, B. (2009). Public–Private Partnerships in Urban Infrastructures: Reconciling Private Sector Participation and Sustainability. *Public Administration Review, 69*(2), 284-296. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-6210.2008.01974.x
Langergaard, L. L. (2019). Interpreting 'the social': Exploring processes of social sustainability in Danish nonprofit housing. *Local Economy, 34*(5), 456-470. DOI: 10.1177/0269094219846626
Lennartz, C. (2018). De omvang en prognoses van "het" woningtekort. Retrieved January 25, 2019, from https://economie.rabobank.com/publicaties/2018/juni/de-omvang-en-prognoses-van-het-woningtekort/
Maloutas, T. (2003). Promoting social sustainability The case of Athens. *City, 7*(2), 167-181. DOI: 10.1080/1360481032000136732
McKenzie, S. (2004). *Social sustainability: towards some definitions*. Hawke Research Institute Working Paper Series. Magill, Australia.
Missimer, M., Robèrt, K.-H., & Broman, G. (2016). A strategic approach to social sustainability e Part 1: exploring the social system. *Journal of Cleaner Production, 140*(2017), 32-41. DOI: 10.1016/j.jclepro.2016.03.170
Musterd, S., Marcińczak, S., van Ham, M., & Tammaru, T. (2017). Socioeconomic segregation in European capital cities. Increasing separation between poor and rich. *Urban Geography, 38*(7), 1062-1083. doi:10.1080/02723638.2016.1228371
Permentier, M., Kullberg, J., & Noije, L. v. (2013). *Werk aan de wijk*. Den Haag: Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.
Polèse, M., & Stren, R. E. (2000). *The social sustainability of cities: Diversity and the management of change*. Canada: University of Toronto Press.
Rashidfarokhi, Yrjänä, L., Wallenius, M., Toivonen, S., Ekroos, A., & Viitanen, K. (2018). Social sustainability tool for assessing land use planning processes. *European Planning Studies, 26*(6), 1269-1296. DOI: 10.1080/09654313.2018.1461811
Redactie Gebiedsontwikkeling.nu. (2019). Hoogleraar Gebiedsontwikkeling: afspraken Rijk en G4 hebben meer richting nodig. Retrieved May 12, 2020, from https://www.gebiedsontwikkeling.nu/artikelen/hoogleraar-gebiedsontwikkeling-afspraken-rijk-en-g4-hebben-meer-richting-nodig/
Shirazi, M. R., & Keivani, R. (2019). The triad of social sustainability: Defining and measuring social sustainability of urban neighbourhoods. *Urban Research & Practice, 12*(4), 448-471. DOI: 10.1080/17535069.2018.1469039
Torfing, J., Peters, B. G., Pierre, J., & Sørensen, E. (2012). *Interactive governance: Advancing the paradigm*: Oxford University Press on Demand.
Vallance, S., Harvey, C. P., & Dixon, E. J. (2009). What is social sustainability? A clarification of concepts. *Geoform, 42*(2011), 342–348. DOI: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.01.002
Van Bueren, E. M., Klijn, E. H., & Koppenjan, J. F. (2003). Dealing with wicked problems in networks: Analyzing an environmental debate from a network perspective. *Journal of public administration research and theory, 13*(2), 193-212. DOI: 10.1093/jpart/mug017
Van Bueren, E. M., Van Bueren, E. T. L., & Van der Zijpp, A. J. (2014). Understanding wicked problems and organized irresponsibility: challenges for governing the sustainable intensification of chicken meat production. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability, 8*, 1-14. DOI: 10.1016/j.cosust.2014.06.002
Vranken, J., De Decker, P., & Van Nieuwenhuyze, I. (2003). *Social Inclusion, Urban Governance and Sustainability: Towards a Conceptual Framework for the UGIS Research Project* (Vol. 1): Garant. UGIS collection.
Weingartner, C., & Moberg, A. (2014). Exploring Social Sustainability: Learning from Perspectives on Urban Development and Companies and Products. *Sustainable Development, 22*(204), 122-133. DOI: 10.1002/sd.536
Woodcraft, S. (2012). Social Sustainability and New Communities: Moving from concept to practice in the UK. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 68*(2012), 29-42. DOI: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.12.204
Woodcraft, S., Bacon, N., Caistor-Arendar, L., & Hackett, T. (2012). Design for Social Sustainability: a framework for creating thriving new communities. London: Social Life
Woodcraft, S. (2016). Reconfiguring the "social" in sustainable development: community, citizenship

and innovation in new urban neighbourhoods. *Envisioning Sustainabilities: Towards an Anthropology of Sustainability. Newcastle upon Tyne (UK): Cambridge Scholars Publishing*.
World Commission on Environment and Development. (1987). *Our common future*: United Nations.

Open Access Journal

Urban Living Lab: What Is It, and What Is the Matter?

Dexter Du
Department of Real Estate and Planning, University of Reading, UK
Corresponding author: j.du@pgr.reading.ac.uk

The research agenda for urban innovation and experimentation seems to find new momentum in recent times. The recent emergence of Urban Living Lab (ULL) is an example demonstrating such a trend. Against this background, this paper begins with the interest in clarifying what ULL is. Various sources offer many definitions of ULL, but these definitions often contain other ill-defined concepts. This paper questions the ambiguity of temporality and spatiality that is contained by ULL's emphasis on 'real' time and environment. There seems also oversimplification of ULL's origin, which potentially hinders further in-depth investigation into its non-linear and complex emergence. The reflection on the political context indicates that political drivers of ULL may be hidden behind the immediate attention to its definitions and popular perceptions. The wide range of different empirical ULL cases in the UK arguably reflects the ambiguity of its meaning. Therefore, this paper suggests re-thinking about ULL and its emergence. The attempts to summarise and simplify ULL cannot effectively clarify its complexity in nature. Well-constructed questions can take ULL as a promising opportunity to enhance and materialise long-lasting sociological enquiries.

Keywords: Urban Living Lab (ULL), urban experimentation, open innovation, living laboratory

Please cite as: Du, D. (2020). Urban Living Lab: What Is It, and What Is the Matter? *plaNext – next generation planning*. 10: 22-37. DOI: 10.24306/plnxt/65.

Open Access Journal

Introduction

Currently there are increasing pressures for certain kinds of societal transitions (e.g. carbon neutrality, inclusivity, smart growth, etc.), because business as usual is unsustainable. Issues such as climate change and resource scarcity urgently require critical thinking as well as changes of individual lifestyle and collective urban living. Debates about urban innovation and experimentation are particularly relevant to this global background (von Wirth et al., 2019). Furthermore, the discussion about urban experimentation facilitates newly appearing projects which then are accompanied by the popularity of new concepts. One example is Urban Living Lab (ULL), which is the focus of this paper.

Empirically there has appeared a proliferation of ULLs over the past decade or so[1] (Voytenko et al., 2016; Puerari et al., 2018; von Wirth et al., 2019). This emergence and proliferation of 'new' practice and its quick increase of popularity seem eye-catching. Broadly speaking, ULL denotes the kind of initiatives that strives to improve certain urban environment through learning by doing in the very urban environment itself. It embeds experiments in actual situations, compared to using artificially created and controlled conditions. Not only does this concept chime well with the context of urban innovation, but also relevant initiatives in practice are deliberately promoted worldwide by international networks such as the European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL). Several relevant initiatives appeared around 2000 in both Europe and North America (Markopoulos & Rauterberg, 2000). These several early cases seem to have emerged simultaneously from many different places, while its very origin is still inconclusive. This paper will discuss some definitions of ULL in more details, which raises the question concerning temporality. Afterwards, its seemingly settled origin (from MIT, US) will be discussed and questioned. In addition to the prevalent association with the discussion about urban experimentation, this paper will also draw attention to the discussion about knowledge economy and the role of universities in urban politics. What will be found is arguably a non-linear history (perhaps histories) of the conceptual evolution, and complex socio-political embeddedness of the evolving conceptualisation. Some recent empirical examples from the UK will sketch a picture of the consequent variety and diversity in practice. Lastly, it will be argued that more in-depth discussion is needed about the non-linearity and complexity of ULL, asking 'why' in its past and present besides 'how' in its future.

Definitions of Urban Living Lab

Urban living lab appears to be developed in the context of urban innovation and experimentation[2]. This context is consequently often used to construct the definition of ULL. However, the result is not the conclusion of any definition straightforwardly. Instead, it appears difficult to reach any substantial consensus of the definition (Evans et al., 2018)[3]. Any definition turns out inevitably vague because there is too much meaning to convey in one single sentence. It possibly also involves confusion with other concepts in the same context. Therefore, as it will be shown in this section, some questions about temporality and spatiality are still awaiting discussion before the definitions of ULL could be further clarified.

Urban experimentation is configured as the processes through which learning, testing and innovating take place in actual urban space. Instead of confining experiments in conventional scientific labs, urban experimentation embeds scientific processes into the complex and open

[1] This background statement here will be visited again in the discussion section later.
[2] The next section will show that the context of knowledge production and knowledge economy is also relevant.
[3] Some attempts to move towards such a consensus are made by, for example, Steen and van Bueren, (2017) as well as Chronéer et al. (2019).

urban dynamics. The result is the creation of urban experimental space. On the one hand, such experimental space has its own boundaries that are drawn based upon the focus and interest of the experimentation initiatives. On the other hand, the boundaries of such experimental space do not intend to physically separate its inside from the outside. The experimental space becomes spatial case studies that attempt to exemplify the wider urban processes, to trial innovative elements within such specific space, and to recognise or stimulate wider urban transformation.

The context of urban experimental space facilitates the configuration of individual local initiatives titled urban laboratories. In their study reviewing urban laboratories, Marvin and Silver (2016) conclude with some categories of such urban laboratories, including Urban Living Labs (ULLs), Urban Transition Labs (UTLs), and Urban Knowledge Arenas (UKAs)[4]. ULL is defined as 'new collaborations devised to design, test and learn from social and technical innovation in real time' (Marvin & Silver, 2016, p. 58). Further, they suggest that ULL 'enrols end users into the innovation process and develops international networks for the transfer of technologies' (Marvin & Silver, 2016, p. 58). Such articulation of ULL aligns well with the context of urban experimental space.

Bulkeley et al. (2016) suggest two focuses that distinct ULL: the focus on knowledge and learning, as well as the explicit place-based focus. Anchored to these two features, 'ULL are sites devised to design, test and learn from innovation in real time in order to respond to particular societal, economic and environmental issues in a given urban space' (Bulkeley et al., 2016). This definition agrees with the definition by Marvin and Silver (2016) in terms of the emphasis on testing and learning knowledge, while it adds the spatial perspective of ULL, which is particularly place-based. This spatial perspective also catches the attention from Evans and Karvonen (2014) who discuss urban laboratories as bounded space. Moreover, this spatial perspective could be underlain by political interest. This will be addressed in the later part of this paper, while at this point a temporal perspective is worth discussing.

What is identically worded yet not explicitly highlighted by both definitions above is a temporal perspective of ULL. Both definitions use the phrase: 'innovation in real time' (Bulkeley et al., 2016; Marvin & Silver, 2016). However, the articulation of this temporal perspective of ULL seems unclear. It is clear that many definitions of ULL signpost the element of being 'real' with incorporating related phrases in the definitions, such as real time, real-life environment, real-life context, and real-world context (Voytenko et al., 2016; Steen & van Bueren, 2017; Puerari et al., 2018). However, only some of these definitions imply the temporal perspective, while others lean towards the spatial perspective. Bulkeley et al. (2016) also acknowledge that only some (not all) of the ULL cases are 'highly instrumented and seek to collect data in real-time' (p.14).

Implicitly, Schliwa and McCormick (2016) address the link between ULL and the perspective of real time data collection and analysis. They claim that two concepts have emerged in parallel from the context of urban innovation and experimentation, which are living labs[5] and smart cities. The empirical initiatives under these two concepts inevitably influence each other. In fact, many living lab projects are simultaneously also smart city projects. Real time data collection and analysis, in relation to ICT and Big Data, sit at the core of smart city initiatives. This real-time perspective arguably could also be fused into living lab initiatives. As mentioned

[4] One question implied by their own study is to what extent the demarcation between each two of ULL, UTL, and UKA is arbitrary, but discussing this question is not the main concern of this paper.
[5] Living labs and urban living labs are often considered interchangeable, but the nuance between them can also be found in literature, which will be discussed in the next section.

above, some of the ULLs are highly instrumented for addressing real-time data (Bulkeley et al., 2016).

This interesting observation by Schliwa and McCormick (2016) could suggest that the concept of ULL has not originally emphasised the real-time perspective. Rather, the attention to the real-time perspective is an outcome of ULL being influenced by (or also to some degree confused with) the concept of smart city. This real-time perspective may be further developed into the definitions of ULL, as mentioned above (Bulkelty et al., 2016; Marvin & Silver, 2016). However, currently this perspective seems to remain unclear in the literature discussion about the definition of ULL.

It may be open to debate whether the temporal perspective is important for the definition of ULL. However, as there is the attempt to distinguish ULL from other kinds of innovative initiatives (Bulkelty et al., 2016; Marvin & Silver, 2016), it will be helpful to improve the clarity of the temporal and spatial perspectives in ULL's definitions. Currently, the temporal and spatial perspectives seem to be entangled in the phrases such as real-life environment and real-world context. If ULL's temporality and spatiality could not be more clearly articulated, it would be difficult to understand the distinction of ULL that its definitions intend to achieve. This then potentially impedes meaningful further discussion about ULL.

Origin of Urban Living Lab

In addition to articulating definitions, tracing origins is another approach for clarifying the meaning of a concept. As will be shown in this section, urban living labs and living labs are often considered interchangeable, while ULL may add some 'urban' emphasis to the earlier concept of living lab. There seems a popular opinion that treats Prof. William Mitchell from MIT as the founding father of living lab. However, not only were there similar living labs initiated elsewhere in the world during the same period as the MIT living labs, but there were also earlier cases where living laboratory was already articulated. The simplification of ULL's origin may beset further understanding of its complexity.

Urban living lab is often linked to the earlier concept of living lab (Steen & van Bueren, 2017; Chronéer et al., 2019). Although there is nuance between living lab and urban living lab, this nuance seems often considered trivial. Therefore, the discussion about urban living lab often segues into the discussion about living lab, and vice versa. An article by Steen and van Bueren (2017) briefly acknowledges the difference between living lab and urban living lab, after which it is explicitly stated that the article 'focuses on the living lab phenomenon itself' (p. 26). However, interestingly, the title of that very article is 'the defining characteristics of urban living labs'.

In the context of open innovation, the concept of living lab advocates the approach of taking innovation processes out of the confined scientific labs and placing such processes into real-life environment (Veeckman et al., 2013; Schliwa & McCormick, 2016). In this way, a living lab opens up possible sources of knowledge, ideas, and feedback, which are vital for fostering innovation. Following this rationale, urban living labs are the living labs that are placed in actual urban environment. This could be compared to some early cases of living labs which were placed in real-life home environment. Those cases, such as the Media Lab set up at MIT, initially focused on testing technologies that mainly facilitated activities at home and interacted with users at the scale of domestic living. In contrast, urban living labs are interested in urban living, ranging from the scale of neighbourhoods, to districts, and to the whole city. Some commentators suggest that urban living labs are interested in the issues around urban

sustainability (Bulkeley et al., 2016; Steen & van Bueren, 2017; Chronéer et al., 2019).

Quite many authors[6] endorse the statement that considers MIT as a pioneer (if not the origin) of practicing living lab with the creation of several living labs in MIT in the early 2000s. Their references are traced to Eriksson et al. (2005): 'The Living Lab concept originates from MIT, Boston, Prof William Mitchell, MediaLab and School of Architecture and city planning.' (p. 4) Moreover, as Eriksson et al. (2005) explicitly claim to offer 'a European approach', their statement is presumably also shared among practitioners, for example, through the European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL). However, this statement about the origin of the living lab concept is questionable based on some other references.

Markopoulos and Rauterberg (2000) reported 'some of the earliest and most influential' (p. 55) living lab projects. These projects (including one from MIT) took place around 2000, and the earliest seemed to be a project operated in 1997 in Vancouver, Canada. Moreover, these projects took place in both Europe and North America, including the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, and the US (Georgia Tech, University of Colorado, MIT, and Microsoft). In addition to these contemporaneous cases with the MIT cases, there were also examples that had explicitly used the term 'living lab' or 'living laboratory' since the early 1990s (Schuurman, 2015). One example is a 1991 article titled 'introducing students to community operations research by using a city neighbourhood as a living laboratory' (Bajgier et al., 1991).

Bajgier et al. (1991) reflect on a case in which local people are engaged to address local issues such as parking, traffic control, trash control, and signage design. It looks a legitimate example of what is considered as ULL today. Regarding the 'urban' emphasis particularly, it is even a better example than the MIT projects. Although focusing more on students' learning, Bajgier et al. (1991) also provide some articulation of what they term 'living laboratory'.

> *'A major selling point for all concerned parties is that this is a win-win situation for the university and the neighborhood. The university students gain such things as the opportunity to apply problem skills to real problems, the opportunity to learn while performing a real service, and the opportunity to write reports for directly involved individuals. The community gains a new, no-cost resource that offers a neutral forum for conflict resolution and can provide high quality analyses. ... we believe that there are many public arena problems that a university can use as a living laboratory ... such as municipal facilities or sports stadiums.' (Bajgier et al., 1991, pp. 708-9).*

This articulation of living laboratory by Bajgier et al. (1991), published almost ten years before the MIT cases, is echoed considerably by the articulation of ULL today. For example, a recent paper co-authored one of the leading authors about this topic presents a similar summary of the potential benefits of ULL.

> *'In a Living Lab, it is essential to harmonise the innovation process amongst stakeholders so that they can benefit from the process in different ways. This can be seen, for example, in how companies can get new and innovative ideas, users can get the innovation they want, researchers can acquire case studies, and public organisations can get increased return on their innovation research investments' (Ersoy & van Bueren, 2020, pp. 96-7).*

Moreover, Bajgier et al. (1991) have emphasised throughout their paper the practice of interdisciplinary thinking in problem-solving, which is still an essential point of ULL today. Their

[6] See, for example, Eriksson et al., 2005; Schumacher & Feurstein, 2008; Dutilleul et al., 2010; Almirall & Wareham, 2011; Schuurman et al., 2011; Franz et al., 2015; Schliwa & McCormick, 2016; Sharp & Salter, 2017; Evans et al., 2018.

case perhaps lacks the application of any novel technology, as compared to the cases around 2000 (Markopoulos & Rauterberg, 2000). However, as discussed in the previous section and will be shown by the empirical sample later, it is debatable to what extent novel technology is essential for defining ULL.

Therefore, it is unclear why the MIT living labs are given so much credit for being the origin of living lab. The emergence of the concept is more likely to be in a non-linear manner, which should not be over-simplified by pointing to one singular origin. Similarly, programmes such as the European Network of Living labs (ENoLL) and JPI Urban Europe have temporally accelerated and geographically expanded the non-linear proliferation of ULLs since the second half of the 2000s, in both Europe and the rest of the world. Rather than assuming a singular origin a priori, it is worth thinking and researching more carefully about this non-linearity and complexity of ULL's emergence. This is to some degree beyond the scope of this paper, but this concern will be visited again in the discussion section later.

Politics underlying Urban Living Lab

The previous sections have discussed the definition and origin of urban living lab. This section turns to the context (perhaps contexts) of the concept. If the definition and origin of ULL are inconclusive, what could be the forces or mechanisms that maintain the distinctness of ULL? What is found relevant here is the power dynamics in urban governance, and some social challenges that face universities. At the time of possible knowledge economy, universities as the main producers of knowledge adjust their role in urban governance and their relations with citizens, which seems to have significant implication for the practice of ULL. While ULL seems to represent 'open' processes in the context of experimentation and innovation, it should also be considered in the political context which suggests that important urban processes may happen behind closed doors.

