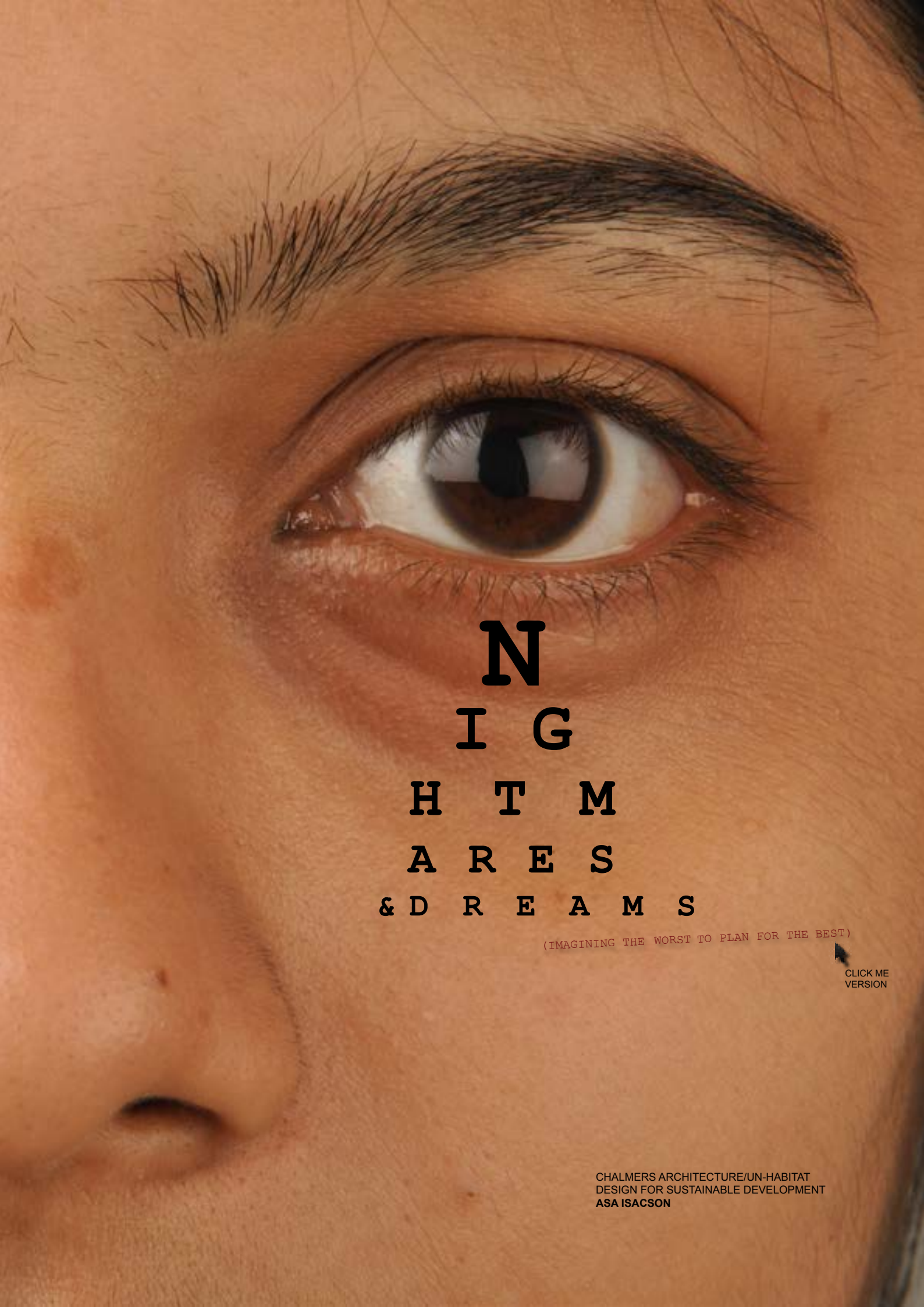

N I G H T M A R E S & D R E A M S

(IMAGINING THE WORST TO PLAN FOR THE BEST)