The concept of urban experiment, in which ULL is often contextualised, refers to a quadruple helix model of engagement, including science, policy, business and civil society (Bulkeley et al., 2016). This model emphasises the four kinds of stakeholders who participate in the urban experimentation process, which are academia, government, private companies, and the public (Voytenko et al., 2016). This model seems a further development of the public-private-partnership (PPP) in the context of open innovation, which advocates the importance of diverse sources of insights and feedback. Relating to this context, urban experiment is a process in which knowledge is produced through synthesising experience and discussing feedback from largely four areas of expertise. Compared to PPP, the two additional roles of universities and citizens arguably also involve thoughts from additional contexts.

The political power of universities is increasing during the time when science is given a vital role in a range of matters, including public policy making, urban innovation, knowledge economy, and creative industry (Perry, 2006; Addie, 2017). What goes in tandem with the increasing power is the increasing challenge to it. Universities are faced with doubt about and scrutiny of their authority. They need to maintain and strategically strengthen their position by (re-)gaining both trust and interest in the knowledge they produce (Perry, 2006). Knowledge about urban dynamics could be (re-)legitimised through, for example, engaging the public in a transparent and open process of knowledge production (Addie, 2017).

Urban living lab becomes a useful approach for demonstrating the transparency and relevance of knowledge production. By embedding the process of research and analysis in real-life urban environment, ULL not only showcases the outcome of science but also the process of

producing such scientific outcome. What ULL highlights is the procedural rationality of knowledge production. Through rationalising the research process, knowledge production itself gets formalised. Evans and Karvonen (2014) suggest that the 'emphasis on formalized knowledge production' (p. 415) distinguishes urban laboratories, but what they mean by this phrase is not further explained. A clearer articulation is offered by Ersoy and van Beuren (2020) who contrast formalised knowledge with substantive results. Substantive results are what works in a specific situation, while formalised knowledge is what can be learnt by other similar situations. Bulkeley et al. (2019) may also be indicating this contrast while emphasising the 'interest in learning (rather than, for example, "trying things out")' (p. 319). This contrast is also interested by a group of authors arguing for wider (sustainable) transformation beyond individual ULLs (Bulkeley et al., 2016; 2019; von Wirth et al., 2019).[7] Given the viewpoint of procedural rationality, engaging citizens in ULLs becomes also a process to engage the public in rationalising the process of knowledge production. ULL becomes the platform on which both the production process and the knowledge itself are communicated to the public. It facilitates a translation process which enrols local communities as the allies of universities in the wider dynamics of urban governance. However, the degree of civic engagement in specific cases is worth criticising (Evans & Karvonen, 2014).

The politics of science and knowledge production offers critical viewpoints on understanding urban living lab. The case study by Evans and Karvonen (2014) specifies this political critique in the urban laboratory of Oxford Road Corridor in Manchester, UK. The universities (University of Manchester and Manchester Metropolitan University) are the key stakeholders of this urban laboratory. The spatial boundary of the laboratory is drawn in such a way that protects the universities' authority over the lab. Firstly, the two universities own a large proportion of assets within the boundary of the lab, which physically consolidate the universities' decision-making power. Secondly, surrounding communities which historically bear antagonistic relationship with the universities are avoided by the demarcation of the lab area.

Evans and Karvonen (2014) also raise the critique of the process of knowledge production in the Manchester case. A clear highlight of the Manchester case is the collection of real-time and place-specific data, for instance, monitoring traffic and air pollutants. However, Evans and Karvonen (2014) find it unclear how this data will be used further. The process of data collection is open to the public. For example, the monitoring sensor is introduced and the plan of installing them is accessible. In contrast, what happens to the data after its collection becomes opaque. In other words, the process of knowledge production seems only partially open. Another related question is whether citizens are treated as 'laboratory rats' in the living labs (Evans, 2011). Their participation in ULLs may not render them more powerful in urban politics. Powells and Blake (2016) find it clear that the city is positioned as 'both the main subject and object of experimentation' (p. 147), in which case citizens may be simply 'observed' to facilitate decision-making while they are hardly integrated in the decision-making process.

Therefore, ULL is criticised for facilitating the power of certain interest groups. This then becomes to some extent contradictory to the inclusive image represented by the quadruple helix model which is claimed to be the basis of ULL. Latour's study of Pasteur (1983) articulates how science and society interact to not only produce knowledge but also concentrate power into the knowledge producers. While predating the appearance of living lab, Pasteur's practice arguably showcased the same kind of process[8]. In this case, many local French farms were transformed into field laboratories working together with Pasteur's central laboratory in Paris

[7] This line of thinking will be visited again in the discussion section later.
[8] Both articles by Latour (1983) and Evans & Karvonen (2014) are titled with the parody: 'give me a laboratory and I will …' As Latour (1983) acknowledges, it is a parody of Archimedes' motto about moving the world with a lever.

(Latour, 1983). Given the proliferation of ULLs today, it is relevant to ask 'how science colonizes sites beyond the laboratory, creating networks of actors ... and flows of "power" back to the scientist and science' (Allmendinger, 2017, p. 14). Is ULL creating flows of power to universities (more so than to citizens) while producing scientific knowledge?

An Empirical Sample of Urban Living Labs

This section reports a desk-top analysis of the UK-based urban living lab projects. The 33 cases in the UK are used as an empirical sample to observe the practice with the reflection in the previous sections. Similar practice of observation has been made with an international scope (Marvin & Silver, 2016; Keith & Headlam, 2017). However, considering the ambiguity and complexity of ULL, it is useful to re-conduct this practice with a smaller scope of case selection (i.e. within the UK). The 33 cases (see Appendix) are gathered through three international benchmarking organisations endeavouring to register and keep records of the many ULLs, which are European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL), Governance of Urban Sustainability Transitions (GUST), and JPI Urban Europe[9]. What will be shown is diverse kinds of practice that correspond with the ambiguity of ULL as the overarching concept.

Among the listed cases, Newcastle Science Central is the one archetype that is the most relevant to the definitions and critiques which are reviewed in the previous sections. It is a city-centre regeneration site that is designed and constructed as an urban living lab (a ULL from scratch). Leading partners include Newcastle University, Newcastle City Council and private investment and management companies. The architecture incorporates novel technologies so that real-time environmental data (e.g. building energy performance) can be collected, presented[10], and analysed. The site sits in the city centre and accommodates several faculty buildings of Newcastle University. Citizens and students will be the daily users of this site, for which it will be a bounded space to conduct experimental studies of immediate environmental impact of public behaviour. The role of Newcastle University is undoubtfully significant in this lab. Newcastle University owns a large proportion of land and buildings within the lab site. It is also the main partner to operate the real-time data element of the lab, for example, researching about technology, studying data, and presenting results.

There are two cases looking very similar with the case that is studied by Evans and Karvonen (2014), as discussed in the previous section. Both cases of CityVerve Manchester and Triangulum[11] Manchester are located specifically at the Oxford Road Corridor in Manchester. Both cases emphasise the monitoring of environmental data (e.g. traffic and air quality) in real time. Both cases engage the University of Manchester and Manchester Metropolitan University as the leading actors. Both are EU-funded Horizon 2020 projects.

In addition to the above three cases, there are some more cases that mostly demonstrate the above-reviewed features of ULL, but they seem to diverge or compromise in various aspects and to different degrees. For example, Coventry City Lab is mainly led by Coventry University and aims at using real-life environment to enhance the study of novel technologies (e.g. electric vehicles). However, the lab site is bounded within the University Technology Park. Although this site is accessible to the public, the degree of being an ‘urban’ space is less than that in the

[9] Much research has used these organisations to gather empirical cases. See, for example, Veeckman et al., 2013; Franz et al., 2015; Schliwa & McCormick, 2016; Voytenko et al., 2016; Sharp & Salter, 2017; Steen & van Bueren, 2017; Kronsell & Mukhtar-Landgren, 2018; Bulkeley et al., 2019; von Wirth et al., 2019.
[10] Real-time data from almost 500 sensors is presented live in an artistic way, which is also adopted as the project logo. The presentation is available at: https://newcastlehelix.com/logo (27th August 2020)
[11] Triangulum is mentioned in another paper co-authored by Evans and Karvonen (Evans et al., 2015).

above three cases in Manchester and Newcastle. In other words, the lab space to some degree avoids, or only cautiously involves, the real-life urban environment, compared to the cases mentioned above. Similar to the above cases, the university is largely in control of the operation of the lab activities due to its ownership of the lab site and the research infrastructure.

There are also cases which do not engage universities. These cases emphasise public participation and engage citizens to co-create and co-conduct local projects. Oftentimes the local council or local charity groups act as the actor to initiate the projects and facilitate the process with necessary resources. However, citizens are considered as the central actors who actually conduct the activities and drive the implementation of the lab. These cases are also clear about the physical sites of the labs (usually community centres). For example, Manor House PACT is a project led by the charitable social enterprise called Manor House Development Trust. This trust owns some real estates in London, so these estates can be used as the physical space to organise events or to facilitate self-organising activities, such as community gardening. The lab experiments participatory approaches of urban governance and demonstrates that citizens have great potential to address their local issues, improve local environment, and encourage behaviour change (e.g. enhancing climate awareness and sustainable lifestyle).

Some other cases do not have clearly bounded space as the lab areas. It can be a research centre which emphasises its preference for participatory, collaborative, and interdisciplinary approaches. However, specific approach will vary from project to project. It is the research centre (not the specific projects) that claims to be the lab. For examples, THINKlab Manchester and Centre for Sustainable Technologies Belfast. There are also cases which intend to create or incubate urban living labs. These cases are like what Keith and Headlam (2017) term ‘living lab programmes’ that facilitate further individual labs. For example, Urban Education Live Sheffield and Incubators of Public Spaces London. The role of universities in these cases is significant, as these cases mostly resemble academic research projects, with academic staff acting as the project leaders.

Finally, there are also cases that focus on rural areas or issues largely related to natural environment, such as Greening Wingrove Newcastle and Living Don Sheffield. This reflects the scope of living lab generally, in comparison to urban living lab particularly, as also discussed in the earlier sections. The benchmarking organisations do not exclude rural areas from their scope, although most registered cases do have an urban focus.

Discussion

This section re-visits the issue with which this paper begins: the emergence of urban living lab. After the reflection in the previous sections, it becomes questionable what this issue indicates. It seems still unclear what ULL is. Therefore, based on what ‘the emergence of ULL’ becomes a valid statement? How come the wide variety of practice becomes captured under one label? Who are in favour of this capturing effect, and how they succeed in fostering the popularity of such a label? There are several ways in which these questions might be circumvented. However, there seems lacking the kind of questioning and research about ULL that may investigate into fundamental social and political processes underlying the governance of cities and environment today.

Several authors use ‘emerging’ and ‘proliferation’ to describe the recent appearance of urban living labs (Voytenko et al., 2016; Puerari et al., 2018; von Wirth et al., 2019). This recent emergence of ULLs started around the beginning of the 2000s (Veeckman et al., 2013; Schliwa

& McCormick, 2016). Afterwards, increasing number of institutions and initiatives call themselves living labs and practice relevant experimental approaches. The European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL) continues to benchmark living labs in not only Europe but also additional countries in Africa, Asia, and the American continents. While ULL as an empirical phenomenon rapidly grows, there is a growing number of accounts about it, largely based on practitioners' experience (Bulkeley et al., 2016). Besides becoming a popular development approach, ULL continues to not only catch the attention from academics but also gain recognition among policy makers (Schuurman et al., 2013; Steen & van Bueren, 2017).

The context of urban innovation and experimentation is broad enough to concern an almost infinite number of cases. All these cases can arguably be identified as ULLs. For this reason, the samples of empirical cases can vary greatly from research to research. This paper takes a very narrow route, which only includes the cases that are registered under the well-known benchmarking organisations. This results in 33 cases in the whole UK. With similar parameters, Keith and Headlam (2017) find over 200 ULLs around the world. Marvin and Silver (2016) map over 70 urban labs around the world, including around 40 in the UK. In contrast, it is also possible to take a much more inclusive approach, especially to identify the grassroot initiatives that are created among the very local actors without signing up to international schemes (Voytenko et al., 2016). This more inclusive approach can identify already around 100 cases only in one single city (Steen & van Bueren, 2017; Durrant et al., 2018).

Some research claims to focus on not urban living lab itself, but on how it may transform the wider situation towards sustainability (Bulkeley et al., 2016; 2019; von Wirth et al., 2019). For this line of thinking, the emergence of ULLs provides many empirical opportunities to observe how niche actions may intervene in regime stability. Whether this niche is labelled as ULL is not the central concern. Moreover, for research on urban governance, ULLs create many opportunities to observe the trial of innovative or alternative governance approaches. Case studies like the one in Manchester (Evans & Karvonen, 2014) offer timely insights about how new governance approaches are addressing or continuing avoiding certain urban issues. For this line of research, individual ULL provides materialised storylines to complement normative debates. Whether the space of this materialising process is called ULL is not the central concern, either.

Therefore, this paper suggests a question: does ULL really matter? In what ways urban living lab is essentially important for our urban living? What is actually emerging along with the proliferation of ULLs? This enquiry sits in the nuance between the acknowledgements of the phenomenon itself (i.e. proliferation of ULLs) and the translation of such phenomenon into the existing academic contexts (e.g. niche-regime, urban governance etc.). If the emergence of ULL is accepted, are there any questions that are worth considering before research moves on to studying further impact of ULL? In addition to looking forward, it is also worth looking back. What is behind the emergence of ULL? Why is it ULL, and why is it the recent time? The emergence of ULL can not only be taken as the background of research, it can also be foregrounded as the focus of enquiry, which is arguably missing from existing research.

For practitioners, the emergence of ULL is interesting as there are new opportunities for concrete actions. For academics, the emergence of ULL is interesting as there are new materials for advancing reflection and discussion. What ULL is exactly, however, seems of little interest to either of them. During the time when postmodernism thoughts are becoming the mainstream, which rejects any universal claim or attempts to standardise such claims, is it even important to be so exact on the general level? Instead, emphasis is put on the

understanding of specificity with sensitivity to particular context, place, time, culture, history, and so on.

However, neither practitioners nor academics would have benefited from this proliferating practice had ULL not made it possible. Has ULL made this proliferating practice possible, or has the name of ULL been given to the proliferating practice which would take place regardless of the name? Arguably, the emergence of a certain kind of social phenomenon does not come with no reason. There must be groups of entities and forces that diligently promote the parameters of changes, either consciously or unconsciously (Latour, 2005). The question is, to what extent and in what ways urban living lab – the phrase itself and the stabilisation of the concepts supporting the popularity of this phrase – is vital to the emergence of 'new' practice? What possibly sits behind ULL is deeply influential storylines that may have stood out from complex battles of thoughts, interpretation, argument, discourse, and political power.

On the one hand, ULL might be another example of 'buzzword' which actually makes little substantial difference. On the other hand, it may be a 'black box' which has significant impact on both theorisation and practice. A black box in the social science context has high authority over its internal matters (Jacobs et al., 2007; Rydin, 2012). Outsiders would only calculate and accept the output from the black box based on the given input. What happens inside the black box would hardly be questioned or challenged. If certain social process is maintained as a black box, the power structure and relations within this process become stabilised. The stability of the black box leads to its mobility, for which its practice could be transferred over time and space. The making of the black box is a constant matter for relevant actors, because controversy may rise at any point. Failure to maintain the black box would mean certain actors' loss of power. It would shed light on understanding of social processes if further research questions could link the study of ULL to this conceptualisation.

Conclusion

The attempt to clarify the meaning of urban living lab has led to further questions. The definitions of ULL do not seem to resolve its ambiguity. The effort to clarify ULL seems to mis-represent the historical events in which relevant ideas have evolved. ULL can be rooted in not only one but also multiple related contexts. These contexts together adopt the concept to facilitate certain changes of power relations in which the positions of certain powerful actors get reinforced. The empirical practice in the UK indicates the flexibility of ULL, for which a variety of projects can adopt the concept and adapt it to their specific purposes. These points of reflection suggest that ULL and its emergence may not be a simple entity that can be straightforwardly clarified. There may be complexity of sociological dynamics behind, which could be an interesting focus for further study.

Around the world, the increasingly urgent call for sustainable transition has seen flourishing practice of urban innovation under the banners of, for example, resilient city, inclusive society, and smart growth. The eye-catching emergence of urban living lab may represent certain winning political power and discourse. The matter of ULL can potentially go beyond what it means or how it is described in words. It may become the agency representing certain interest groups whose political influence is maintained and expanded by stabilising and transferring ULL across spatial boundaries and levels. From this viewpoint of political agency, the ambiguity of its meaning may be the precise outcome of deliberate effort.

References

Addie, J. (2017). From the urban university to universities in urban society. *Regional Studies*, *51*(7): 1089-1099. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2016.1224334

Allmendinger, P. (2017). *Planning Theory*, 3rd edition. London: Palgrave.

Almirall, E. & Wareham, J. (2011). Living labs: arbiters of mid- and ground-level innovation. *Technology Analysis and Strategic Management*, *233*(1): 87-102. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09537325.2011.537110

Bajgier, S., Maragah, H, Saccucci, M., Verzilli, A. & Prybutok, V. (1991). Introducing students to community operations research by using a city neighbourhood as a living laboratory. *Operations Research*, *39*(5): 701-709. DOI: https://www.jstor.org/stable/171200

Bulkeley, H., Coenen, L., Frantzeskaki, N., Hartmann, C., Kronsell, A., Mai, L., Marvin, S., McCormick, K., van Steenbergen, F. & Voytenko Palgan, Y. (2016). Urban living labs: governing urban sustainability transitions. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, *22*: 13-17. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosust.2017.02.003

Bulkeley, H., Marvin S., Voytenko Palgan Y., McCormick, K., Breitfuss-Loidl, M., Mai, L., von Wirth, T. & Frantzeskaki, N. (2019). Urban living laboratories: Conducting the experimental city? *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *26*(4):317-335. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776418787222

Chronéer, D., Ståhlbröst, A., & Habibipour, A. (2019) Urban Living Labs: towards an integrated understanding of their key components. *Technology Innovation Management Review*, *9*(3): 50-62. DOI: https://doi.org/10.22215/timreview/1224

Durrant, R., Barnes, J., Kern, F. & Mackerron, G. (2018). The acceleration of transitions to urban sustainability: a case study of Brighton and Hove. *European Planning Studies*, *26*(8): 1537-1558. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2018.1489783

Dutilleul, B., Birrer, F. & Mensink. W. (2010). Unpacking European living labs: analysing innovation's social dimensions. *Central European Journal of Public Policy*, *4*(1): 60–85.

Eriksson, M., Niitamo, V. & Kulkki, S. (2005). State-of-art in utilizing Living Labs approach to user-centric ICT innovation - a European approach. Retrieved August 27, 2020, from (Semantic Scholar): https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/State-ofthe-art-in-utilizing-Living-Labs-approach- Eriksson/2edd5e0fef9f7f9fd0262dea937cb997b3ab8d5f

Ersoy, A. & van Bueren, E. (2020). Challenges of Urban Living Labs towards the Future of Local Innovation. *Urban Planning*, *5*(4): 89-100. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i4.3226

Evans, J. (2011). Resilience, ecology and adaptation in the experimental city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *36*(2011): 223-237. DOI: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23020814

Evans, J., Bulkeley, H., Voytenko, Y., McCormick, K. & Curtis, S. (2018). Circulating experiments: urban living labs and the politics of sustainability. In: K. Ward, A. Jonas, B. Miller & D. Wilson (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on Spaces of Urban Politics* (pp. 416-425). London: Routledge.

Evans, J., Jones, R., Karvonen, A., Millard, L. & Wendler, J. (2015). Living labs and co-production: university campuses as platforms for sustainability science. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, *16*(2015): 1-6. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosust.2015.06.005

Evans, J. & Karvonen, A. (2014). 'Give me a laboratory and I will lower your carbon footprint!' - urban laboratories and the governance of low-carbon futures. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *38*(2): 413-430. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12077

Franz, Y., Tausz, K., & Thiel, S. (2015). Contextuality and co-creation matter: a qualitative case study comparison of living lab concepts in urban research. *Technology Innovation Management Review, 5*(12): 48-55. DOI: http://timreview.ca/article/952

Jacobs, J., Cairns, S. & Strebel, I. (2007). 'A tall storey ... but, a fact just the same': the Red Road High-rise as a black box. *Urban Studies, 44*(3): 609-629. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980601131910

Keith, M. & Headlam, N. (2017). Comparative International Urban and Living Labs. Retrieved August 27, 2020, from https://www.urbantransformations.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Comparative-International-and- Urban-Living-Labs-%E2%80%93-The-Urban-Living-Global-Challenge-A-Prospectus.pdf

Open Access Journal

Kronsell, A. & Mukhtar-Landgren, D. (2018). Experimental governance: the role of municipalities in urban living labs. *European Planning Studies*, *26*(5): 988-1007. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2018.1435631

Latour, B. (1983). Give me a laboratory and I will raise the world. In K. Knorr-Cetina & M. Mulkay (Ed.), *Science Observed* (pp. 141-170). London: Sage Publications.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Markopoulos, P. & Rauterberg, G. (2000). LivingLab: a White Paper. *IPO Annual Progress Report*, 35, 53–65. Retrieved August 27, 2020, from (ResearchGate) https://www.researchgate.net/publication/2406991_Livinglab_A_White_Paper

Marvin, S. & Silver, J. (2016). The urban laboratory and emerging sites of urban experimentation. In: J. Evans, A. Karvonen & R. Raven (Ed.), *The Experimental City* (pp. 47-60). London: Routledge.

Perry, B. (2006). Science, society and the university: a paradox of values. *Social Epistemology*, *20*(3-4): 201-219. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/02691720600879798

Powells, G. & Blake, L. (2016). Urban science networks and local economy: the case of Newcastle upon Tyne. In: J. Evans, A. Karvonen & R. Raven (Ed.), *The Experimental City* (pp.137-149). London: Routledge.

Puerari, E., de Koning, J., von Wirth, T., Karre, P., Mulder, I. & Loorbach, D. (2018). Co-creation dynamics in urban living labs. *Sustainability*, *10*(2018), 1893 (published online). DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/su10061893

Rydin, Y. (2012). Using Actor-Network Theory to understand planning practice: exploring relationships between actants in regulating low-carbon commercial development. *Planning Theory*, *12*(1): 23-45. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095212455494

Schliwa, G. & McCormick, K. (2016). Living labs: users, citizens and transitions. In: J. Evans, A. Karvonen & R. Raven (Ed.), *The Experimental City* (pp.163-178). London: Routledge.

Schumacher, J. & Feurstein, K. (2008). Living Labs - the user as co-creator. Retrieved August 27, 2020, from (ResearchGate) https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266881950_Living_Labs_-_the_User_as_Co-Creator

Schuurman, D. (2015). *Bridging the Gap between Open and User Innovation? Exploring the Value of Living Labs as Means to Structure User Contribution and Manage Distributed Innovation*. PhD thesis, Ghent & Brussels, Belgium: Ghent University & Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Schuurman, D., de Marez, L. & Ballon, P. (2013). Open innovation processes in living lab innovation systems: insights from the LeYLab. *Technology Innovation Management Review*, *3*(11): 28-36.

Schuurman, D., de Moor, K., de Marez, L., Evens, T. (2011). A living lab research approach for mobile TV. *Telematics and Informatics*, 28(2011): 271-282. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2010.11.004

Sharp, D. & Salter, R. (2017). Direct impacts of an urban living lab from the participants' perspective: Livewell Yarra. *Sustainability*, 9(2017), 1699 (published online). DOI: https://doi.org/10.3390/su9101699

Steen, K. & van Bueren, E. (2017). The defining characteristics of urban living labs. *Technology Innovation Management Review*, *7*(7): 21-33. DOI: 10.22215/timreview/1088

Veeckman, C., Schuurman, D., Leminen, S. & Westerlund, M. (2013). Linking living lab characteristics and their outcomes: towards a conceptual framework. *Technology Innovation Management Review*, *3*(12): 6-15.

von Wirth, T., Fuenfschilling, L., Frantzeskaki, N. & Coenen, L. (2019). Impacts of urban living labs on sustainability transitions: mechanisms and strategies for systemic change through experimentation. *European Planning Studies*, *27*(2): 229-257. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2018.1504895

Voytenko, Y., McCormick, K., Evans, J. & Schliwa, G. (2016). Urban living labs for sustainability and low carbon cities in Europe: towards a research agenda. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *123*: 45-54. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2015.08.053

Open Access Journal

Appendix: ULL projects in the UK

No.	ULL	Networks	Keywords
1	Bristol Living Lab	ENoLL	Knowle West Media Centre; digital technologies; local centre for meetings and collaboration; access to innovative tools; open data sharing platform; energy; citizen engagement
2	The Community Energy Lab, Tottenham London	GUST	building retrofitting; waste recycling; social enterprise; inclusion and equity; energy efficiency; local employment services; Selby Centre Green Hub
3	Coventry City Lab	ENoLL	low carbon community; ICT; vehicles and traffic; sustainable buildings; old building retrofitting; home energy measurement sensors; Coventry as a test-bed
4	Centre for Sustainable Technologies (CST)	ENoLL	multidisciplinary research; energy
5	Communities Building Capacity Birmingham	ENoLL	citizens self-help; digital technologies; local services; social inclusion; internet connectivity; access to computers
6	City Observatory Glasgow	ENoLL	Technology and Innovation Centre; information system
7	DEHEMS (Digital Environmental Home Energy Management System) Birmingham	ENoLL	Edgbaston area; intelligent metering system; graphic user interface online
8	Innovate Dementia Living Lab, Liverpool	ENoLL	dementia and aging; healthcare accessibility and affordability; user- friendly approach; Regional Stakeholder Platforms; intelligent lighting; nutrition and exercise
9	ECIM (European Cloud Marketplace for Intelligent Mobility) Birmingham	ENoLL	Platform as a Service (PaaS); SMEs; services to the cloud; open cloud-based services for innovators; technical outputs include ECIM Marketplace, ECIM mobility apps, and ECIM Smart Mobility API specifications
10	Edinburgh Living Lab	ENoLL	mobility; energy; co-designing; data-driven analysis and participatory design techniques
11	WASTE FEW ULL Bristol	JPI Urban Europe	reduce waste; Food-Energy-Water nexus (FEW); testing viable phosphate recapture from sewage; design thinking, systems mapping, resource flow dynamics, corporate risk management; Centre for Agro-ecology, Water and Resilience at the University of Coventry
12	FloodCitiSense Birmingham	JPI Urban Europe	Selly Park area; app for pluvial flood warning service; sensors and web-based technologies; citizen scientists building their own rain drop counters
13	Future City Glasgow	GUST	smart city technology; Operations Centre; Data hub and open data
14	GLIMER Glasgow	JPI Urban	migrants and refugees; integration
15	Greening ingrove Newcastle	GUST	community engagement

Open Access Journal

16	Newcastle Science Central / Helix	GUST	data science, urban science, and life science; digitally enabled sustainability; real-time data lab and data sensors; office building and business district; mixed use urban centre; local employment; largest single regeneration site in the UK; smart homes; public space
17	Incubators of Public Spaces London	JPI Urban Europe	Pollards Hill area; incubators online platform; co-creative software; e-participation; scenario and model forming;
18	Newcastle Living Lab for Innovating Relationships	ENoLL	partnership and organisation building
19	Living Don Sheffield	GUST	nature landscape protection
20	MadLab Manchester	ENoLL	public centre for meetings and collaboration; media production; technology and art
21	Manchester Digital Innovation Living Lab	ENoLL	digital application; interdisciplinary
22	Muswell Hill Low Carbon Zone of London	GUST	reducing carbon emission; home energy; low carbon loan; electric car and charging points; solar panels; social enterprise; community building retrofit; community engagement
23	Manor House PACT (Prepare Adapt Connect Thrive) London	GUST	resilience to climate change consequences; social networks and communities; home energy advice and installation; food; water; local economic opportunities; health; encouraging people to walk; community garden at the community centre
24	CitySDK (Service Development Kit) Manchester	ENoLL	digital services; participation, mobility and tourism; open street map; easy access for citizens to give feedback to municipalities
25	Sum Studios Sheffield	ENoLL	community engagement; arts, business and community
26	Sheffield City Region	ENoLL	healthcare; Advanced Wellbeing Research Centre (AWRC); digital inclusion
27	SmartImpact Manchester	ENoLL	smart cities; data governance and integration; smart finance and procurement initiatives; regulations and incentives; data integration and urban data platforms
28	MK: Smart Milton Keynes	GUST	sustainable growth; MK Data Hub; data enhanced city services
29	THINKlab Manchester	ENoLL	interdisciplinary research; digital cities; digital service to business
30	Traiangulum Manchester	ENoLL	Oxford Road Corridor; infrastructural integration of energy, mobility and ICT systems; ICT platform 'Manchester-I'; marketplace for innovative business; reducing car usage

Open Access Journal

31	SmartUrbl (Smart Urban Intermediaries) Birmingham and Glasgow	JPI Urban Europe	smart urban intermediaries; social innovation; smart urban development
32	Urban Education Live (UEL) Sheffield	JPI Urban Europe	community engagement; collaboration between universities and communities; local hubs
33	CityVerve Manchester	ENoLL	smart city; open smart platform; health, energy, transport and public realm; Oxford Road Corridor area; art and technology; gamification and citizen behaviour; Internet of Things; data sensors and cloud services; sustainable building

Open Access Journal

The third sector in the planning, production, and regeneration of inclusive public space. Notes from an ongoing experience in a distressed Sicilian neighborhood

Elisa Privitera
University of Catania, Italy
Corresponding author: elisa.privitera@unict.it

Due to the decrease of public and private funds invested in the production and regeneration of public spaces in Southern Italy, collaborative efforts among public/private actors seems to be a compelling alternative strategy for supporting urban transformations. While both planning and policy approaches have been unable to completely adapt to meet these growing demands, many actors, such as the third sector, within distressed neighborhoods and communities, act as place-makers and seem to be the last stronghold of resistance for exercising the right to the city. What can be done to overcome the classical rhetoric on the informal/formal dichotomy in the urban transformations and to reinforce the efforts of creating inclusive and enabling public spaces in new experimental ways? This paper proposes a reflection on this current dilemma through the presentation of ongoing re-appropriation and self-recovery practices over the last four years in San Berillo, a neglected and historical Sicilian red-light district in Catania, Italy. This article seeks to re-signify the concept of "inclusive space" by exploring the dialectical elements and conflicts and the collaborative paths between institutions, community and third sector and aimed to spawn relational processes of co-working, co-design, and mutual learning.

Keywords: collaborative practices; community-led regeneration; third sector; public space; right to the city; enabling spaces; urban marginalities

Please cite as: Privitera, E. (2020). The third sector in the planning, production, and regeneration of inclusive public space. Notes from an ongoing experience in a distressed Sicilian neighbourhood. *plaNext – next generation planning.* 10: 38-57. DOI: 10.24306/plnxt/66.

Open Access Journal

Introduction

On the 29th of October 2019, approximately 100 police, arriving in motorbikes, cars and even a helicopter, broke into Old San Berillo (OSB), a historical district of Catania (Sicily, Italy). Conducted by Catania's prosecutor's office, the blitz was part of a wider drug control operation. Thirteen drug sellers of African origin were detained for alleged drug dealing. During the press conference, the Catania police commissioner proudly states: '*Today's operation wanted to demonstrate more than ever, strongly and clearly, the presence of the State. In the entire metropolitan area, there are no free zones outside the control of the State!*'[1]. However, behind this facade, other truths are hidden.

Most of the thirteen alleged drug dealers are unhoused, who live and sleep "temporarily" - that is, for several years already - in the public spaces of the neighborhood. They are part of the larger OSB community, which, despite recent national laws and cuts for the reception of migrants[2], remains welcoming of the marginalized populations within the city. In its public spaces - i.e. narrow streets and a square - they had recreated the similar comforts of "home"; they congregated their tents and beds for resting, stoves for cooking, armchairs for gathering, braziers for warmth in winter, and a sewing machine for repairs to punctured clothes and other collected equipment, e.g. tools to repair bikes. Their informal (and illegal) settlement was furiously wiped out during the blitz as all their comforts and tools were seized. In lieu of generating inclusive and dynamic urban practices, the presence of the State, asserted their power over public space through a violent, top-down action. Nevertheless, a few days later on November 4, 2019, the same group of migrants with the support of local politically engaged third sector associations responded to the raid by dedicating a day to collectively cleaning the neighborhood, symbolizing how it is possible to combat urban degradation by giving space to self-organization[3].

The previously mentioned anecdote begs the questions of what is an inclusive public space in the context of historically diverse and self-organized neighborhoods, particularly in Southern Italy? And, above all, through identifying who nowadays produces public spaces, which position should individual and collective actors have in achieving this?

This paper aims to disentangle these dilemmas by investigating who has the right to the city and common spaces in current planning practice, to unveil if public space remains a *res publica* or if it is the mere splinters of an increasingly unequal public-private collision. More specifically, this article seeks to look into the dialectical and conflictual and power tensions existing between the individual and collective public, private, and social actors who are the protagonists of public space transformations, giving particular attention to the key-role of the third sector.

As an umbrella concept, the third sector includes an array of social organizations with varied structures and purposes, such as non-governmental associations, non-profits, values-driven, and voluntary sectors. Over time, the third sector has drastically changed, overcoming the mere notion of charity and now entailing both the capability approach and social economy as it is earning a growing and strategic position in the revitalization of public spaces. While the debate on third sector-led regeneration processes is widely rooted in other milieus, as in

[1] http://www.cataniatoday.it/video/spaccio-san-berillo-arresti-polizia-30-ottobre-2019.html
[2] Decree-Law 113/ 2018 concerns urgent provisions on international protection, immigration, public security and reduces the rights and services for migrants.
[3]https://catania.meridionews.it/articolo/82847/san-berillo-cosi-il-quartiere-reagisce-dopo-il-blitz-loperazione-uno-spot-qui-non-solo-spaccio/

Northern America, in the European and Italian context it is still a relatively recent novelty, often treated together with the multi-faceted concept of social innovation (Ostanel, 2017; Venturi & Zandonai, 2016; Manzini, 2015). The paper will shed light on the critiques, challenges, and potential of the third sector producing public space in Italy by going through the re-appropriation and self-recovery practices in the OSB neighborhood in Catania.

It is worth noting that the aim of this paper is not to carry out a generic study on the regeneration processes of public space per se in Italy. Instead, it seeks to focus on how and why relational and collaborative paths, involving the third sector, are important in the planning of public spaces that are inclusive of people's diverse practices and needs and give space to marginal citizens in distressed contexts. The structure of the article is as follows: the second section regards the theoretical framework to better understand how this work attempts to contribute to the current academic debate; the third section outlines the methodology; the fourth section introduces the empirical works, including the contextualization and the multi-nuanced array of inclusive and exclusionary practices in OSB; the fifth section discusses innovative collaborative projects concerning the public space led by actors belonging to the third sector; and the final two sections provide a discussion and closing remarks.

The current debate on how the third sector produces the (public) space in times of crisis

The globalization of neo-liberalism has deeply affected urban governance. According to Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002), there have been three prominent neoliberal phases of marketing strategy driving the growth and transformation of major cities: within the proto-neoliberalism phase, cities acted as the catalyst for economic disparities and social struggles; following proto-neoliberalism, the roll-back neoliberalism phase, during the '80s, cut public spending, facilities, and services leading to the annihilation of social amenities; lastly, within the roll-out neoliberalism phase, new mechanisms of multi-stakeholder governance has arisen, delegating resource management and responsibilities from the state to no-public actors, such as private investors and speculators, as well as private foundations, citizen gropus, NGO, etc. This trend was further intensified following the 2008 global crisis as the city of the rich and the city of the poor became more polarized (Secchi, 2013) and both public and private funds in production, conservation, and regeneration dropped.

Collaborative efforts among public/private actors have emerged to find alternative strategies to support urban transformations, and, thus, the third sector has gained an even more key-position but not without critique. Several scholars highlight the unwanted effects of grassroots' and social movements' involvement in the neoliberal marketing of cities. According to Margit Mayer (2007), among the unwanted risks, there is the manipulation of the third sector and bottom-up groups in the consensus-building machine and the legitimation of low retributions since these groups offer "mere social works". The second welfare - i.e. the mix of social programs providing a series of public services by the third sector- is a likewise a complex topic of discussion and debate that lacks an easy solution.

Despite these critiques, other scholars assert the strategic role played by 'horizontal alliances of poor groups and civic organizations as a way to face the new urban poverty and global governmentality' (Appadurai, 2001, p. 24). These coalitions could become crucial in spreading a 'deep democracy' (Appaddurai, 2001, p. 42), viz. a new model of global governance and local democracy that integrates the community's deciders. Bob Jessop (2002) also recognizes how nongovernmental actors can be part of new models of global and local democracy, especially within a neo-communitarianism approach. Neo-communitarianism was envisioned

to adjust to global neoliberalism and relies on social cohesion, civic empowerment and collaborative economy. In it, social resources and capital (Putnam, 2004), which are the characteristics of a social organization that facilitate cooperation to reach a common benefit (Della Porta, 2002), can be the driving force of an innovative and "generative policy"[4] (Minervini, 2016). These 'collaborative organizations' - where 'collaboration is intentional and by choice' (Manzini, 2015, p. 100) - breed "innovative communities" (Ciampolini, 2019) that spark value-based radical innovation within society. Radical innovation means 'looking at difficult problems with a different perspective instead of using a mainstream one' (Manzini, 2015, p. 13). Deep innovations may arise in the "third place" (Oldenburg, 1989), which is a public space beyond the home or workplace where people can meet and informally interact, exchange ideas, have a good time, and build relationships to ultimately cultivate a thriving community. The third place forms vibrant, place-based spaces within neighborhoods and cities: already functioning as an effective space for strengthening participation, citizenship, civic engagement, and establishing a sense of place. Alternative urban approaches can be strategically utilized in third space since they are 'central to the political processes of a democracy' (Oldenburg, 1999, p. 67). In order to conceive the third place as a multilayer lived space, likely it is needed to embrace the "thirdspace theory" envisioned by the American geographer Edward Soja (1996). Soja divides space into first, second, and third space defined as:

- Firstspace is the real space – the urban built form of physical buildings that can be mapped and seen.
- Secondspace is the imagined representational space – i.e. how space is perceived, seen and argued over.
- Thirdspace takes this thinking further – it combines First and Second space to create what Soja describes as, 'a fully lived space, a simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual locus of structured individuality and collective experience and agency' (Soja, 1996, p.11). Thirdspace, then, conceives the experience of life in the Firstspace mediated through Secondspace expectations.

Deep innovation, entailing collective acts and an increase of democracy, occurs when the third place becomes an "enabling space", allowing individuals to participate actively in a democratic urban life. Enabling spaces develop "enabling" characters, as it requires each to break from their own cultural frames and routines to find collective solutions to common problems and to satisfy their collective needs, interests, and expectations. Therefore, it addresses the redistribution of power and the creation of a new culture of urban government, constructing inclusive processes, which are able to valorise, to reinforce, and to create new social and institutional capabilities (Goni Mazzitelli, 2008). As Francesca Cognetti (2018) stated, building an enabling space could be possible if, in the design and planning processes, the public recognizes the social skills and leading role that different groups have in their territories, accepts innovative forms of involvement, and creates permanent changes in the ordinary structures of public policy management. Following this process, new procedures and techniques should be developed. On the other hand, local actors should be able to pursue traditional conflictual but also subsidiary logic, learning to be the protagonists of a shared process of defining the public/collective interest. Space is then enabling if experimental collaborative processes happen within it, i.e. processes that potentially work both on social and institutional activation.