CLICK ME
VERSION

CHALMERS ARCHITECTURE/UN-HABITAT
DESIGN FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
ASA ISACSON

This thesis was written from Nairobi in collaboration with United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat) and its Habitat Partner University Initiative (HPUI). The inspiration for it ows largely to formal and informal discussions within this context.
In focusing on reflections on sustainability as a way to get inspiration for future development of the built environment this thesis has required a lot of input with people representing different perspectives, especially discussing the thesis from varied international experiences has proven hugely useful.
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CHALMERS

HABITAT UNIVERSITIES

This thesis has been written in collaboration with UN-Habitat's Habitat Partner University Initiative

"A dream is nothing but a lucky idea that comes to us from the dark, all-unifying world of the psyche. What would be more natural, when we have lost ourselves amid the endless particulars and isolated details of the world's surface, than to knock at the door of dreams and inquire of them the bearings which would bring us closer to the basic facts of human existence? Here we encounter the obstinate prejudice that dreams are so much froth, they are not real, they lie, they are mere wish-fulfillments. All this is but an excuse not to take dreams seriously, for that would be uncomfortable."

/Carl Jung,"The Meaning of Psychology for Modern Man" (1933). In CW 10: Civilization in Transition. p. 305

"I have had dreams and I have had nightmares, but I have conquered my nightmares because of my dreams."

/Jonas Salk, Developer of the first safe polio vaccine

NIGHTMARES & DREAMS

IMAGINING THE WORST TO PLAN FOR THE BEST

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PART ONE:

SETTING THE SCENE

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INSPIRATION

This thesis is based on two major inspirations:

Firstly, the **role of visionary thinking** in formulating new approaches to sustainable urban development. We know the world needs to change in order to become sustainable. To achieve this change we need to break free of our current patterns of thinking, be creative and come up with new ideas that could change the status quo. In this, it seems crucial to be aware of not only what we want to happen, but also but we *do not* want to happen. Being aware of both our nightmares and dreams, and use this awareness to pro-actively avoid one future and aim for a sustainable other.

Secondly, the **strengths of architects** to a) translate abstract ideas into physical realities and b) communicate visions between disciplines. Architects have a track record of translating ideologies to actual everyday built environment. The concept of "sustainable development" resembles an ideology in that it attempts to change the way societies currently operate. By architects applying their skill to translate abstract concepts into built form new ideas on sustainable approaches could be illustrated. As cities are systems with a mind-staggering complexity of interacting factors communicating ideas between disciplines is crucial for enabling urban professionals focused on particular details of the system to see the bigger picture and contribute with their specific expertise on how to make it work. However, as different disciplines employ different vocabularies and workmodes constructive communication can be difficult. For this, using the built environment as a canvas for communicating the practical application of visions could be an interesting tool. Pictures speak more than words and in this architect illustrations could potentially serve as a bridge for different urban actors to understand each other, the implications new ideas would have concerning their part of the city system as well as what effects the application of new planning, policies and technologies would have on their day to day life.

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with how imagining a dystopic and a utopic future could be used to reflect on what the built environment can do towards sustainability, how architects can be inspired to gather and creatively combine this potential into a vision and how consequently the translation of this vision into the built environment can be used as a tool for communication and discussion inbetween disciplines on sustainable design solutions.

It takes the reader on a guided tour of the potentials of a city, starting by imagining a "nightmare" scenario to make issues regarding unsustainability stand out, followed by reflections on where in these issues the built environment could make a difference, formulating a vision of how architecture could play a positive role in promoting sustainability, finally translating this vision into design through visualizing a sustainable "dream" scenario. Both scenarios explore the extreme, not the actual. The dream scenario is intended to act as a communicative backcasting tool, with which to illustrate a utopic idea, contrast it with where we currently are and critically discuss how to bridge vision and reality.

The end result is *a reflection* on the potentials of architecture, *a vision* of how to gather the inspiration into application and *a design* which translates the vision into actual physical reality.

Inspired by how architects can bridge ideas and reality the thesis focuses on how we can apply our strengths in imagining the worst, but plan for the best, of futures through acting as creative conglomerators of potential and translating visions into practical design ideas.

INTRODUCTION

As the 21st century enters its second decade architects and planners are faced with the daunting task of identifying where their work may help in ensuring the planet can sustain our future generations. In this, sustainable urban development is crucial as cities increasingly absorb large parts of humanity, currently already home to half of humankind the numbers are estimated to grow to two-thirds, or 6 billion people, by 2050[1]. As our cities attract more people they strongly influence social, political, economic and technological trends of the world. Cities are the hubs of economic and social processes that has the potential of generating wealth and opportunity and affect change, but they also have the potential to create disease, crime, pollution, poverty and social unrest. It is this relation between the threat and potential of cities that this thesis is concerned with, in particular the strengths of architects to visualize potential where the built environment could provide options for supporting sustainable urban qualities.

As sustainable urban development requires cities which control and balance their effect this is dependent on cities developing as integrated systems which are aware of all its parts, this awareness of its own complexity and composition implies collaboration inbetween all disciplines. Defining *how* to do it is a matter where architects could look further into putting our particular strengths to use. How can architecture support sustainability? How can architects contribute to trans-disciplinary collaborations? As architects we are trained to draw inspiration from a variety of sources and visualize the resulting ideas in real-life, concrete examples. As one issue of trans-disciplinary colllaboration is ensuring disciplines effectively communicate with eachother, this ability of architects can be a useful tool towards illustrating problems and testing ideas.

Planning for the future involves visualizing possible futures, whereby informed choices can be made. This thesis investigates how architects may use our particular skills to act as a bridge between disciplines, and in an interesting way creatively combine potential into a physical setting, communicating ideas of possible sustainable futures.

In this, the following focuses on:

- *Using a dystopic nightmare scenario to clearify issues of unsustainability and reflect on these issues.*
- *Gather inspiration towards a sustainable utopic scenario, forming a vision.*
- *Translating this vision into reality through illustrating how it could be implemented in the built environment, in a manner which can be used to communicate inbetween disciplines regarding feasibility*

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

1 United Nations, General Assembly, Twenty-fifth special session, Agenda items 8, 9 and 10: *Declaration on Cities and Other Human Settlements in the New Millennium*, 6th Plenary Meeting, June 9, 2001 (A/S-25/7/Rev.1), p.2

VISIONS

In meeting the challenges of sustainable urban development we need to come up with some seriously creative ideas. However, to avoid making the mistake of being too narrowminded with our proposals, architects, as other professions, need to help eachother in pointing out flaws and potential, identifying crucial factors so these can be taken into account in formulating sustainable visions. In planning an urban future which reflects the complexity of the city and its people, urban professionals need to establish connections with other disciplines and lean on the expertise of eachother. In this, the results of this thesis aims at being a communication tool, enabling constructive and inspiring dialogue across disciplines, not as a final proposal but as a first step for debate.

To illustrate the above point on the necessity for visionary thinking, and to show the potential of architecture as a tool for communicating ideas and inspiration, the below introduces a few examples from the track record of how architects have visualized the physical expression of ideologies from the last century. These architectural visions did not just reflect their times, but the physical representation of ideas concretely affected the implementation of the ideology and helped to illustrate the mood behind the ideas, the driving force and ideologies as well as show how ideas possibly could be translated into reality.