[4] According to Gugliemo Minervini (2016), the Generative Policy promotes the dissemination of participatory processes in government activity as the main method for generating change, starting from the widespread knowledge of real needs to arrive at the shared identification of the most appropriate responses. Transparency is an essential principle in the activity of making a generative policy.

From a neo-institutional point of view, such urban experimentations can be considered as politics of niches, i.e. 'institutional episodes in which social practices generate opportunities for disruption in their regulatory and physical context by influencing both the social norms and physical spaces of selection and retention of social practices' (Savini & Bertolini, 2019, p. 836). As such, niches exist in a 'permanent tension within a particular socio-economic order and may instigate a change of the institutional order, although in a non-linear, largely unpredictable, and uncontrollable fashion' (Savini & Bertolini, 2019, p. 836). While the trajectory of such experiments is conditioned by policy and planning, urban experiments can also influence planners, designers, and deciders to produce new cognitive and action oriented environments, which are closer to practice than to theory and to the bureaucratic praxis. Giovan Francesco Lanzara (1993) has named negative capability, the ability of "being" in uncertainty, of acting in complex and messy situations while remaining oriented towards the activation of contexts and possible worlds. Negative capability consists of the ability to manage moments of indefiniteness and of the absence of direction, eventually reorganizing their own action model and developing new routines while understanding actions can potentiality be disclosed. Applied to urban issues, the negative capability may engender new creative solutions to answer complex urban problems and new experimental, partnership-based, pragmatic, and truly collaborative policies. According to Flaviano Zandonai and Paolo Venturi (2019), despite these innovative social processes involving both civic society and institutions, they are context-dependent, rely on a hyper-local scale, and are apt to elaborate and practice systemic changes.

The ability of the third sector and innovative communities to affect both institutions and policies may be read as a process (Corry, 2010), demonstrating their transformative potential impacts on the balance of social forces in society (Katz, 2006). The debate on public space well embeds the above-mentioned framework and literature on the third sector. Departing from the normal model of direct state ownership and management, alternative forms of public space provision arose. This transfer of public space governance from the state to other social agents, especially to the private sector, has ignited the expansion of pseudo-public spaces (Wang & Chen, 2018; Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013), gentrification (Semi, 2015), social exclusion and segregation, and commodification of public realm (Kohn, 2004; Schaller & Modan, 2009).

Despite such exclusionary privatization dynamics, public space is still capable of accommodating a heterogeneous public made of socio-economic and ethnic diversity, especially in derelict and abandoned corners of a city. The revitalization of these latter places often stems from 'informal modes of urbanization' (Roy, 2005, p. 148), which are already recognized as a 'new way of life' (Alsayyad, 2004). Other hybrid communities, such as residents, grassroots groups, third sector volunteers, sub-consumers and associations of social innovation, also act as place-makers and seem to be the last strongholds of resistance for exercising the "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1968) or, at least, 'the right not to be excluded from it' (Roy, 2005, p. 155).

To make a space public means to give it "publicness", i.e. the accessibility and the right of the presence of a wide number of subjects potentially excluded from the possibility of appropriation of a place (Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri, 2014). Iris Marion Young (1990) emphasized how socially just outcomes could only be achieved by embracing the diverse needs and desires of the citizenry. This aligns with the description given by UN-HABITAT (2000, p. 5) for inclusive cities, which is a 'space where all people, regardless of their economic condition, gender, age, ethnicity, or religion, can participate productively in all the opportunities that cities offer'. Since the public space is the original agora for all citizens, at least by definition, it should be inclusive,

incubating the social capital in an open space of design (Ostanel, 2017, p. 63). A healthy public life is crucial for creating what Richard Sennett defines as an “open city” (Sennett, 2018), that is a city where citizens actively hash out their differences, and planners experiment with urban forms that bolster collective decision-making.

The Italian academic debate on social innovation and urban regeneration has engendered vivid literature on how public space (streets, squares, pedestrian paths, micro-clearing) turns into a theatre of varied community practices experimenting, often in an informal way, with spatial capitals (Cancellieri, 2011). For instance, several studies have concentrated upon some key-features of urban regeneration, such as the relationship between the processes of regeneration of underused buildings and the types of organizations active in these processes (Busacca & Zandonai, 2019), the permanent or transitory re-use of both brownfields and abandoned areas (Gambino, 2000; Inzaghi & Vanetti 2011; Inti et al., 2014), the innovative forms of institutional learning, e.g. collaboration agreements and manifestos for commons (Fidelbo, 2018; Micciarelli, 2017; Michiara, 2016).

Nevertheless, literature addressing how innovative and hybrid communities of place-makers manage to generate inclusive public space remains limited, especially in Southern Italy where, except for the case of Apulia and Naples[5], the planning tends to confront these issues with top-down procedures trapped by bureaucracy.

An embedded and immersive research methodology

This empirical study concentrates on the collaborative efforts of the Old San Berillo community and the social cooperative Trame di Quartiere (TdQ), specifically examining two aspects: the ecology of the inclusivity and exclusivity of public space and the collaborative experiments of enabling spaces.

From September 2016 to May 2017, embedded research, inspired by ‘planning made with feet’[6] was carried out to inspect the ability of space to accommodate unpredictable social contradictions and to map and analyse the several actors shaping public space. With the goal to refine the concept of public space, the author has collected qualitative data through observations of daily practices in OSB that simply make a space public, i.e. place of the public sphere. The "world of daily life" was mapped after intensive "urban stalking". As already explained in previous works (Privitera & Gravagno, 2020; Privitera, 2017), “urban stalking” implied to spend a time of immersive observation, around one hour during specific time slots of both morning, afternoon, and evening in the week and weekend. The observation has regarded who (which kind of people) use the public space, how they use it and change it over time. During these on-the-ground observations, the author began approaching and interacting with OSB residents and began establishing connections with both them and with some privileged informers, i.e. who have gained a lot of knowledge about the neighbours. Then, the author has done three walking interviews (Evans & Jones, 2010) and twenty in depth-interviews - grounded in “the seven rules of active listening” (Sclavi, 2003)- with current and past residents, property owners, members of grassroots organizations, etc., (Privitera & Gravagno, 2020; Gravagno & Privitera, 2019). The main questions were about their own stories with respect to OSB: when they started to live or work there, which kinds of memories they have on OSB, which kind of initiatives they carried out, how they are in rapports with each

[5] The region of Apulia (Gelli, 2018; Barbanente, 2008) and the city of Naples (Masella, 2018; Capone, 2018) were led for several years by illuminated and progressive governments that experimented innovative partnership forms with third sector and social movements.
[6] Expression used by the Italian urban planner Bernardo Secchi in some conferences around 2013-2014.

other and with the public administration. Two focus groups, one with a neighborhood committee and one with a local social enterprise (Privitera, 2017), were carried out with the purpose to dig into the tension existing between public benefit and social entrepreneurship. This exploratory phase has allowed the author to retrace back the story of OSB from an alternative perspective, to scrutinize the ongoing re-appropriation and self-recovery experiences, both exclusionary, inclusive and collaborative that some residents, traders, and organizations are leading in the last years in public corners, often derelict, of OSB.

Beginning in 2018, the author positioned herself to cooperate with TdQ in a more committed way, serving the hybrid role of an activist, reflective practitioner (Schön, 1983) and researcher in action (Saija, 2016). Thanks to this new position, it was possible to be not only the observer of the ongoing socio-urban processes, rather to be part of them.

Section 4 is, for the most part, the result of the first ethnographical period, section 5 mainly comes from the still ongoing engagement of the author in the current transformative dynamics of the neighborhood.

The ecology of inclusivity and exclusivity in the public space of Old San Berillo

Don't ask: "What's the problem?"
Ask: "What's the story?"
That way you'll find out what the problem really is.
John Forester (1999, p. 19)

A melting pot of complex urban issues, OSB faces social marginalities, unused spaces, informality, speculation of capitalistic lobbies, and lack of generative public strategy. It is a historical district of Catania, born spontaneously after one of the strongest earthquakes in Sicily (1693). Its urban and social fabric were established within the peripheral area at the time, outside the medieval walls of Catania. As OSB was originally populated by various social classes, it developed quickly but disorderly. Expanding towards the seaside, where the central station was inaugurated in 1866, OSB gained a strategic position. After World War II, a speculative and top-down operation was undertaken by the private construction company Istituto Immobiliare di Catania (ISTICA) by common accord with the local authorities. The ISTICA Renovation Plan established the replacement of the historical existing urban fabric with new buildings, streets, and squares[7]. ISTICA's sister company Istberillo was in charge of the production of a new district called New San Berillo, a countryside area - nowadays in the suburbs of the city - in which the displaced OSB residents were asked to move. Beginning in 1954, the ISTICA Renovation Plan soon partly failed, leaving a portion of OSB destroyed; within the demolished space, a section was rebuilt while another considerable section was only levelled (Figure 1).

This destructive economic operation uprooted approximately 30,000 residents and dismembered the original social fabric of OSB: almost all of the original residents had to move to the new suburbs, except for most of the prostitutes. Until Merlin Law (1958),[8] local prostitutes used to work within bawdy houses, but after it passed, they had to change their way of prostituting, turning to the street rather than within their houses as the building owners began to disregard their properties. Accordingly, during these last decades, the surviving remains of

[7] More info on the urban development of OSB in Busacca & Gravagno (2004).
[8] The Merlin law -from the name of the senator who promoted it, Lina Merlin - abolished the regulation of prostitution, closing the brothels and introducing the crimes of exploitation, induction, and aiding of prostitution.

the OSB neighborhood have turned into the red-light district of the city wherein the public space stands in as a place of illegal works, distressful, but also of daily confrontation and solidarity. During this time, the public and planning were unable to set any plan or strategy for this area, except for some punctual actions of repression to foster order and security. An emblematic example is the big police blitz on December 13, 2000 that marked a social and physical turning point following the arrest of many prostitutes and pimps, the boarding up of many buildings, and the consequent reduction of the OSB population. Contextually, other dynamics pertaining to migration flows were happening at the local level, even if connected with global trends.

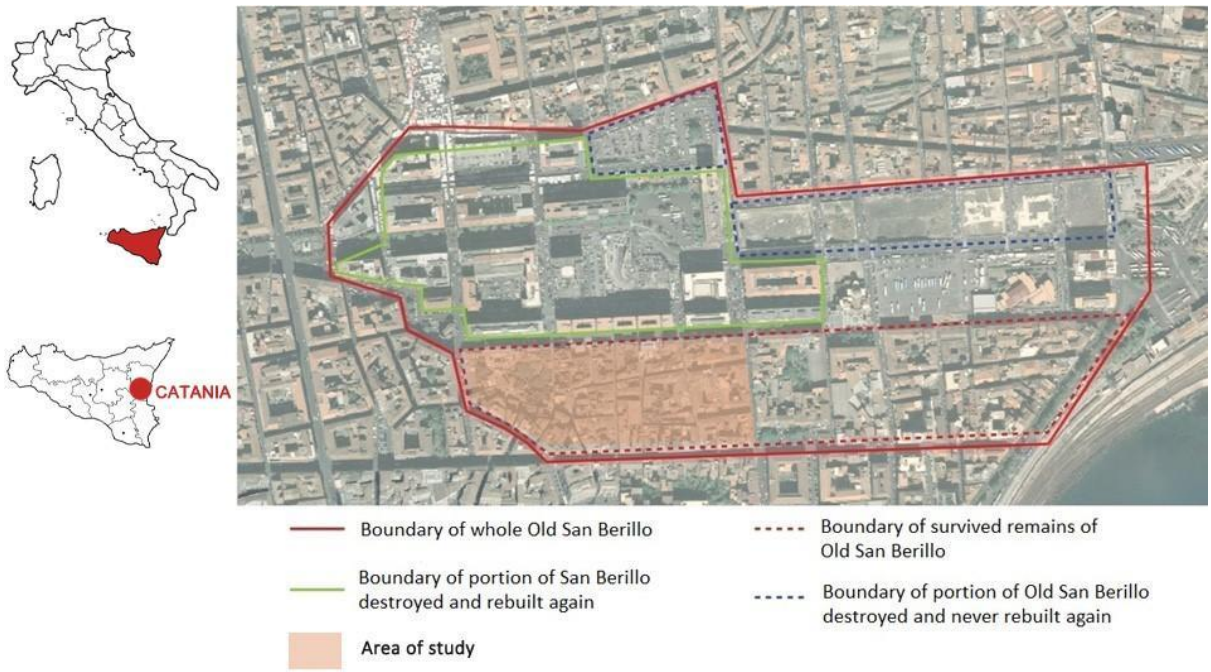

***Figure 1**. The borders of Old San Berillo in Catania (Sicily, Italy). Source: Author.*

Over time, OSB has become a place in which all migrants, subalterns, and poor people could find refuge. OSB operates outside of the law, in which the socially vulnerable converge and exercise their own informal (sometimes-illegal) freedom. There are two main migrant groups: the first was part of the late 90s migratory waves, mostly coming from Senegal and the other comes from a more recent mass-exodus. The first is made of families already inserted in the socio-urban local fabric, whereas the second is mainly composed of young single men who still live within the repressive and worsening conditions of being new migrants, often without official documents, dwelling, and job. Nowadays, the surviving remains of OSB exist as a labyrinth of ancient streets and buildings, damaged facades, scarcely populated and often illegally occupied (Figure 2).

Most of the building owners remain persistent about not undertaking any interventions due to the uncertainties of the future of the neighborhood, while many buildings remain boarded up despite the widespread need for housing, as many sleep on the streets of the district. In such a context, public space has crucial functions: in it, the residents not only interact but also often satisfy their basic needs, such as to sleep, to eat, to live, or even to use the toilet. The massive use of public space and its hyper-diversity induce varied conflicts, for instance, related to the borders of use and occupation of public space. Despite all these socio-urban transformations,

the local administration has not roughed out any long-term proposals and maintain that the problems in OSB are almost only a matter of public order and legality. Instead, many new urban actors, often linked to the third sector, have started to catch on and spread, leading micro-bottom-up initiatives of space revitalization in OSB.

***Figure 2**. Some corners, streets and buildings of Old San Berillo. Source: Author.*

To unearth the invisible practices of regeneration of the public space and to reflect on the way these everyday practices of planning navigate the historically complex social relations in OSB, a social immersion was carried out within the district. This ethnographic phase was accomplished with attention to the district's third places, understanding that life between buildings is not merely pedestrian traffic or recreational or social activities but 'it comprises the entire spectrum of activities, which combine to make communal spaces in cities and residential areas meaningful and attractive' (Gehl, 2011, p. 29).

Following on-the-ground observations, Figure 3 maps the ongoing uses and practices in public spaces and the users of the public space. It is important to note that the taxonomy (residents, child residents, usual and casual users, tourists, etc.) is much more blurred in reality than pictured on the map. The second level of data processing moves from the mere registration of daily life to more articulated reflections on what was happening in the public space to convey the ecology of inclusivity and exclusivity. As shown in Figure 4, the outdoor social interactions within OSB's public space were divided into three general types:

1. Required: something people must do regardless they want to do it or not, e.g. daily tasks, work, going to school;
2. Voluntary: something people do because they want to do it, e.g. to walk, to relax on a bench;
3. Social: something people do depending on the presence of other people in the same public space, e.g. to chat, to play with other children, to observe what other people do.

Open Access Journal

***Figure 3**. Example of a map stemming from the urban stalking. Source: Privitera (2017)*

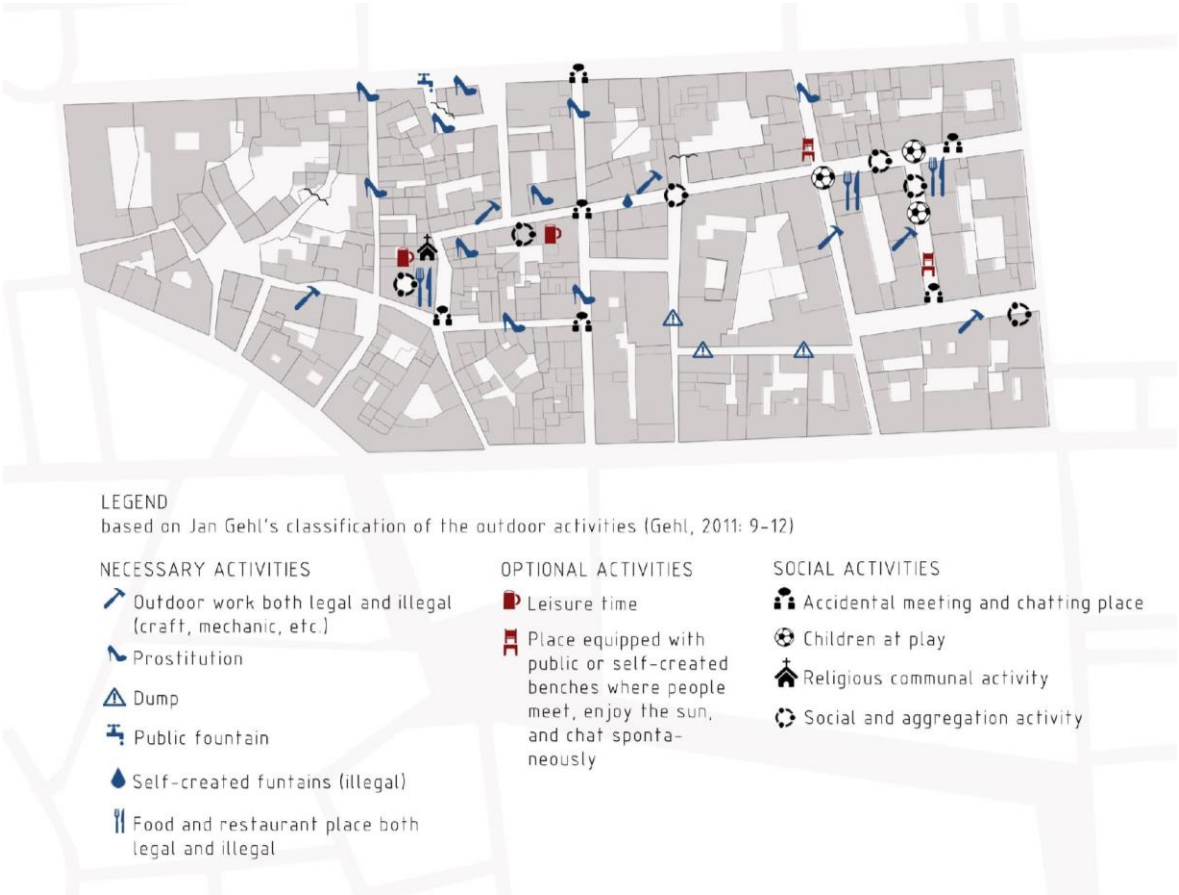

***Figure 4**. Uses, functions and practices in the public spaces of Old San Berillo.*

Source: Privitera (2017).

These three types of activities are tightly tied to each other and rely on the "intensity of contact" based on the function of so-called third places. By starting from basic interactions, it is possible to reach a more in-depth relation of neighborliness that facilitate the "low-level contact with intensity" (Gehl, 2011), fundamental for satisfying “desire of community” (Bauman, 2001), for implementing the "sense of neighborhood" in progress and for the formation of "local self-government" (Jacobs, 1965).

OSB’s community[9] practices, often informal, generate numerous and heterogeneous inclusive public spaces:

- Four young green mobility activists have bought two private garages within OSB because the selling price was lower than everywhere else was in the city center. To host the Ciclofficina ZeroNove, a bike workshop, they have slowly restored the two garages through mutualism and collaborative effort, and then installed -without authorization- some benches on the pedestrian path in between both garages. Thanks to these micro-interventions, and thanks to their aptitude, the street between the two garages is now used for fixing bikes, for children playing freely, for chatting among neighbors, and for organizing public events, as shown in Figure 5.