1909: FUTURISM

LE FIGARO

Futurism was a passionate artistic and social movement, originating in Italy in the early 20th century. It was inspired by technology, speed, youth and violence reflecting the contemporary trends, involving new objects such as the car, the airplane and the industrial city.[2] Futurists had a great love for the city, the noise, the pollution, the machines[3], their manifestos were translated into physical form through paintings, music and architecture which reflected this focus. One of the most famous futurist architects was Antonio Sant'Elia, shown below. His futurist visions translate the principles of futurism into built form, where buildings are not intended for the private use of the masses but for the facillitation of people joining as a machine, increasing effectivity through technology, and are associated with a higher purpose such as war or productivity. In the world of Futurism the machine was God. This, some say, was in preparation for the totalitarian state where the individual is completely at the service of the imperialist state and the military machine. The futurist visions does not show the individual, the perspective is one from up high, far away, if people are shown it is as a blind crowd, idealised generalisations having no individuality, dwarfed by the scale of the buildings.[4]

2 Italian Futurism.org, *Manifestos*, www.italianfuturism.org/manifestos/ (April 5, 2012)
3 Kim Scarborough, *Futurism*, www.unknown.nu/futurism/ (April 5, 2012)
4 Alan Woods, *Italian Futurism and Fascism - How an artistic trend anticipated a counterrevolutionary tendency*, www.marxist.com/ArtAndLiterature-old/italian_futurism_and_fascism.html (April 5, 2012)

1930: FUNCTIONALISM

acceptera

den föreliggande verkligheten — endast därigenom
har vi utsikt att behärska den, att få på den för att
förändra den och skapa kultur som är ett smidigt
redskap för livet. Vi behöver int
urvuxna former för att
Vi kan inte smy
kan inte heller h
och oklart in i en
än se verkligheten
att behärska den. V
är mål i våra daga
någon verklig tveka
pessimistiska som på
en maskinkultur som är sitt eget ändamål. Det är

Gunnar Asplund
Wolter Gahn
Sven Markelius
Gregor Paulsson
Eskil Sundahl
Uno Åhrén

Tiden

The Stockholm exhibition 1930 and the text "Accept!" which came out the following year are considered the breakthrough for Swedish Functionalism.The authors of "Accept" was proposing to make use of new building methods following industrialisation to enable a raised living standard for the whole population.[5] Functionalism was characterized by simplicity, equality and logic, proposing building types which made effective use of space.[6] Functionalists considered functionalism as a work method, the new houses were to be shaped through technical and functional analysis.[7] Functionalism was to a high degree linked to social democracy, and it was with functionalism as an ideological spearpoint that Sweden literally took shape from the 1930's onwards. A condition for its influence was that political power was behind the architects, between 1932 and 1976 the socialdemocratic party and strong workers movements made functionalism an integrated part of their own political agendas.[8] How this idelology translated into the built environment is still apparent in Swedish cities today.

5 Anna Fogelberg, *Betydelsen av ett manifest: Acceptera och funktionalismen idag*, www.stadsbyggnad.lth.se/fileadmin/stadsbyggnad/Annaf.pdf, (April 10, 2012)

6 Yimby, *Acceptera: det funktionalistiska manifestet fran 1931*, www.yimby.se/forum/thread.aspx?id=57, (April 10,2012)

7 Willa Nordic, *Funkishus for en ny tid*, www.willanordic.se/Vara_hus/Funkishus---ett-uttryck-for-en-ny-tid/, (April 10, 2012)

8 Svenska Dagbladet, *Visionerna som gjorde funkisen svensk*, www.svd.se/kultur/understrecket/visionerna-som-gjorde-funkisen-svensk_4151143.svd, (April10,2012)

1968: VISIONARIES

In the 1960's again the political climate paired with new breakthroughs in technology inspired musicians, artists and architects. A group of architects called "Archigram" envisioned buildings that travelled on land and sea. inspired by eg. NASA's mobile launch pads, hovercraft, and science fiction comics. Their project "Walking City" (below) imagined a future in which borders and boundaries were abandoned in favour of a nomadic lifestyle. Walking City anticipated an urban lifestyle in which one need not be tied down to a permanent location. The structures were conceived to plug into utilities and information networks at different locations to support the needs and desires of people who work and play, travel and stay put, simultaneously. By means of this nomadic existence, different cultures and information was to be shared, creating a global information market. Visionary architecture from the 60-70's featured such concepts as prefab apartments hoisted into position on a skeletal frame, to be plugged into prepared utilities. Although considered impractical by most builders the visionary ideas of this time illustrate the willingness to translate abstract ideas into the built environment, testing the limits of this translation.[9]

9 Peter Blake, *Architectural Forum 1968*, archigram.westminster.ac.uk/project.php?drwid=332 (April 23, 2012)

UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

Distr.: GENERAL

A/41/427
4 August 1987
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC/CHINESE/ENGLISH/FRENCH/RUSSIAN/SPANISH

Forty-second session
Item 83 (a) of the provisional agenda*

DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: ENVIRONMENT

Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development

Note by the Secretary-General

1. The General Assembly, in its resolution 38/161 of 19 December 1983, inter alia, welcomed the establishment of a special commission that should make available a report on environment and the global problématique to the year 2000 and beyond, including proposed strategies for sustainable development. The commission later adopted the name World Commission on Environment and Development. In the same resolution, the Assembly decided that, on matters within the mandate and purview of the United Nations Environment Programme, the report of the special commission which is in the first instance be considered by the Governing Council of the Programme, for transmission to the Assembly together with its comments, and for use as basic material in the preparation, for adoption by the Assembly, of the Environmental Perspective to the Year 2000 and Beyond.

2. At its fourteenth session, held at Nairobi from 9 to 19 June 1987, the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme adopted decision 14/14 of 19 June 1987, entitled "Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development" and, inter alia, decided to transmit the Commission's report to the General Assembly together with a draft resolution annexed to the decision for consideration and adoption by the Assembly.

3. The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, entitled "Our Common Future", is herein transmitted to the General Assembly. Decision 14/14 of the Governing Council, the proposed draft resolution and the comments of the Governing Council on the report of the Commission can be found in the report of the Governing Council on the work of its fourteenth session. 1/

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* A/42/150.