- For a long time, there were not many children in OSB until the 90s migrant wave appeared. These children, due to financial constraints, are unable to practice sports in gyms. What they wish, as all children do, is to play, and currently, the only space in which they can do it is among the streets of the district. Consequently, each afternoon, droves of children claim these derelict spaces for their games, improvising self-managed football matches, often right close to sex-workers. In addition to the didactic role of public space for the playing and education of children (Jacobs, 1965), the presence of the children awakens these usually neglected areas.

- Arriving in the last 3 to 7 years, the second group of migrants live in critical conditions. There are three critical conditions this group of migrants commonly find themselves in: some remain undocumented or continue to wait for their official documentation, others cannot leave Sicily in order to go back home or move to other European countries, and lastly, due in part to the first two conditions, some get involved in criminal business. In Catania, OSB is one of the only places in which they can stay, whether through occupying empty buildings or sleeping on the streets. In the last months, many repressive actions against such informal-illegal ways of life, being enforced by the local police. Despite this, an unusual and proactive answer was given by the people: the residents clean up the main streets of the district on the last Saturday of every month (Figure 6). Originating in Africa, this practice of care is called set (clean) and setal (to clean up), which regards this practice as a human investment in cleanliness, referring to both a sense of hygiene and morality. Expected to be done collectively, this practice involves improving the quality of life in neighborhoods, removing garbage and dirt but also involves embellishing public places, sometimes including naming them.

[9] With the word community, the author considers residents, prostitutes, irregular immigrants that occupy buildings, grassroots movements, voluntary groups, district committees and all people living the public space, regardless legally or illegally.

Open Access Journal

***Figure 5**. Collective public lunch self-organized in the street just in front of the bike shop garages. Source: Archive of Trame di Quartiere.*

***Figure 6**. Moments of set setal. Source: Gambia Youths Association*.

A different type of practice has occurred in Piazza delle Belle, a small square in the oldest core of OSB. When the ISTICA plan was approved and implemented in 1954, Piazza delle Belle was not demolished, but rather, it remained the only surviving public square within the neighborhood, suffering the same process of degradation. In 2015, a young trader decided to open a "hipster" pub overlooking the square; meanwhile, the local government showed its interest in supporting a "facade" process of regeneration.

In July 2015, a beautification and decorum program was carried out by the Town Planning Office, together with students from the Art School, the Detention Camp of Catania, but without any engagement of its residents (Gravagno et al., 2018). Between October to December 2015, the owner of the pub made several streetscape improvements, often out of the law and the legal authorization. Among these improvements were painting some historical facades, planting many flowers, and creating various urban furniture and decorations. Though the local government has claimed it provides crucial aid, the owner actually financially supports and manages most of the interventions, including their maintenance. Unfortunately, this space can only be utilized at certain times of the day because only consumers are allowed to use elements of street furniture and enjoy the improvements. It is worth considering that the private video-camera system, set up in all the corners of the piazza to monitor its use, and the high prices of goods at the pub, have converted Piazza delle Belle into an exclusive space, straying from a public *agorà* for residents. These transformations are all telltale signs that simply beautification and “greenification” initiatives alone are not enough to improve and create public space. The border between informal practices of regeneration and its privatized and exclusionary misappropriation is often weak.

Toward collaborative experiments of enabling spaces

What has been presented until now follows the seemingly paradoxical cliché concerning urban informality in contrast with capitalistic exclusionary power, with the tacit consent, absence, or repressive presence of public institutions. Is it possible for an alternative planning approach to navigate the ecology of a place? Among the actors of the third sector operating in OBS, it is worth focusing on TdQ, an association of social promotion, recently converted into a social cooperative. TdQ is characterized by a heterogeneous human and social capital (Della Porta, 2004; Putnam, 2004), made up of urban planners, geographers, anthropologists, artists and residents. In their approach, there is a very strong connection between research and action: knowledge is produced in action, as well as action, through forms of research, mobilizes a kind of intellectual activism (Contu, 2018).

As the timeline in Figure 7 shows, though TdQ was not realized until 2015, it originates from a community mapping research approach in 2011 (D'Urso et al., 2013), during which some young researchers and the OSB community had the chance to collaboratively map the neighborhood’s past, present, and future together. The mapping events spur community spirit and unity, so that in 2013, a neighborhood committee called Active Citizens of S.Berillo' was born as a reaction to suspicious acts of urban speculation linked to large real estate companies interest in buying some of OSB’s abandoned properties. In 2015, thanks to a regional call named Boom Polmoni Urbani, this informal group decided to officially establish Trame di Quartiere (Neighborhood Relations) aimed at experimenting with urban and social regeneration practices through their direct actions in OSB. From 2016 to 2018, TdQ’s work is inspired by its retraced memories of the district, experimenting with the narrative as an action tool. For instance, TdQ has not only produced two seasons of a web series[10] regarding the

[10] https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCXNZYy02WdT1K6hYpRjbL6g/playlists

Open Access Journal

story of SB and its current problems, but also, it has organized an exposition, called NarrAzioni, displaying the official historical documents and lived memories of OSB. During these past few years, TdQ has also conducted a rehabilitation of its headquarter, Palazzo de Gaetani, by both using funds obtained through a regional call, benefiting from voluntary help, and receiving, finally, the involvement of public administration (Gravagno et al., 2018). TdQ is actively working to convert Palazzo De Gaetani from a previous private property into a social and enabling space (Cognetti, 2018).

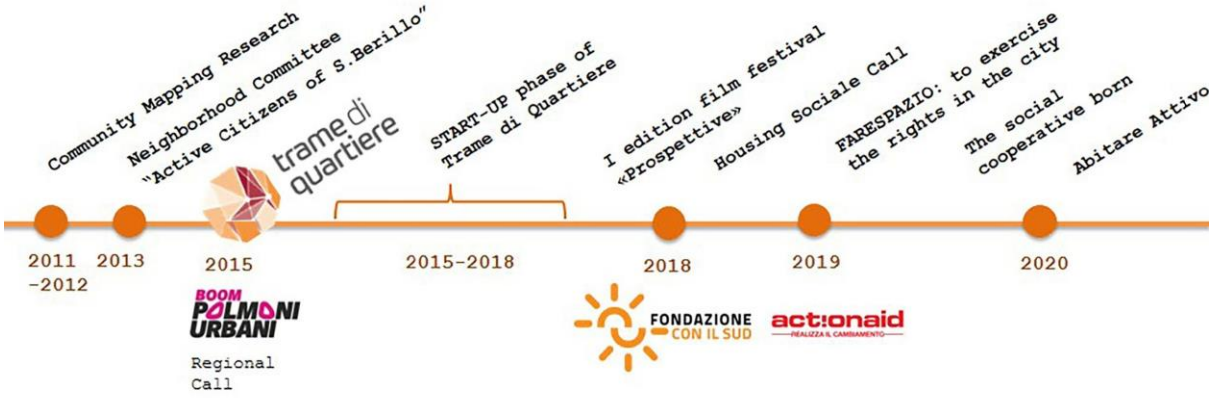

***Figure 7**. Timeline of the main steps of Trame di Quartiere. Source: Author.*

At the end of 2017, reaching the end of the regional call, TdQ faced the issue of economic sustainability, which is actually a fairly common concern within the third sector. For this reason, the members of TdQ have continually looked for grants, funds, and calls supplied by banking foundations, international NGOs, etc. to continue to pave urban regeneration paths in OSB, without losing its genuine relationship between residents and the goal of inclusive urban regeneration. The several projects proposed by TdQ have always sought to put in practice new solutions to the current problems in OSB through using the production of culture as a tool for triggering social innovation and empowerment. Emblematic examples are:

- the two editions of film festivals Prospettive[11], the first financed by Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities, the second mostly self-financed through sponsors;
- the social theatre inspired by the theatre of the oppressed[12];
- the migrant-led walking tours belonging to the international networks of New Roots Migrantour Intercultural Walks.

Notwithstanding all these laudable projects, two of the main issues of OSB, which are thickly intertwined with each other, are still unresolved: the degradation and abandonment of most of the public and private spaces, and the planning, policies, and state indifference towards the needs and ongoing practices in OSB. TdQ has questioned itself on its potential role in altering the current situation and in inclusively enabling the already ongoing practices.

[11] https://prospettive.tramediquartiere.org/
[12] The Theatre of the Oppressed describes theatrical forms that the Brazilian theatre practitioner Augusto Boal first elaborated in the 1970s, initially in Brazil and later in Europe. Boal's techniques use theatre as means of promoting social and political change. In the Theatre of the Oppressed, the audience becomes active, such that as "spect-actors" they explore, show, analyze and transform the reality in which they are living.

In order to achieve such goals, TdQ has dedicated last projects to the public space:

1. SottoSopra: abitare collaborativo (Upside down: collaborative living"): it is a project funded by Fondazione Con il Sud[13]. It seeks to intersect the restoration of the headquarter with the creation of social housing for the homeless already leaving there (Barbanti & Privitera, 2019, 2020). Step n.4 of the project, named "abitare attivo" (living active) will be dedicated to the re-activation of a pedestrian street in front of the social housing and of the courtyard within the headquarter. While the street is already a public space, the courtyard is officially private, but the aim is to convert it into a "third place and space" through active listening and co-designing with residents where they can meet and socialize. The public administration is a partner of this project.

2. FareSpazio: sperimentare i diritti nella città (MakeSpace: to experiment the rights in the cities) funded by Action Aid, this project aims to build a network of organizations and residents to co-author a Manifesto of care for public space to the public administration so that it must assume responsibility for its residents, associations, and their needs. The public administration is not an original partner of the project, but the objective is to have a collective learning process. Therefore, the public administration will be engaged in a second stage so that the public already has a larger and more advantageous awareness.

Both projects are still in progress and were slowed down due to COVID-19 lockdown, but they exemplify how TdQ, as an actor of the third sector, wants to play a strategic role in the planning of public spaces by mediating between the ongoing informal practices and the local government through relational and collaborative paths. So far, while it has been relatively uncomplicated for TdQ to engage with OSB's residents and users of public space, interacting with local governments has resulted in colliding with the bureaucratic cage, typical of the public praxis.

Discussion: challenges and tricky points of collaborative and relational paths

This paper has introduced two main interrelated topics. First, it has presented the result of a methodology -made of immersive study, intense observations, walks, and interactions- to approach the analysis and study of OSB's public space. This method, strongly influenced by an ethnographic attitude, has made it possible to read and map the ongoing community practices in OSB's public space. Second, and as a consequence, a description and a comparison between such practices were provided.

The first type of practice, that of "inclusive space making," consists of low-budget self-recovery initiatives that some residents and civic groups have promoted mostly informally and spontaneously but without involving and thus entering into conflict with the public administration. A second type, on exclusionary spaces, uses the discourse of public space regeneration for private purpose, converting public space into a privatized one and having, at least officially, the support by the local government. Finally, third sector groups are experimenting with alternative collaborative approaches in which both residents and the local governments are already engaged as a partner in the design process. In short, in the first case, the public administration is generally absent, except for repressive actions; in the second, the

[13] Fondazione CON IL SUD is the result of the alliance between bank foundations, Italian third sector, and volunteer organizations;

local government tries to take advantage of private actions, pretending to sustain it; in the third case, the public is involved and engaged with bottom-up proposals to recognize some ongoing community practices in the district and also to take on its own responsibilities.

This paper, through the case of OBS, can perhaps provide some insights about the relations between the concept of "inclusive space" introduced at the beginning and about the part that third sector actors are playing in producing inclusive (third) public places. In particular, it is necessary to reimagine the idea of the inclusive city, so much scientifically embraced that has been inserted in the 11th of the Sustainable Development Goals of Agenda 2030. By tracking down the etymological origin of the word, “include" comes from the Latin *in* + *clusus* which means "closed inside". Inclusive planning -conceived as a way to allow only a few others to have the possibility to be taken in consideration by designers in "their closed inside"- still appears as an exclusionary approach relied on the strict border between "we" (intelligentsia, bourgeois, wealthy and reliable people) and "others" (citizens, local community, NGO, etc.). As an alternative, the word "collaborate", also coming from Latin *cum* + *laborare*, means "working together". The experience of TdQ carrying out regenerative actions rooted in place-making practices will likely spawn inclusive public space. Thus, in order to co-create spaces from ongoing community practices, collaborative and relational paths are needed: this is the planner’s goal. Assuming that "no is not enough" (Klein, 2007), planners need to move toward an "enabling yes," establishing a relationship between grassroots groups, citizens and institutional bodies.

Nevertheless, the search for a common path requires some reflections:

1. New and/or existing resources: as private foundations or other fund sources are often substituting for the welfare state to support the community practices of urban regeneration, what are the long-term influences to society, specifically considering neoliberalism and extreme capitalistic enrichment? Which resource residents, local committees, and third sector may use to continue being the “applicator” of the right to the city?
2. The role of planners: the ethical choices of planners should aim to increase the capabilities of communities to perform more powerfully as instruments of deep democracy in the local context. The patience (Appadurai, 2001) or a context-based approach inspired by the action-research paradigm (Saija, 2016) could be the way to co-create this new awareness. Mutual learning among different expertise, both local and technical, can result in a democratization of knowledge, which is the base for democratizing democracy (De Sousa, 2009).
3. Given that the revitalization of derelict areas is mostly a matter of democracy rather than a mere physical matter, the co-evolution of the democratic dialogue between self-organized communities and institutions is necessary. Unfortunately, not only the communities but also the institutions are often not aware of the need to reframe their mechanisms of interaction and dialogue to face the current and future urban challenges. Collaborative and relational paths, like the ones promoted by TdQ, represent a shared experience through which both the third sector and the public can learn together and from each other.

Conclusion

This paper has tried to dig into the critiques, the challenges and the potentials of the third sector as mediator and creator of inclusive public places in the Italian context, specifically the Southern, by analyzing the re-appropriation and self-recovery practices in the neighborhood of

San Berillo in Catania (Italy).

First, the article has framed the emerging position of the third sector in relation to the current roll-out neoliberalism system, the urban governance, and the production of a city. Due to both the decrease of public and private funds, there is a need for new alliances to emerge to support the generation of public space, besides guaranteeing the already existing spaces. In these innovative collaborations between citizens and the public, the third sector can be a facilitator and promoter of the right to the city, especially for the marginalized groups who often lack the opportunity to enjoy public urban spaces. Public space (including the third place) is the litmus test of the current dynamics of exclusion enforced by private investments, state power control and welfare state crisis. Public spaces represent the last stronghold for maintaining inclusive cities and for experimenting with deep and radical social innovation aimed at regenerating spaces. Such topics are even more relevant in Italy, especially Southern Italy, where the poverty percentage is high and public institutions are not prone to break out of the bureaucratic praxis and cage to learn through collaborative experiences.

For these reasons, the author has chosen to go through the community practices and the dialectical and conflictual tensions and power dynamics existing between institutions, citizens and the third sector to draw attention to the relations between them in the process of public space regeneration in the Southern context. A reflection was provided on possible collaborative approaches that involve citizens, the third sector, private donors, and the public administration in the re-activation of derelict public spaces in the district of Old San Berillo in Catania.

The case of Trame di Quartiere in OSB has confirmed the cruciality of the public space as a third place to intersect ideas, projects, needs, and collective actions, but, above all, it has shown how the revitalization of derelict areas is mostly a matter of resources, capabilities, and democracy, re-envisioning the concept of inclusivity. The creation of an inclusive city is not rooted in a generic inclusion of marginalized people and public institutions, but rather in the long collaborative process between the two. While it is worth noting that ‘no one knows better about how to survive poverty than the poor themselves’(Appadurai, 2001, pp.29), and ‘no one knows better how neighborhood works than citizens themselves’ (Jacobs, 1965), this paper builds from these statements, explaining how expertise, human, cultural and economic resources must be involved to co-produce public space. Therefore, the third sector plays such crucial role in triggering the process of learning and planning involving both civic society and institutions.

Acknowledgement

I want to thank all the associations and residents who have allowed meetings, clarifications, and interviews during the research fieldwork and who shared several documents and photos. Thanks to all reviewers and editors for their helpful comments. Thanks to Aubrey Toldi for her important support.

Disclosure Statement

Authors have no financial interest or benefit arising from the direct applications of this work.

References

AlSayyad, N. (2004). Urban Informality as “New” Way of Life. In R.Ananya, & N. AlSayyad (Ed.), *Urban*

Open Access Journal

Informality: transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia (pp.7-30). Oxford: Lexington Books.

Appadurai, A. (2001). Deep democracy: urban governmentality and horizon of politics. *Environment & Urbanization*, *13*(2): 23-44. DOI: 10.1215/08992363-14-1-21

Barbanente, A. (2008). Il governo del territorio regionale fra inerzie, nuove consapevolezze e tensioni verso il cambiamento. In De Giorgi Cezzi Gabriella, Mininanni Salvatore and Portaluri Pier Luigi (Ed.), *Le nuove forme della pianificazione urbanistica in Puglia*. Naples, Italy: ESI.

Barbanti, C., & Privitera, E. (2019). L'abitare collaborativo. Housing sociale nel quartiere di San Berillo a Catania. *CON-Magazine website*. Retrieved October 31, 2020, from: http://www.conmagazine.it/2019/11/25/abitare-collaborativo-lhousing-sociale-nel-quartiere-san-berillo-a-catania/

Barbanti, C., & Privitera, E. (2020). Riabitare l'esistente come risposta al disagio sociale. Sperimentazioni sull'abitare collaborativo nel quartiere di San Berillo a Catania. In A.A.V.V. (Ed.) *Proceedings from XXII Congress SIU-Italian Society of Urban Planners. L'Urbanistica italiana di fronte all'Agenda 2030. Portare territori e comunità sulla strada della sostenibilità e della resilienza, Matera-Bari 6-7-8 giugno 2019* (pp.160-168). Rome, Italy: Planum Publisher.

Bauman, Z. (2001). *Community. Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley.

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism. In N. Brenner and N. Theodore (Ed.), *Space of Neoliberalism. Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe* (pp.2-32). Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.

Busacca, M., & Zandonai, F. (2019). Trends and Challenges of the Italian Third Sector in the Field of Community Assets Regeneration. New Convergences between Public Benefit and Social Entrepreneurship. *Partecipazione e conflitto*. 12(2): 513-538. DOI: 10.1285/i20356609v12i2p513

Busacca, P., & Gravagno, F. (2004). *L' occhio di Arlecchino. Schizzi per il quartiere San Berillo a Catania*. Rome, Italy: Gangemi.

Cancellieri, A. (2011). La città e le differenze. Battaglie per il senso del luogo e valorizzazione del welfare space. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*. 1: 83-91.

Ciampolini, T. (2019). *Comunità che innovano*. Milan, Italy: FrancoAngeli.

Cognetti, F. (2018). Enabling spaces. Quali ponti tra istituzioni e cittadini per pratiche di governo collaborative? *Tracce urbane.* 3: 52-63. DOI: 10.13133/2532-6562_2.3.14314

Contu, A. (2018). "…The point is to change it"–Yes, but in what direction and how? Intellectual activism as a way of 'walking the talk of critical work in business school. *Organization*. 25(2): 282-293. DOI: 10.1177/1350508417740589

Corry O. (2010). Defining and Theorizing the Third Sector. In R.Taylor (Ed.), *Third Sector Research*. New York: Springer.

De Sousa, S.B. (2009). *Democratizar a democracia*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilizacao Brasileira.

Della Porta D. (2002). *La Politica locale*. Bologna, Italy: Il Mulino.

Della Porta D. (2004). *Comitati di cittadini e democrazia urbana*. Soveria Mannelli, Italy: Rubbettino.