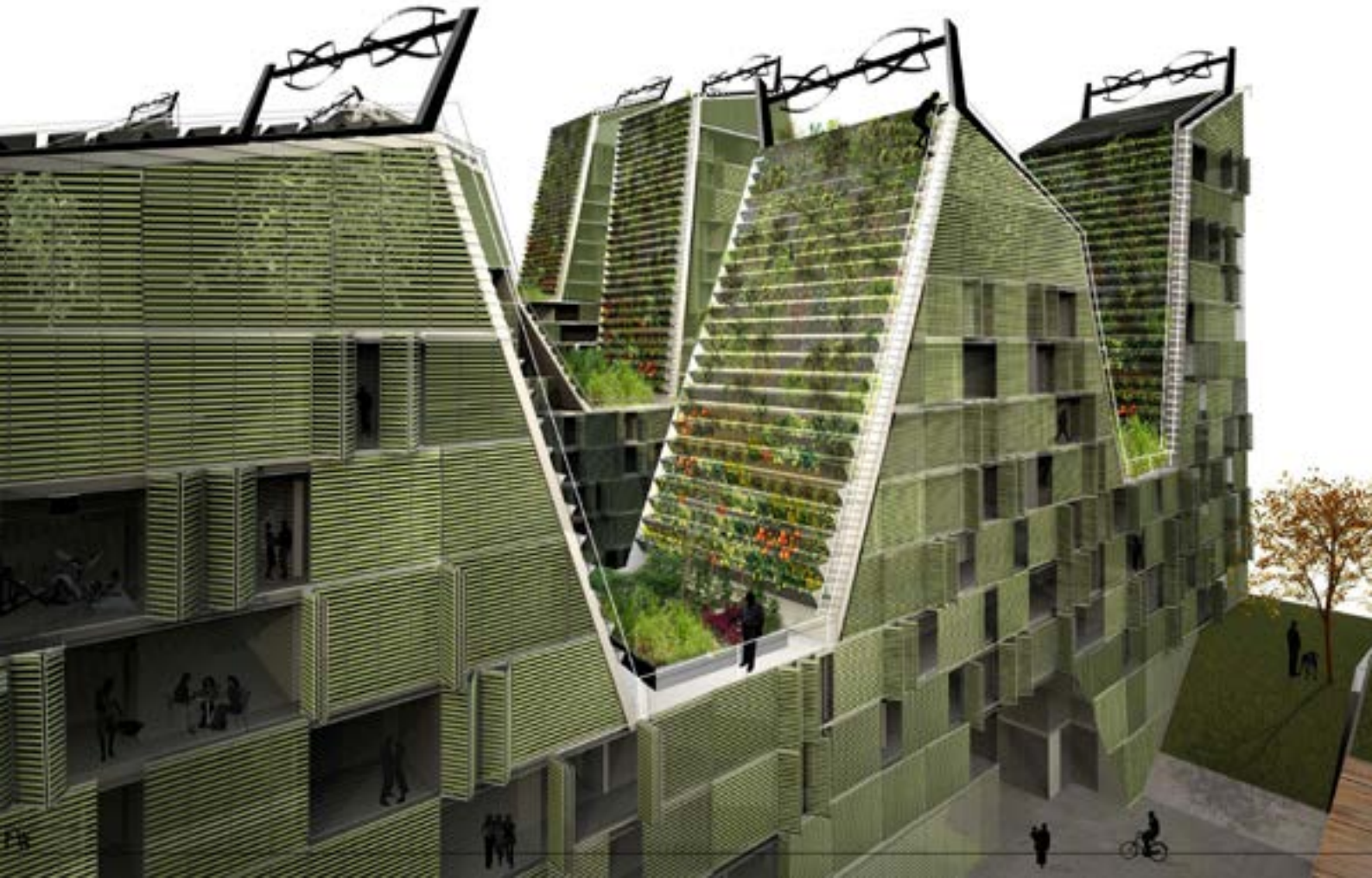
87-18867 (0000 10)

/...

1987: SUSTAINABILITY

In December 1983 the UN General Assembly realized that there was a heavy deterioration of the human environment and natural resources. To rally countries to work and pursue sustainable development together, the UN decided to establish the Brundtland Commission, to unite countries to pursue sustainable development together. The current movement towards sustainable urban development has as one of its founding documents the "Brundtland Report" from October 1987. The report is widely cited as outlining the principles behind sustainable development. Simply stated, the principles behind sustainability are that everything needed for our survival and well-being depends, either directly or indirectly, on the natural environment, sustainability creates and maintains the conditions under which humans and nature can exist in productive harmony, that permit fulfilling the social, economic and other requirements of present and future generations. Since the Brundtland report a multitude of manifestos, reports and charters have been released (see www.unhabitat.org/publications for some of these), outlining the aims and achievements towards sustainable development.

The aim of this thesis is to add to the current translation of sustainability into visual, physical reality, communicating an architectural vision of how sustainability could be reflected in the built environment.



PART TWO:

FOCUS

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WHAT

Visualizing a dystopic and a utopic dream of a city, guiding the reader on a tour between these extremes, aiming to explore how the built environment could play a role towards sustainability. Using the dystopic nightmare to reflect on issues of sustainability which could be affected through architecture, gather inspiration from a variety of disciplines and creatively combine this into a conceptual utopic design proposal intending to illustrate the potential of how discussions on sustainability could be translated into architecture.

Focus lays on visualization of potential and communication of how an idea of sustainability via architecture could be translated from an abstract concept to physical reality, resulting in the first step for a backcasting process for bridging vision and reality.

WHY

Using the opportunity of reflecting on issues of sustainability as they relate to the discipline of architecture and translate the potential into design.

The roles of architects are changing. With the introduction of sustainability new prospects for the profession are emerging where architects could act as conglomerators of potential from a variety of disciplines, combining these creatively in the built environment to supply a vision of how sustainability could actually look. This pedagogical role is extremely important for the future, as having a vision towards the higher purpose of sustainability needs to supercede short term goals if we are not to fail in achieving sustainable development.

The purpose of this thesis is to act as an experiment in reflecting on and communicating a vision of what architecture could do in relation to an imagined unsustainable development. The process intends to emphasize the strengths of architects as conglomerators of ideas from a variety of disciplines, utilising our role as links between the artistic and practical to bridge communication gaps and creatively tie potential from a wide range of inspiration together in the built environment. In short imagining the worst, but planning for the best, of futures.

New times, new roles

"To say that architecture produces instruments of valorisation is to say that it produces the instruments of taste, the discourse that labels some buildings and architects as great, and others as not. (...) It is no wonder then that areas one might normally consider of interest to architects, such as acoustics, or psychology, or sociology, carry so little weight in the discipline, for they are relevant to its central function only when the intellectual fashions of the time require their service in the formulation of the instruments of valorisation.(...) The fundamental failings discerned by psychologists and environmental scientists and all the others from disciplines "allied" to architecture—namely the utter failure of architects to listen to them, the dismal and seemingly perverse inability to integrate the fruits of their scholarly labours into the architectural process—can be seen to be no fault of the architects, but the failure of the others to perceive that their work has no bearing at all on the valorisation of architecture."[10]

The above quote, taken from Dr. Garry Stevens (critic focusing on architectural sociology, holding degrees in architecture, computer-aided design, philosophy and sociology) illustrates a question regarding the nature of architecture. As a discipline it tends to fall between chairs, being both artistic and the practical. As a result, it has received criticism both on the grounds of being both to little and too much focused on either of these (form or function). In the late 20th century the concept of sustainability entered the discussion. Ar-

10 Dr. Garry Stevens, *Architecture as a discipline*, Centre for Architectural Sociology, www.archsoc.com/kcas/Discipline.html (Feb. 7, 2012)

chitecture should not only consider the form or functional aspects of the built environment but also the sustainability of it. As a discipline the focus has expanded to include a greater complexity of factors. However, we may see a key weakness and strength of architects in relation to this new task; architecture provides a point of contact for a series of interrelated disciplines, not being clearly of either. The implications of this is expanded below.

Sustainability effect all disciplines in that they need to relate to this new concept if they want to contribute to a sustainable future. In order to do this, most disciplines are currently adjusting accordingly, focusing on how they can provide a piece of the puzzle. Architecture relates to a wide set of disciplines involving the built environment, consequently architects need to gain wide knowledge in order to understand the implications of their work, how it relates to and influences economic, environmental and social aspects of our societies and lives. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of all related disciplines in addition to a practical architecture education is impractical (and near impossible), hence architects tend to gain wide but not indepth knowledge. This is fine. There are experts in each discipline focusing on gaining and expanding indepth knowledge. Architects instead add value by creatively combining potential and findings of other disciplines into physical realities. As the role of architect changes with the times reflecting the issues of the day, be it industrialisation or sustainability, the occupation today has the possibility of being a node for knowledge, combining sustainability potential from other disciplines into architecture. What architects have the possibility of being in this day and age may be to act as visionaries, envisioning the components of a sustainable future as it comes together in the built environment, but avoiding the role of "producers of taste" as mentioned in the quote above, instead utilizing the ambiguous nature of the profession to conglomerate potential and invite transdisiplinary discussion and collaboration, bridging communication barriers inbetween professions by illustrating ideas practically in our neighbourhoods, streets and houses.