Evans, J., & Jones, P. (2010). The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place. *Applied Geography.* 31 (2): 849-858. DOI: 10.1016/j.apgeog.2010.09.005

D'Urso, A., Reina, G., Reutz, B., Ruiz Pieré, F. (2013). *Urban Cultural Maps. Condividere, partecipare, trasformare l'urbano. Pradl-San Berillo*. Catania, Italy: CUECM.

Gehl, J. (2011). *Life between buildings: using public space*. Washington: Island Press.

Fidelbo, E. (2018). Strumenti giuridici di valorizzazione del rapporto tra patrimonio culturale e territorio: il caso dei patti di collaborazione tra amministrazioni locali e cittadini. *Aedon*. 3.

Forester, J.F. (1999). *The Deliberative Practitioner*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: the MIT Press.

Katz, H. (2006). Gramsci, hegemony, and global civil society networks. *Voluntas.* 17(4): 332–348. DOI: 10.1007/s11266-006-9022-4

Kohn, M. (2004). *Brave New Neighborhoods: The Privatization of Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

Jacobs, J. (1965). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities. The Failure of Town Planning*. Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican Books.

Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State–Theoretical Perspective. *Antipode.* 34(3): 452-472. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8330.00250

Gambino, R. (2000). Aree dismesse. Da problemi a risorse. In E. Dansero, C. Giaimo, and A. Spaziante (Ed). *Se i vuoti si riempiono. Aree industriali dismesse: temi e ricerche*. (pp. pp. 165-172).

Firenze: Alinea Editrice.
Gelli, F. (2018). Modelli partecipativi regionali, tra mainstream e innovazione. Un'analisi delle esperienze di Toscana, Emilia-Romagna, Puglia. In G. Gangemi. *Innovazione democratica e cittadinanza attiva* (pp. 257-294). Rome, Italy: Gangemi.
Goni Mazzitelli, A. (2018). Searching for an "enabling" space. Dialogues and bridges between institutions and self-organization practices for a collaborative territorial planning and management. *Tracce urbane.* 3: 16-30. DOI: 10.13133/2532-6562_2.3.14303
Gravagno, F., & Privitera, E. (2019). La costruzione di un deutero-laboratorio tra auto-recupero, conflitti e voglia di comunità nei luoghi del quartiere di San Berillo a Catania. In AA. VV. (Ed.), *Proceedings from XXI Congress SIU-Italian Society of Urban Planners. Confini, movimenti, luoghi. Politiche e progetti per città e territori in transizione. Firenze 6-8 giugno 2018*. Rome, Italy: Planum Publisher.
Gravagno, F., Privitera, E., & Pappalardo, G. (2018). Experimental self-recovery practices in the district of San Berillo in Catania. In M. Maio (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 4th Biennial of Architectural and Urban Restoration. Host of the Itinerant Congress Hidden Cultural Heritage: Under Water, Under Ground and Within Buildings* (pp. 665-676).
Inti, I., Cantaluppi, G., Persichino, M. (2014). *Temporiuso. Manuale per il riuso temporaneo di spazi in abbandono*. Milan, Italy: Altreconomie edizioni.
Inzaghi, G. A., & Vanetti, F. (2011). *Il recupero e la riqualificazione delle aree urbane dismesse: Procedure urbanistiche e ambientali*. Milan, Italy: Giufrè editore.
Langstraat, F., & Van Melik, R. (2013). Challenging the 'End of Public Space': A Comparative Analysis of Publicness in British and Dutch Urban Spaces. *Journal of Urban Design.* 18(3): 429-448. DOI: 10.1080/13574809.2013.800451
Lanzara, G.F. (1993). *Capacità negativa. Competenza progettuale e modelli di intervento nelle organizzazioni*. Bologna, Italy: il Mulino.
Lefebvre, H. (1968). *The right to the city.* Paris, France: Ed. du Seuil.
Manzini, E. (2015). *Design, When Everybody Designs*. USA: MIT Press.
Masella, N. (2018). Urban policies and tools to foster civic uses: Naples' case study. *Urban Research & Practice*. 11(1): 78-84. DOI:10.108017535069.2018.1426689
Mayer M. (2007). I movimenti urbani nell'era neoliberista. In T. Vitale (Ed.), *In Nome di Chi? Partecipazione e rappresentanza nelle mobilitazioni locali* (pp. 41-72). Milan, Italy: Franco Angeli.
Micciarelli, G. (2017). Introduzione all'uso civico e collettivo urbano. La gestione diretta dei beni comuni urbani. *Munus*. 1.
Michiara, P. (2016). I patti di collaborazione e il regolamento per la cura e la rigenerazione dei beni comuni urbani. L'esperienza del Comune di Bologna. *Aedon*. 2. DOI: 10.7390/83584
Minervini, G. (2016). *La politica generativa. Pratiche di comunità nel laboratorio Puglia*. Rome, Italy: Carocci Editore.
Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day*. New York: Paragon House.
Oldenburg, R. (1999). *Great Good Place*. New York: Marlow.
Ostanel, E. (2017). *Spazi Fuori dal Comune. Rigenerare, includere, innovare*. Milan, Italy: FrancoAngeli.
Privitera, E. (2017). *I paesaggi [in]visibili di San Berillo. Verso un laboratorio urbano tra conflitti e voglia di comunità.* Unpublished master dissertation, University of Catania, Italy.
Privitera, E., & Gravagno F. (2020). A street-explorative and interactive-designing laboratory. Notes from an experience of creating a deutero-laboratory and applying deutero-learning in the Sicilian neighborhood of San Berillo (Catania, Italy). *The Urban Transcripts Journal*. 3(1). Retrieved October 31, 2020, from: http://journal.urbantranscripts.org/article/a-street-explorative-and-interactive-designing-laboratory-elisa-privitera-and-filippo-gravagno/
Putnam, R. (2004). *Capitale sociale e individualismo*. Bologna, Italy: il Mulino.
Roy, A. (2005). Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 71 (2): 147-158. DOI: 10.1080/01944360508976689
Saija, L. (2016). *La ricerca-azione in pianificazione territoriale e urbanistica.* Rome, Italy: Franco Angeli.
Saint Blancat, V, & Cancellieri, A. (2014). From visibility to invisibility? The appropriation of public space through a religious ritual: the Filipino procession of Santacruzan in Padua, Italy. *Social &*

Open Access Journal

Cultural Geography. 15(6): 645-663. DOI: 10.1080/14649365.2013.879494

Savini, F., & Bertolini, L. (2019). Urban experimentation as a politics of niches. *EPA: Economy and Space*. 51(4): 831-848. DOI: 10.1177/0308518X19826085

Schaller, S., & Modan, G. (2009). Contesting public space and citizenship: implications for Neighborhood Business Improvement Districts. *Journal of Planning Education and Research.* 24: 394–407. DOI: 10.1201/9781420045789.ch16

Sclavi, M. (2003). *Arte di ascoltare e mondi possibili.* Milan. Italy: Bruno Mondadori.

Secchi, B. (2013). *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*. Bari, Italy: Editori Laterza.

Semi, G. (2015). *Gentrification. Tutte le città come Disneyland?*. Bologna, Italy: il Mulino.

Sennett, R. (2018). *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Schön, D.A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.

Soja, E. (1996). *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Venturi, P., & Zandonai, F. (2019). *Dove. La dimensione di luogo che ricompone impresa e società*. Milan, Italy: Egea.

Wang, Y., & Chen, J. (2018). Does the rise of pseudo-public spaces lead to the 'end of public space' in large Chinese cities? Evidence from Shanghai and Chongqing. *Urban Design International*. 23(2): 215–235. DOI: 10.1057/s41289-018-0064-1

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-HABITAT (2000). *The Global Campaign on Urban Governance*. Nairobi, Kenya. Retrieved October 31, 2020, from https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/download-manager-files/Global%20Campaign%20on%20Urban%20Governance.pdf

Open Access Journal

Urban Space-Making through Protests: The Transformation of Gezi Park into a Bricolage

Basak Tanulku
Independent scholar, Turkey
Corresponding author: tanulkub@gmail.com

In the last decade, the world has seen a surge of protests and social movements. Also in Turkey, a group of protesters occupied the Gezi Park in 2013 against the government's plans to transform it into a commercial complex. This paper explores the protests to advance knowledge on the relationship between urban space and protests. The paper argues that first; Gezi Park reflects variegated 'rights of, in and to the city' created through 'commoning'. Second, the Park becomes a 'socio-spatial-virtual bricolage,' which contains past and present, traditional and contemporary and global and local subjects, elements and activities and different realms such as the physical and the virtual. Finally, the paper argues that the Park reflects a new political urban space and subjectivity.

Keywords: protests and urban spaces; the rights of, in and to the city; urban commoning; socio-spatial-virtual bricolage; political urban space and subjectivity; Istanbul

Please cite as: Tanulku, B. (2019) Urban Space-Making through Protests: The Transformation of Gezi Park into a Bricolage. *plaNext – next generation planning*. 10: 58-79. DOI: 10.24306/plnxt/55.

Open Access Journal

Introduction

Cities all over the world have been shaken by protest movements such as Occupy Wall Street in the USA, and the Indignados in Spain, and the Arab Spring in the Middle East (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017; Sheppard et al., 2015; Tuğal, 2013; Vasudevan, 2015; Vatikiotis & Yörük, 2016). Similar protests erupted in the city of Istanbul in 2013 which began with a small camp established to protect the Gezi Park from being transformed into an enclosed residential-commercial complex. The protesters used social media channels such as Facebook and Twitter to make the case public and mobilise solidarity. In a couple of days, the camp was transformed into an occupation embracing diverse people and extending towards Taksim Square, an important site laden with many political and cultural symbols. During the summer of 2013, the protests spread throughout Istanbul and performed in different public spaces in many other cities across Turkey.

The recent urban protests across the globe draw attention to the role of cities in driving social unrest, mobilising protesters and creating alternative to neoliberalism. It is argued that the constituents and design of urban space have become crucial in the evolution and expansion of these social movements (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017; Harvey, 2008; Merrifield, 2013; Sheppard et al., 2015). However, as in the words of Merrifield (2013), these 'encounters', do not emerge as a result of cities per se, but for democracy and in the context of capitalist crisis, as a result of factors beyond the limits of cities: the Occupy or Indignados were triggered by the economic crisis of 2008, while the demand for democracy and civil rights did the same during the Arab Spring. Cities have become the main sites for economic activity, politics, and education where the majority of the population live, work and consume. At the same time, cities have become sites where significant tensions become visible, be class, ethnic, religious or cultural. In addition to various economic, social or political tensions, there are also tensions emerging as a result of cities per se, such as protection of urban historical landmarks, ecology or historic built environment. So, urban space has become a contested and contesting site to bring together people with various concerns, regarding economic inequality, and social and political rights, as well as the rights of cities to be protected against further urban transformation, regarded to damage their history and heritage.

This paper argues that social movements and other forms of protests are entangled in urban spaces. By adopting a relational approach to urban space, the paper explores the relationship between urban space and protests within the case of Gezi Park. In specific, it explores how urban spaces per se can become an agent in driving people from very diverse backgrounds in coming together. The collected data from field research is diverse. It includes statistical information on the demographics of protesters, as well as qualitative data such as interviews with protesters from books, documentaries and news published in the media. An important dimension of the field research was carried out through action research methodology. The author participated in the protests inside Gezi Park until it was evicted, on a daily basis. After the protests ended, the author also interviewed several protesters to compare different views on the protests and their consequences, and participated in several academic and non-academic events about the Gezi protests.

The paper starts with a discussion of the economic, social and political atmosphere of Turkey since early 2000 until the Gezi protests. In doing this, it demonstrates how the ruling party's socio-economic and political rationale was formed around ideologies of neoliberalism and conservatism. Next, the paper discusses the ruling party's approach to urban space, as seen in the transformation of Taksim Square, a symbol of modernity and leftist political activism. In the following section, the paper focuses on the occupation of Gezi Park and describes its socio-material transformation by various subjects, elements, and activities. In the last section, the theoretical exploration of the occupation of Gezi Park uncovered different relations between the claimed 'rights' and the 'city'. These include, as developed in this paper: rights of the city; rights in the city; and rights to the city. The occupation of Gezi Park began as a result of various right(s) of the city, i.e. the rights of the city of Istanbul, such as its rights to be protected against demolition and further losing of its natural and cultural heritage. 'Rights in the city' are rights of protesters which were suppressed by the government. Their rights are claimed, experienced and expressed in the city. In this context, urban space is the stage where different identities and rights are expressed. There are also 'rights to the city', i.e. rights of having a voice in the management of the city, i.e. who owns, but more importantly who can use and benefit from urban space. The explorations of these different relations between rights and city (of, in and to the city) brought to light the logic of 'commoning' which, as demonstrated in the case of Gezi Park, revealed the urban space as something being engaged with and managed by the protesters. Last, the paper makes a two-fold argument: first, the occupied Gezi Park is a 'socio-spatial-virtual bricolage' achieved by the interaction between diverse subjects, elements, and activities and different realms such as the physical and the virtual; and second, the protests created a new urban space and subjectivity, which are political rather than revolutionary in the Marxist sense. This new urban space became the commons for the political subjectivity of diverse protesters where they could freely express their views and claims.

The Justice and Development Party: From a democratic into an authoritarian power

The economic and socio-political climate of Turkey is crucial to understanding the different driving forces which led to the occupation of Gezi Park and subsequent protests. Since 2002, the Justice and Development Party (JDP from now on) has led the country based on neoliberal economic policies, and dwelling on populist and conservative discourses to win over people (Gambetti, 2009; Eraydın & Taşan-Kök, 2014; Kuymulu, 2013; Sönmez, 2013). They came to power following short-lived, unsuccessful coalition governments. As argued by Tanülkü (2012), the JDP can be regarded as the umbrella of various right-wing voters ranging from radical Islamists to the 'nationalist-conservatives' (moderates) and the Islamic bourgeoisie. Economically, they were also supported by big business, which saw the JDP as an advantage for the creation and continuation of a neoliberal labour market, free flows of international capital and commodities. Also, their single-party rule promised stability based on a broad consensus of diverse actors. However, despite its reliance on neoliberal economic policies, supported by the private sector (both secular and Islamist) a large

segment of the urban poor backed the party since they share similar political and social rhetoric based on Islamic principles and more broadly, social conservatism. They also identified with its leader, now-president Erdoğan, who addresses them by using populist discourses. The party also gained support from the general public because of the major economic growth that engulfed the country, in addition to the different forms of social subsidies, which are reminiscent of 'sadaka', an Islamic practice that refers to a voluntary giving of charity. This practice was also popular during the Ottoman Empire, a period which the JDP admire due to its tradition and loyalty to Islam[1]. As added by Osmanağaoğlu (2013), their social policies were based on strengthening the family and the private sphere. Politically, the party seeks influence in the Middle East, similar to the Ottoman Empire's role in the region. The secular upper classes also supported the party due to their need for a populist party to keep people away from leftist political ideologies and parties. Also, the party's policies were seen as a step towards Turkey's EU membership, which could reduce the military's influence over politics and democratize Turkey.

However, things have changed since the late 2000s, when the secular bourgeoisie and the ruling elites felt threatened by the power of the Islamic bourgeoisie, claiming their share in the overall economic wealth and adopting a conservative way of life and positioning themselves against anything secular and western. Named as 'White Muslims,' the Islamic bourgeoisie created a dilemma due to the creed of an Islam which should reflect modesty while capitalism should reflect greed and consumerism. Despite its promotion of Islamic values, the ruling party was also shaken by several scandals, mainly regarding finance (tax avoidance, bribery, extensive spending). As a result, people began to reflect on the relationship between religion and morality, and capitalism and Islam, leading to the emergence of 'anti-capitalist Muslims' who adopt a more modest and devout Islamic way of life. The party also started to remove the secular symbols, modern or high art from public spaces and changed national educational curriculum into a more religious one. The broad support for the JDP eroded due to the party's exclusionary discourses and policies towards anyone who did not fit into a Sunni Muslim identity, such as people adopting a liberal way of life, religious and ethnic minority groups and the LGBT. The tensions emerging as a result of lifestyle differences (such as secularism vs Islamism) already existed before the rule of the JDP. However, the JDP used polarizing discourses and attitudes towards their opponents, leading to increasing dissent among broader sections of the society, which also reflected on urban spaces, as will be discussed in the next section.

[1]The organic relationship between right-wing politics and the urban poor goes back to the early 1950s when the founder one-party rule ended and was replaced by populist parties targeting the conservative and nationalist voters. Since then, the centre-right, and then the radical right (both nationalists and Islamists) were appraised by the urban poor, who searched a more sympathetic attitude towards their way of life (conservatism mainly relying on Islam). In addition, the right-wing political parties in Turkey were an answer to the need of the urban poor to continue their *hemşehrilik* (social ties by the place of residence) through clientelism which provided them with the survival skills in large cities. The JDP maintained this with an ever-growing provision of subsidies to the urban poor, who identified with the political leaders of the JDP, standing in contrast to urban elites ('elites' here refers to cultural elitism rather than economic class). So, the JDP's power did not only depend on broad alliance over their economic policies (neoliberalism, big business, etc.) but also the urban poor's values which were in contrast to the established urban elites. This was also explained by Yörük and Yüksel, that the urban poor were excluded and exploited, economically but more particularly socio-culturally in the face of an established secular urban culture (Yörük & Yüksel, 2014; 109).

Open Access Journal

The transformation of Taksim Square under the JDP rule: the conflict over urban space

For near two decades, the party has also governed most of the large cities, including Istanbul, both at district and Metropolitan levels. However, they have usually been criticised by various activist groups, urban planners, architects and intellectuals because of their neoliberal policies (Bora, 2016), which were not too different from those of their predecessors. Since the 1980s, neoliberalism became the dominant rationale in urban governance. In this process, urban land was transformed into a source of profit (as a result of land rent value) which radically changed the urban landscape with the construction of various residential, commercial, and business complexes (Sönmez, 1996; Keyder, 2000). As argued by various scholars, the JDP aimed economic growth by mainly relying on construction and property markets (Eraydın & Taşan-Kök, 2014; Balaban, 2013). Some scholars also drew attention that the JDP saw urban land and property markets as a means for socio-cultural transformation based on conservative values. The party's primary rationale is to create cities reflecting Ottoman and Islamic values, particularly Sunni Islam (Eraydın & Taşan-Kök, 2014; Erensü & Karaman, 2017). They increased the number of their supporters due to direct and face-to-face services provided to urban dwellers (particularly various social services and aid to the urban poor, elderly, sick, disabled).

The party's urban ambition can be seen in the transformation of Istanbul, the country's largest city with a rich history and heritage, and beautiful topography with several widely-debated projects, ranging from large-scale infrastructural projects to various housing, recreational, and religious complexes. An essential example is their 'Taksim Pedestrianisation Project' launched in 2011 by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality which was criticized by urban planners and protectionists because of neglecting symbolic and cultural importance of the area representing modernity, secularism and left-wing activism. The area to be transformed consists of three landmarks: Taksim Square, where the Republic Monument is located, Ataturk Cultural Centre, and Gezi Park (Figure 1).

As argued by Taşçı, Taksim Square can be regarded as one of the most important public squares of Istanbul used for recreation and political demonstrations as well as for celebrating the New Year and major sports events (Taşçı, 2014). During the Ottoman Empire, the district of Beyoğlu, where Taksim Square is located, was mainly inhabited by non-Muslim communities dealing with trade, banking and bureaucracy. The area became the symbol of the Western and non-Muslim way of life in the Empire's capital, with its churches, synagogues, high-rises, and recreational facilities such as shops, restaurants and cafes. Taksim Square became the site where Republican elites aimed at demonstrating their ideology with the symbols of secularism, and modernism (Batuman, 2015; Gülersoy, 1986; Walton, 2015). During the 1930s, prominent urban planner Henri Prost was invited to Istanbul for designing the city's master plan. The area changed as a result of several interventions including that of Prost, all of which aimed to provide the area with a secular, modern and western identity.

Open Access Journal

Figure 1: Taksim Square, located on the European side of Istanbul, is the vacant area in the middle of the picture. Republic Monument, left, erected in 1928, is located in the round area, with Gezi Park, the green space in the upper part of the picture. On the far left, the dome of a mosque is seen, under construction since 2017. The large vacant area to the right belongs to now-demolished Ataturk Cultural Centre, closed to the public since 2008. *Source:* Google Earth.

Taksim Square also contains the Republic Monument which was erected in 1928, built by an Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica. The monument depicts the leaders of the Turkish Independence War and enlightenment such as Ataturk and their allies of the time, such as the Soviet Union. The Square has also become a symbol of left-wing activism during the 1970s due to massive demonstrations to commemorate May Day. However, it was closed off to the public by the cadre of the 1980 coup d'etat signalling an extended period of political oppression. Since the late 1970s into the present, Taksim Square also became a site of conflict between seculars and Islamists. JDP is not the first and only political party which aims at altering Taksim Square according to their ideology. As argued by Bartu, the area had already been a target of Islamists to display their power, and to complete its symbolic conquest by building a mosque in Taksim Square, which contest the secular and western identity of the area (Bartu, 2000).

Ataturk Cultural Centre is another landmark which completes the Square's identity, built in a modernist style, which became the leading centre for classical music, opera, and ballet performances as well as traditional Turkish music since the 1970s. The last landmark is Gezi Park, a small green space next to the Square, which is mainly used for recreational purposes. It contains mature trees and is one of the rare green areas in a very dense part of the city (Gül, Dee & Cünük, 2014). Gezi Park was developed by prominent architect Henri Prost and replaced the Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks, a neo-baroque building of the late Ottoman Empire. The Barracks became the symbol of an Islamic uprising in 1909 which was defeated by the secular Young Turks. After being

used for national ceremonies and sports events, the Barracks were demolished during the 1940s when Gezi Park was developed. Gezi Park was designed as a promenade reminiscent of other similar public parks in different European cities (Gülersoy, 1986).

The implementation of the 'Taksim Pedestrianisation Project' would change all these landmarks: as a result, Gezi Park would be demolished, and a replica of the Barracks would be constructed as a mixed-use and multi-purpose building, supposed to include shops, a city museum, residences and offices. The reconstruction of the Barracks would complete the symbolic conquest of the area by Islamists. The Ataturk Cultural Centre was now demolished to be replaced by a new cultural centre which would contain restaurants, cinemas, grand and small halls for art performances. The new building will carry Islamic details while there is a Mosque under construction in the Square next to the Republic Monument.

The protection of Gezi Park against its demolition and more broadly, that of Taksim and Beyoğlu, went back before the protests. The urban activists, mainly consisting of planners, architects, historians, academics and intellectuals defended this site against its demolition and transformation by organising various events to attract the attention of the public. This struggle led to the formation of the 'Taksim Solidarity,' a civil organisation comprising diverse constituents such as Chambers of Urban Planners, and Architects. While they were active before and during the protests, the occupation of the Park and subsequent protests transcended their influence and did not have a specific leader[2].

The occupation of Gezi Park: A socio-spatial-virtual bricolage of diverse subjects, elements and activities

At the end of May 2013, a small group of activists, mainly consisting of environmentalists and urban protectionists camped inside Gezi Park to prevent its demolition. The tensions between protesters and the police received attention from the members of the opposition parties, mainly the PDP (Peace and Democracy Party), who used their bodies to shield the trees. Another event which drew people to the Park was the cancellation of the rally of the main opposition party, Republican People's Party which would take place on the 1st of June in Kadıköy, on the opposite side of the city. Once it was cancelled, hundreds of thousands of people went to Taksim to support the activists inside the Park. Later on, the numbers of protesters grew with the help of social media.

The protesters included people from different identities, educational background, social classes, and representing different NGOs, political parties, ranging from radical to centre-left, as well as LGBT groups, and celebrities. Anti-capitalist Muslims also joined the protesters who rejected JDP's policies based on authoritarianism and neoliberalism. Also, Çarşı Group, the unofficial fan club of Beşiktaş Soccer Team actively joined the protests, which usually come along during football games and is

[2] http://taksimdayanisma.org/

known for their leftist-anarchist slogans[3].

Initially, Gezi Park was closed off by barriers which prevented people from entering both the Park and Taksim Square. However, protesters removed them and created a vast and open space connecting the two. To protect the Park from the police, the protesters needed new boundaries, this time made by vehicles (buses, vans, and cars) confiscated from the Metropolitan Municipality, TV channels and the police. These new barriers were porous and flexible, which prevented police from entering the Park, while they allowed other protesters inside the Park. The use of such barriers demonstrates how a fixed and rigid space (Park before its occupation) became a flexible and permeable one.

The protesters appropriated the Park from one day to the next by adding a different facility. They created new spaces within the Park using tents, and mechanical apparatuses, as well as vehicles such as a public bus which became a library. The Park had a dispensary, which was followed by the establishment of various locations to distribute tea and food and a worship place for practising Muslims (Günerbüyük, 2013; 86-87). It also contained a public library, a journal, radio station, an organic vegetable garden, solar panels, and a vet clinic for injured pet and stray animals and a 'Museum of Protest' (Catterall, 2013). Most activities were done collectively: 'At all times there are diverse activities taking place: readings, gatherings, forums, concerts, Pilates and yoga sessions' (Catterall, 2013). The protesters also distributed books, medical aid and food donated by others, while collected waste collectively (Güvenç-Salgırlı, 2014; 91; Iplikçi, 2013; 168).

An informal TV channel, 'Çapul TV' (Looter TV) broadcasting from the Park, became an important medium to provide information censored by the mass media. There were stands of various political parties and NGOs which distributed their leaflets and promoted themselves to protesters. There were also symbolic streets, such as 'Hrant Dink Street' and symbolic graveyards, to commemorate the people who died during the protests or the Armenian community supposed to have a cemetery near Gezi Park, destroyed during the early decades of the Turkish Republic when the area was developed as a park. In this respect, the Park brought together the past and the future: while the memorabilia of suppressed identities of Turkey symbolised the past of Turkey which was rarely discussed freely in everyday life, the Park itself signified the ideal society of protesters (the future). Inside the Park, the trees also became part of the occupation: they were covered by banners, notes and posters to allow communication between the protesters. The protesters also brought together many elements from

[3] According to the survey conducted by the Konda Research and Consultancy between 6 and 8 June 2013 with 4411 people who actively joined the protests, the average age of the protesters inside the Park was 28, while there was a balance between women and men. The university graduates were 42, 8 % of the total number of protesters, while 12, 9 % of them were post-grads. 51, 8 % were working, and 36, 6 % were students (Konda Gezi Report, 2014). Since the protesters acted in shifts and some of them visited the Park irregularly, the number of protesters inside the Park cannot be precisely numbered. This made it difficult to conduct research based on a representative sample. However, despite this disadvantage, there are few research studies which estimated the total number of protesters in Istanbul. As an example, Yörük and Yüksel argue that approximately 16% of the population of Istanbul joined the protests, equivalent to 1, 5 million people (Yörük & Yüksel, 2014).

different cultures, histories and places. As an example, they created wishing trees, and used Guy Fawkes masks while held candlelight vigils to commemorate dead and injured protesters.

The protesters also occupied Taksim Square and used it as a space for demonstrations, as was done during the 1970s. They covered the Republic Monument with banners and posters of different political parties, NGOs and activist groups. They also occupied the Ataturk Cultural Centre and covered its surface by banners and posters of the various shades of the political opposition (from the radical left and to NGOs). Its roof was used to light fireworks (Figures 2 and 3). They also reclaimed walls and buildings and any other available location, used as tools to amplify their voices through graffiti and political slogans. After the protests, people painted several steps near Taksim with the colours of the rainbow, reminiscent of the diversity of protesters, elements and activities inside the Park.

Figure 2. Ataturk Cultural Centre, during the occupation of Taksim Square in 2013. *Source*: Wikimedia Commons.

Open Access Journal

Figure 3. Ataturk Cultural Centre, as an empty building after the protests. *Source:* Author.

During the occupation, Gezi Park and Taksim Square also became the stage for a variety of performances by dancers, actors and musicians. An example of such performance came from the 'Standing Man,' a no-name performance artist from Turkey who stood motionless in front of Ataturk Cultural Centre to protest the police violence. He became one of the symbols of the protests, whose image in front of Ataturk Cultural Centre circulated through social media. International artists also joined the protests, such as Davide Martello an Italian pianist, who performed in front of Republic Monument (Figures 4 and 5).

As the protests continued, anti-capitalist Muslims organised 'yeryüzü sofraları' (earth tables) and invited the others to break their fasts during Ramadan together, demonstrating the collective logic of the protests. People also supported the activists from their homes at night, by beating pots and pans to react against police violence and the state. Social media (Facebook and Twitter) became an essential means to communicate with the broader public and call for help. Evidence suggests that as a result of the role of the social media during the protests, the virtual and the physical realms activated each other (Chrona & Bee, 2017; Varol, Ferrara, Ogan, Menczer, & Flammini, 2014; Vatikiotis & Yörük, 2016). As Pearce added, the social media and other forms of alternative media became the primary tools to get information and

communicate due to the insufficiency of the mainstream media in covering the protests as a result of the fear of censorship and oppression (Pearce, 2014). As examples, during the protests, 90% of the tweets came from Turkey and 50% from Istanbul, unlike other protests such as Egyptian uprising where only 30% of tweets came from Egypt (Barbera and Metzger, 2013). Also, between 29 May and 10 June, the number of active Twitter users in Turkey increased from 1.8 million to 9.5 million (Banko & Babaoğlu, 2013).

Figure 4. Republic Monument during the protests. *Source:* Wikimedia Commons.

The protesters also created a jargon around humour, seen when they threw tear gas cannons back at the police, made fun of political actors in social media, and created graffiti. A famous example of this humour is the word ‘çapulcu’ (looter), first used by the Prime Minister, Erdoğan, to describe the protesters. Instead, the protesters internalised and used it to explain their actions as ‘I am çapulling’ (I am looting). Daily life inside the Park continued without significant problems or disputes, even if there were people with opposing views and identities. The protesters discussed problems and survival strategies among them in the forums established inside the Park and took decisions through consensus, i.e. equal participation in the decision-making processes, as explained by Benlisoy (2013). The protesters also avoided capitalist rationale as much as they could do, and the Park was interpreted as a realm relatively autonomous from capitalism (Erensü & Karaman, 2017). Gezi Park became a democratic site in the middle of Istanbul, where protesters removed themselves from

everyday rules, pressures and any source of authority. In this aspect, Gezi Park symbolised a wish to be freed from daily routines trapped in dystopian cities, characterised by traffic congestion, increasing density, competition, and search for status (particularly relevant for the protesters coming from a middle-class/white-collar background). However, by leaving behind their ordinary life, the protesters established a sense of solidarity and community and formed a temporary utopia inside the Park. Also, in the interviews, the protesters representing different groups explained that the Park gave them a feeling of living in a fairy tale, like 'Alice in Wonderland' (Iplikçi; 2013, 92) and 'utopia' (ibid. 261). They also explained that they could establish face-to-face relationships with people they had not known before (Çelebi, 2013; Çıtak, 2013). Also, a person from the Çarşı group who joined the Park addressed the lack of noise, fight or theft, or abuse inside the Park. She added that the Park resembled her parent's youth when everyone's door was open, and people sat in the street to chat with each other (Artık Yeter: Haziran Direnişi (Enough: June Opposition), 2013).

Figure 5. Republic Monument after the protests in its original form. *Source:* Author.

Gezi Park was evicted by the police mid-June and sealed off again. Tents, banners, posters, furniture, vehicles were all cleared away, while Ataturk Cultural Centre, Republic Monument, and Gezi Park became empty with no sign of occupation.

The protests did not seem to change too much in the Turkish society: at the moment, the JDP is still the ruling party. Although the largest cities (Istanbul, Ankara) are now under the rule of the opposition since the last local elections in 2019 March, and Gezi Park was saved from being demolished, the JDP's ecological, urban, economic and social policies continue as before. Since the protests ended, there has grown a discourse of 'escapism' among the secular middle and upper classes, leading to an increase in the brain drain abroad or migration to smaller cities in Anatolia, particularly Western Anatolia characterised by a secular and liberal culture[4] . While a general mood of escapism exits, the occupation of Gezi Park also led to the emergence of new spaces and businesses alternative to neoliberal capitalism. First, although short-lived, there were held urban forums in various cities across Turkey. As argued by Benlisoy, in this respect, Gezi Park occupation and subsequent protests did not only reflect the need to protest but also search for new social relations and experiments about the future (Benlisoy, 2013, 200-201). Second, squats and guerrilla gardens emerged mainly in Istanbul but also other parts of Turkey rejecting the capitalist economy and the general neoliberalisation of daily life and values. Lastly, several alternative initiatives and businesses emerged, which adopted a non-capitalist and collectivist rationale such as 'Café Neighbour Collective' founded in Istanbul (Komşu Café Kolektif) (Tanülkü & Fisker, 2018). This café has recently been closed, but it survived a couple of years and became an important symbol of alternative business.

Theorising the Occupation of Gezi Park: An 'Urban Commons' of Diverse Right(s) of, in and to the city

In this section, the paper approaches the Gezi Park occupation through the theory of 'right to the city' and introduces new concepts 'rights of the city' and 'rights in the city'. First, the occupation started as a result of the 'rights of the city,' i.e. the rights of Istanbul per se. Gezi Park and the surrounding area were important regarding their cultural, symbolic and ecological value for Istanbul and the collective memory of its inhabitants. The primary group of protesters inside the Park, mainly environmental and urban activists aimed at protecting it from being transformed into an exclusive mixed-use commercial complex. As expressed in the literature, the Gezi protests became the peak of the broader urban or ecological struggle against neoliberal urbanism seen in different parts of the country (Kodalak, 2013; Özkaynak, Aydın, Ertör-Akyazı & Ertör, 2015; Harmanşah, 2014). So, the primary reason behind its occupation was the 'rights of the city' (Istanbul) against its further demolition and transformation.

The primary protesters mainly were urban activists and environmentalists fighting for urban green areas and historical heritage, and at a broader context, protesters inside

[4] There is a surge in the literature on the recent brain drain in Turkey, which has increased as a result of the economic, political and psychological atmosphere of Turkey. For the information on the brain drain see 'Bu Ülkeden Gitmek' (Leaving This Country), Kazaz, G. & Mavituna, İ. H. (2018). To know more about migration from large cities to smaller towns within Turkey, a quick search on the internet provides many sources, interviews and news.

Gezi Park were regarded as middle classes. Some scholars draw attention to the relationship between the middle classes and the urban space and argue that the Gezi protests were the middle-classes' reaction to the policies by the ruling party, which destroyed secular, liberal and democratic urban space used by them (Gülhan, 2014)[5]. Citing Wacquant, Aytekin argues that Gezi protests reflect broader dissensus among the urban classes who clash over urban space. However, their clash is not for economic capital; instead, each represents a specific capital, such as the middle classes correspond to cultural capital while the state and the business to economic capital. In this framework, middle classes try to preserve their cultural capital by protecting urban spaces against the blind market forces and the authoritative dynamics of the state (Aytekin, 2017). In a parallel manner, Centner demonstrates from different countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Turkey that the urban space experiences conflict between the middle classes and other groups about the use and access to the 'right kind of city' (Centner, 2013). As Centner argues, the middle classes have 'spatial capital,' i.e. for them, a particular form of urban space is regarded as right, which should be promoted, protected and appraised by others. In this context, the urban struggle has a class aspect not concerning who is going to use, control, manage or access the urban space, but also what kind of urban space is to be used, managed, accessed, and protected (Centner, 2013). The struggle over Gezi Park could be seen within this framework: it started with the initiatives of urban elites (architects, environmentalists, planners, intellectuals) while the Taksim Solidarity played an essential role in the process. In this context, protecting the Park (and other landmarks) looks like an elitist/middle-class effort which demonstrates what is regarded to 'deserve' to be protected and saved against urban transformation.

However, even if its occupation started due to the 'right of the city,' the diversity of protesters demonstrated how the protests went beyond a simple concern for the urban ecology or heritage. Gezi Park brought together the suppressed people during the rule of the JDP (Iplikci, 2013; 392). This suppression can be read as 'increasing social and political conservatism' (Kaya, 2017) or from a psychoanalytic approach, 'father figure' symbolised by the state, the JDP and its political leaders (Soysal, 2013). Instead, inside the Park, the protesters expressed their identities and rights freely, which were suppressed by the state or more broadly, various sources of authority. The paper argues that these are the 'rights in the city', i.e. the rights of different groups and

[5] However, there are counter-arguments against this. As an example, Gürcan and Peker argue that while Gezi Park protests were regarded as middle-class protests, they also reflected the concerns of service-sector workers and the educated youth, who were threatened by the insecurities of neoliberal capitalism and transformed into precariat. They also explain that the protests went beyond Gezi Park and Istanbul and spread to other poor neighbourhoods and smaller Anatolian cities where people from the lower-income groups joined the protests (Gürcan & Peker, 2015). Yörük and Yüksel also add that this distorted view about the new-middle classes during the Gezi protests is associated with their high cultural capital and their extensive use of social media during the protests. Instead, the lower classes, despite their presence in the Park and street protests, did not receive too much attention (Yörük & Yüksel, 2014). The 'middle class' argument is a simplistic way to explain the visibility of 'good-looking' educated youth and young adults inside the Park, which can conceal the differences within the middle classes. 'Middle class' is also a concept which trivialises the class dimension, and at the same time, it seems as an apolitical concept, while it also limits the Gezi protests to the social/urban aesthetic realm. So, interpreting Gezi protests as a middle-class phenomenon is very simplistic, but it can be concluded that the protests started to protect the Park as a result of elitist/middle-class concerns for urban heritage and green areas which later extended to larger sections of the society.

individuals to express or perform their identities and interests in urban space. During the JDP rule, more and more people became concerned about their rights while urban space has become a hostile realm instead of a liberating one. Instead, Gezi Park became a free site for all people who became excluded by the JDP policies and an opportunity for them to express their identity freely. Parallel to diverse 'rights in the city,' also the protesters were diverse. Despite their ideological or cultural differences, the new commons of the park helped them politically unite against the rule of the JDP, or at least to express their views and interests freely.

Last, Gezi Park also demonstrated the 'right to the city,' a concept which explains various conflicts in different cities across the world, against neoliberal urban transformation (Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 2005; 2008; Smith, 2002). In the context of neoliberal urbanism, cities experience continuous transformation, through the construction of various residential, business and retail complexes leading to the generation of massive profits as a result of urban land rent (Smith, 2002; Harvey, 2008). For Harvey, 'the right to the city' is not only about the access to the urban space; instead, it is about having greater control over the production and utilisation of the capitalist surplus (Harvey, 2008). As discussed by various scholars, the 'right to the city' is not singular; instead, there are different 'rights to the city' claimed by different groups of people (Vasudevan, 2015). There are the rights to housing, transportation, natural resources and the rights to fight against new forms of urban revanchism. More concrete examples are the struggles over the use of and access to urban spaces leading to the emergence of squatting, urban gardening, and other subsequent socio-political transformations. The 'right(s) to the city' is about the conflict between the use and the exchange value of urban space. While the capital wants to increase the exchange value of urban space, activists and protesters want to extend its use-value by the creation of squats and guerrilla gardens (Vasudevan, 2015).

The conflict between the ownership, usership and access to urban space was disentangled through 'commoning' inside Gezi Park by protesters. Before its occupation, Gezi Park was a public space however solely managed by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. When the protesters occupied, they gradually took over its management, transforming it into an 'urban commons', singling out the state and any other public agency (Huron, 2017). The 'urban commons' demonstrates that the primary conflict does not emerge from the status of ownership of the urban land (whether it is public or private). Instead, Huron argues that conflicts can also emerge between public spaces organised and managed by the state and the urban commons, organised and managed by people. Huron (2017) maintains that all public spaces should be converted into commons to be used and accessed by people (Huron, 2017). Rather than owning but using, this suggests that accessing and taking an active role in the decision on the future of urban land is crucial (Huron, 2017). To what extent Huron's view on urban commons can be generalised to different other public spaces, in Turkey and elsewhere, is certainly a question that needs further exploration.

Spatially, the paper argues that Gezi Park became a 'cultural bricolage' where past and present, global and local, and contemporary and traditional subjects, elements and activities came together, from Guy Fawkes masks to graffiti, from candlelight vigils to

wish trees, from art performances to 'earth tables,' and 'Museum of Protest.' The Park integrated urban space and protesters who wanted to raise their voices about various rights by forming a non-hierarchical and plural opposition. One by one, the Park, trees, vehicles, Taksim Square, Republic Monument, Ataturk Cultural Centre, and then the streets, walls, steps, became parts of the protesters, reflecting their opinions, and feelings while their bodies (sounds, dresses, hair), as well as their 'things,' such as books, food, drinks, furniture, banners, etc., became mediums to express their identities. Last, Gezi Park was also co-produced by different realms: the physical (urban space, and protesters) and the virtual (Twitter, Facebook, and other forms of social media). Protesters communicated via social media channels, which completed their physical lives and helped them in case of emergencies or dangers. The Park became a flexible realm changing its shape, borders, and contents from one day to the next. In the end, it became more than a mere physical realm; instead, it became a 'socio-spatial-virtual bricolage' extending the boundaries of the physicality of urban space to embrace the virtual realm.

The Gezi Park occupation also signalled a new urban space and subjectivity. Its occupation demonstrates how urban space has become a site to make politics, demonstrate political conflict and claim a social change. In this context, Gezi Park became a political space which went beyond the limits of conventional politics (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017). Taksim Square and other parts of Istanbul re-charged its political meaning, which was latent and suppressed since the 1980 coup d'etat signalling the advent of neoliberalism. This politicisation of urban space went parallel to the politicisation of people (or subjects), who became political as a result of protesting against the government or more generally, any form of authority represented by the JDP. The emergence of political urban space and subjectivity demonstrates the difference between 'political' and 'politics' (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017). As noted by Dikeç and Swyngedouw, 'urban politics' refers to making politics within the framework of the state and government, while 'political' means making politics beyond these limits. They argue that recent global protests or occupations reflect a 'political subjectivation' which is a metaphorical subject formed by people from diverse backgrounds who come together to create 'the people' (as a political category) transcending the limits of particular social positionalities and identities (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017: 10). 'Political' does not refer to radicalism in conventional Marxist sense aiming at tearing down the status quo through radical activism under the guidance of a vanguard party or leader. For Dikeç and Swyngedouw, to become radical, the political interruption or insurgency should be enacted through a slow process of politicisation to claim equality or open up the possibility of the new (ibid. 8). In this context, the paper argues that Gezi Park created a 'political subjectivity' which became more than the sum of protesters, and was not limited to conventional politics, nor was it revolutionary in a traditional sense. Instead, it used art and humour to reflect their ideas and fight against the state and the police (and any other symbols of political and religious authority). The paper argues that this subjectivity was acting collectively not for their rights but a multitude of rights (the rights of, in and to the city) which belong to all protesters and the city of Istanbul.

Open Access Journal

Conclusion

By analysing the Gezi Park occupation, the paper aimed at exploring two things: first, at a broader level, why and how the relationship between urban space and protests is established and sustained and how urban space can become an agent in generating protests and bringing together people from diverse backgrounds. Gezi Park was an exceptional space due to its importance for the people of Istanbul, which was laden with historical and political meanings. These meanings helped to bring people together and to communicate their different rights of, in and to the city. The paper argues that the occupation began as a result of the 'rights of the city' which are the rights of Istanbul to stand against any further damage to its ecological, natural, social and cultural resources. As the occupation developed, diverse protesters also claimed their diverse 'rights in the city' inside Gezi Park which became a commons to perform their diverging rights, and to protest the government's social conservatism and pressure on civil liberties. The protesters also revealed their 'rights to the city' in terms of participation in decisions concerning the future of their cities and access to the city's urban spaces and resources. The occupation of the Park came as a response to both top-down state authority and the neoliberal economic development that transformed Istanbul into a segregated, polarized and privatized city. Unpacking the 'rights of the city,' 'rights in the city' and 'rights to the city' that have inspired the occupation of the park revealed how the urban space of Gezi Park became a socio-politically, spatially and psychologically inclusive site. Second, at a micro-level, by demonstrating the socio-spatial transformation of Gezi Park, the paper argues that Gezi Park became an 'urban commons' reclaimed through collectively and equally expressed rights (Huron, 2017; Vasudevan, 2015). Performing these different rights in the park has transformed it into a 'socio-spatial-virtual bricolage', which consists of protesters, elements, and activities from the past and present, global and local, and the physical and the virtual. Gezi Park became a site where the suppressed people and practices of the JDP rule in Turkey could express their rights without any fear.

The Gezi protests also demonstrated the reasons why people from such diverse backgrounds could come together: It was the importance of Gezi Park, which attracted and pushed them to protest. The relationship between the urban space and protests was apparent: as also noted in the literature, it was the conflict between the exchange and use value of urban land (Vasudevan, 2015) or between the economic and cultural capital (Aytekin, 2017; Centner, 2013) which brought together the radical urban actors (leftists, activists) and the middle classes who were regarded to have an interest in urban aesthetics and culture rather than economics (and class politics), which also make them to be regarded as 'apolitical'. Instead, the middle classes, as the rest of the protesters became 'political subjects' inside the Park and beyond and even for a short time, they came together with more radical activists for the future of Gezi Park and broader urban and ecological problems.

While Gezi protests sought the protection of an essential urban landmark, located in a politically-loaded area, it was also inspired by surge of social movements that waved the globe since the global market crisis of 2008, e.g. the Arab Spring in the Middle East, the Indignados in Spain, and Occupy Wall Street in the USA (Tuğal, 2013;

Vatikiotis & Yörük, 2016). In this sense, the Gezi protests embrace similarities and differences to other social movements. While the Arab Spring erupted against social and economic inequalities and political suppression, the Gezi protests revealed a relatively similar concern however sparked by neoliberal economic forces and growing public calls for secularism. The Gezi protests were also similar to Occupy or Indignados movement, pioneered by the educated urban middle classes, youth and the precariat, as they became more concerned about increasing economic inequalities. In this context, the Gezi protests are not site-specific. They reflected the contemporary collective concerns of a global community regarding social and political rights, as well as economic inequalities, although they started to protect an important urban historical and cultural landmark.

Gezi was an example of reclaiming urban space through occupation and transforming it into commons where alternative relationships and spatialities became possible. The Gezi protests were important due to the nature of simultaneous events: the importance of urban space in generating protests, a broad coalition of protesters who would not usually come together, the cooperation between the physicality of urban space and the virtual realm, and the emergence of alternative lifestyles. Politically, Gezi protests transcended the limits of identity and ideology and reflected the ideals of an inclusive public realm which was seen in the mixed nature of the park and street protests: while the majority of protesters consisted of environmentalists, urban youth, women, secular middle classes, nationalists and leftists from different standpoints, there were other groups with various concerns. What helped them perform their diverse rights and form political and collective subjectivity is the use of fun and humour as a tool of resistance.

However, the paper does not romanticise or idealise the occupation of Gezi Park and subsequent protests. Instead, as the post-Gezi period demonstrated, these kinds of protests could lead to further pressure or increasing censorship of social and political opponents. At the macro level, nothing seemed to have changed in Turkey, while general psychology of escapism has grown among the middle classes. The paper argues that the success of the occupation of the Gezi Park is what happened during the process of reclaiming the Park, in terms of commoning and symbolic and physical resistance and subsequent events of protests and political transformation on small scales. Gezi protests were a turning point for Turkey and an important phenomenon in itself regarding the role of urban space in bringing diverse protesters together in a country without a rich history of protest. It suggests rethinking the relationship between urban space and protests to explain better how urban space can act as an agent in generating protest, leading to a new and political urban space and subjectivity (even if temporary). Further comparative analysis at the national, regional and global scales should thus be conducted to understand the (emancipatory) actions of protests and counter-actions of authorities of power.

References

Aytekin, A. E. (2017). A ‘Magic and Poetic’ Moment of Dissensus: Aesthetics and Politics in the June 2013 (Gezi Park) Protests in Turkey. *Space and Culture*. 20 (2): 191-208. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1206331217697138

Bağımsız Sinema Merkezi (2013). Artık Yeter! Haziran Direnişi, documentary. Accessed on 2019-08-22 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q9y66sKkIpc

Balaban, O. (2013). Neoliberal yeniden yapılanmanın Türkiye kentleşmesine bir diğer armağanı: Kentsel dönüşümde güncelin gerisinde kalmak. In: A. Çavdar & P. Tan (Eds.) *İstanbul: Müstesna Şehrin İstisna Hali* (pp. 51 -78), İstanbul: Sel Yayınevi.

Banko, M. & Babaoğlan, A. R. (2013). Gezi Parkı Sürecine Dijital Vatandaşın Etkisi. Accessed on 2019-08-22 from http://www.geziparkikitabi.com/

Barbera, P. & Metzger, M. (2013). SMaPP DATA REPORT: A Breakout Role for Twitter? The Role of Social Media in the Turkish Protests. Accessed on 2019-08-22 from https://smappnyu.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/turkey_data_report.pdf

Bartu, A. (2000). Eski Mahallelerin Sahibi Kim? Küresel Bir Çağda Tarihi Yeniden Yazmak. In: Ç. Keyder (Ed.) *İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında* (pp. 43-59), İstanbul: Metis.

Batuman, B. (2015). 'Everywhere Is Taksim': The Politics of Public Space from Nation-Building to Neoliberal Islamism and Beyond. Journal of Urban History. 41 (5): 1-27. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0096144214566966

Benlisoy, F. (2013). Gezi ve Forumlar: Baska bir Demokrasi Mümkün mü? In: N. Sancar (Ed.) *Sıcak Haziran: Sonraki Direnişe Mektup* (pp. 193-204), İstanbul: Evrensel Kültür Kitaplığı.

Bora, T. (2016). Türk Muhafazakarlığı ve İnşaat Şehveti: Büyük Olsun Bizim Olsun. In: T. Bora (Ed.) *İnşaat Ya Resulullah* (pp. 9-16), Birikim Kitapları 12. İstanbul: Iletişim Yayınları.

Catterall, B. (2013). Towards the Great Transformation: (7) Locating Gezi Park. *City.* 17 (3): 419-422. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2013.815485

Centner, R. (2013). Distinguishing the right kind of city: Contentious urban middle classes in Argentina, Brazil and Turkey. In: T. Roshan Samara, S. He & G. Chen (Eds.) *Locating Right to the City in the Global South* (pp. 247-263), London and New York: Routledge.

Chrona, S & Bee, C. (2017). Right to public space and right to democracy: The role of social media in Gezi Park. *Research and Policy on Turkey*. 2 (1): 49-61. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/23760818.2016.1272267

Çelebi, V. (2013). Taksim Direnişinden İzlenimler. In: V. Çelebi (ed) *Direnişi Düşünmek: 2013 Taksim Gezi Olayları* (pp. 55-63), İstanbul: Monokl Yayınları.

Çıtak, G. (2013). Bir Direnişe Güzelleme. In: V. Çelebi (Ed.) *Direnişi Düşünmek: 2013 Taksim Gezi Olayları* (pp. 115-118), İstanbul: Monokl Yayınları.

Dikeç, M. & Swyngedouw, E. (2017). Theorizing the Politicizing City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 41 (1): 1-18. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12388

Eraydın, A. & Taşan-Kök, T. (2014). State Response to Contemporary Urban Movements in Turkey: A Critical Overview of State Entrepreneurialism and Authoritarian Interventions. *Antipode*. 46 (1): 110–129. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12042

Erensü, S. & Karaman, O. (2017). The Work of a Few Trees: Gezi, Politics and Space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 41 (1): 19-36. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12387

Open Access Journal

Gambetti, Z. (2009). İktidarın Dönüşen Çehresi: Neoliberalizm, Şiddet ve Kurumsal Siyasetin Tasfiyesi. *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 40 (March): 143-164.

Gül, M., Dee, J. & Cünük, N. C. (2014). Istanbul's Taksim Square and Gezi Park: The Place of Protest and the Ideology of Place. *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*. 38 (1): 63-72. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3846/20297955.2014.902185

Gülhan, S. T. (2013). Teşhisin Tedhişinden Çıkış: Gezi Eylemleri Üzerine-Sosyolojik Bir Araştırma İçin Öneriler. In: V.S. Öğütle & E. Göker (Eds.) *Gezi ve Sosyoloji: Nesneyle Yüzleşmek, Nesneyi Kurmak* (pp. 17-79), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Gülersoy, C. (1986). *Taksim: Bir Meydanın Hikayesi*. İstanbul: Turing Yayınları.

Günerbüyük, C. (2013). Biz Buraya Oturmaya Gelmedik. In: N. Sancar (Ed.) *Sıcak Haziran: Sonraki Direnişe Mektup* (pp. 83-89), İstanbul: Evrensel Kültür Kitaplığı.

Gürcan, E.C. & Peker, E. (2015). A class analytic approach to the Gezi Park events: Challenging the 'middle class' myth. *Capital & Class*. 39 (2): 1-23. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0309816815584015

Güvenç-Salgırlı, S. (2014). Gezi'nin Sosyolojisi mi, Sosyolojinin Gezisi mi, Yoksa Ne? In: V.S. Öğütle & E. Göker (Eds.) *Gezi ve Sosyoloji: Nesneyle Yüzleşmek, Nesneyi Kurmak* (pp. 80-98), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Harmanşah, Ö. (2014) Urban Utopias and How They Fell Apart: The Political Ecology of Gezi Parkı. In: U. Özkırımlı (Ed.) *The Making of a Protest Movement In Turkey: #Occupy Gezi* (pp. 121-133), Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1057/9781137413789.0012

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review*. 53 September-October: 23-40.

Huron, A. (2017). Theorising the urban commons: New thoughts, tensions and paths forward. *Urban Studies*. 54 (4): 1062-1069. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0042098016685528

İplikçi, M. (2013). *Biz Orada Mutluyduk: Gezi Parkı Direnişindeki Gençler Anlatıyor*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap.

Kaya, A. (2017). Right to public space: social movements and active citizenship in Turkey. *Research and Policy on Turkey*. 2(1): 1-9. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/23760818.2016.1272273

Kazaz, G . & Mavituna, H. I. (2018). *Bu Ülkeden Gitmek*. İstanbul: Metropolis Yayıncılık.

Keyder, Ç. (2000). Arka plan. In: Ç. Keyder (Ed.) *İstanbul: küresel ile yerel arasında* (pp. 9-40), İstanbul: Metis.

Kodalak, G. (2013). Gezi ve Yeni Çevre Tahayyülleri. In: V. Çelebi (Ed.) *Direnişi Düşünmek: 2013 Taksim Gezi Olayları* (pp. 119-136), İstanbul: Monokl Yayınları.

Konda (2014). GEZI REPORT: Public perception of the 'Gezi protests' Who were the people at Gezi Park?
Accessed on 2019-08-22 from
http://konda.com.tr/en/raporlar/KONDA_Gezi_Report.pdf
(accessed 22.08.2019)

Kuymulu, M. (2013). Reclaiming the right to the city: Reflections on the urban

uprisings in Turkey. *City.* 17 (3): 274-27. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2013.815450

Lefebvre, H. (1996). The Right to the City. In: E. Kofman & E. Lebas (Tr. and Eds.) *Writing on Cities* (pp. 147-159), Oxford: Blackwell.

Merrifield, A. (2013). The urban question under planetary urbanisation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 37 (3): 909-922. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01189.x

Osmanağaoğlu, H. (2013). AKP does not confine women to home, it chains them to the family. *Perspectives: Political analysis and commentary from Turkey*. Heinrich Böll Stiftung. 13(5): 40-43.

Özkaynak, B., Aydın, İ. C, Ertör-Akyazı, P. & Ertör, I (2015). The Gezi Park Resistance from an Environmental Justice and Social Metabolism Perspective. *Capitalism, Nature and Socialism*. 26 (1): 99-114. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2014.999102

Pearce, S. (2014). Taksim'de Kültür Üretimi. (Tr: Ö. Küçük) In: V.S. Öğütle & E. Göker (Eds.) *Gezi ve Sosyoloji: Nesneyle Yüzleşmek, Nesneyi Kurmak* (pp. 316-329), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Sheppard, E., Gidwani V., Goldman, M., Leitner, H., Roy, A. & Maringanti, A. (2015). Introduction: Urban revolutions in the age of global urbanism. *Urban Studies*. 52 (11): 1947-1961. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0042098015590050

Smith, N. (2002). New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy. *Antipode.* 34 (3): 437-450. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00249

Soysal, A. (2013). Ayaklanmanın Ardından. In: V. Çelebi (Ed.) *Direnişi Düşünmek: 2013 Taksim Gezi Olayları* (pp. 33-47), İstanbul: Monokl Yayınları.

Sönmez, M. (1996). *İstanbul'un iki yüzü: 1980'den 2000'e değişim*. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.

Sönmez, M. (2013). Ten years of Turkish capitalism and tendencies. *Perspectives: Political analysis and commentary from Turkey*. Heinrich Böll Stiftung. 13(5): 18-21.

Tuğal, C. (2013). 'Resistance everywhere': The Gezi revolt in global perspective. *New Perspectives on Turkey*. 49 (Fall): 157-172. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0896634600002077

Taksim Dayanışması (Taksim Solidarity). Accessed on 2019-08-22 from http://taksimdayanisma.org/

Tanülkü, B. (2012). Gated Communities: From 'Self-Sufficient Towns' to 'Active Urban Agents'. *Geoforum*. Themed Issue: The Global Rise and Local Implications of Market-Oriented Conservation Governance. Guest Editors, R. Roth & W. Dressler, 43 (3): 518-528. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.11.006

Tanülkü. B & Fisker, J. (2018). Alternative Spaces Emerging from the Gezi Protests: From Resistance to Alternatives. In: J.K. Fisker, L. Chiappini, L. Pugalis & A. Bruzzeze (Eds.) *The Production of Alternative Urban Spaces: An International Dialogue* (pp. 189-209), London: Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315103952-11

Taşçı, H. (2014). *Şehir, Mekan, Meydan*. İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları.

Varol, O., Ferrara, E., Ogan, C.L., Menczer, F. & Flammini, A. (2014). Evolution of

Online User Behavior during a Social Upheaval (pp. 81-90), Proceedings of the ACM 2014 Conference on Web Science.

Vasudevan, A. (2015). The autonomous city: towards a critical geography of occupation. *Progress in Human Geography*. 39 (3): 316-337. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0309132514531470

Vatikiotis, P. & Yörük, Z. (2016). Gezi Movement and the Networked Public Sphere: A Comparative Analysis in Global Context, *Social Media and Society,* 2 (3): 1-12. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2056305116662184

Walton, J. (2015). 'Everyday I'm Çapulling!' Global Flows and Local Frictions of Gezi. In: I. David & K. Toktamış (Eds.) *The Gezi Protests and Beyond: Contesting AKP Rule* (pp. 45-57), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. DOI: 10.1515/9789048526390-005

Yörük, E. & Yüksel, M. (2014). Class and Politics in Turkey's Gezi Protests. *New Left Review*. 89 (September-October): 103-123.