New roles, new methods

In the above architects can be likened to authors, visualizing the result of inspiration from a great deal of influences into a coherent story. Unlike authors however, architects act as a part of (and potentially have power to affect) the scenario they are creating. In this sense, it is even more important for the architect than the author to relate to current issues in order to engage the audience.

Facing the reality of an unsustainable future architects and planners are striving towards sustainable urbanization. As the situation is pressing, they need to respond quickly and relevantly to current issues. As this is a current global academic problem since academic institutions by their nature often involve slow processes, including non up-to-date curricula and institutional challenges[11], alternate methods and inspirations are an option. As sustainability issues are highly complex, an increased awareness of the issues at hand as well as interaction with and inspiration from other disciplines is required in order to respond.

As architects cannot feasibly incoorporate all knowledge necessary to comprehend the complete system of a city, this thesis is testing how architects may play to their strengths of conglomerating inspiration from a wide range of disciplines, and use the resulting visions as tools in initiating interaction with relevant other fields. This is intended both to support the role of architects and planners as crucial visionaries for sustainable urban development and as a support for the transdisiplinary discussion required to make these visions a reality.

11 United Nations, Human Settlements Programme, *The Key Challenges For Universities In Promoting Urban Sustainability*, Universities roundtable, World Urban Forum 2010, March 24, 2010 (Rio De Janeiro, Brazil)

HOW

Formulating unsustainable scenarios

In talking about sustainability we are really also implying its opposite, an *un*sustainable future and in defining what we are planning for we also need to understand what we are planning *against*. Although we cannot predict the future we may look towards methods applied by other professions which are used to identify possible threats and opportunities. It is in this context methods of scenarioplanning are of interest.

As mentioned above, architects deal with both form and function. Methods used by other disciplines should be utilized with this in mind. Formal scenarioplanning has its roots in military strategy studies and is traditionally used by organizations to think about (and plan for) the future. In less formal forms it has been used in a variety of contexts, for the purpose of this thesis the two below examples of scenarioplanning are used to illustrate the wide application base and use of the method. The point argued is that architecture could learn from both the formal use of scenarioplanning as it applies to risk management for the corporate world, as well as from informal variants, such as the literary application in science fiction, the practical uses for architecture ending up somewhere inbetween.

The below two aspects of scenarioplanning have influenced the method used in this thesis.

Corporate scenarioplanning

As architects trying to cope with an uncertain future, it is interesting to look at how the corporate world has handled issues of uncertainty. In the 90's many large companies were affected by the Enron scandal, exposing their vulnerabilities to unexpected events. As a result standards (ISO 31000, COSO) have been set to upgrade the companies enterprise risk management, aiming to predict how the company would manage changes of events.[12] Risk management, crisis management and business continuity management all deal with this, and are now integrated elements of corporate strategy, trying to predict and prevent negative effects on the company. These methods are effective tools for identifying factors not in our conscious thoughts, factors that aren't even in the discourse yet, and plan for how to handle these. Scenarioplanning in this context is a way to think about choices in a structured manner before we have any experience of the actual situation. Working with a scenario may enable identifying critical issues, assets and processes and then stressing these to see what is required to reach the goal.

Scenario planning is in large part an adaptation and generalization of classic methods used by military intelligence, where a group of analysts would generate simulation games for policy makers. The games combine known facts about the future, such as demographics, geography, military, political, industrial information, and mineral reserves, with plausible alternative social, technical, economic, environmental, educational, political and aesthetic trends which are key driving forces. The method also allows the inclusion of factors that are difficult to formalize, such as novel insights about the future, deep shifts in values, unprecedented regulations or inventions.[13]

Scenario planning begins by identifying the focal issue or decision. There are an infinite number of stories that we could tell about the future; our purpose is to tell those that matter, that lead to better decisions. So we begin the process by agreeing on the issue that we want to address. Sometimes the question is rather broad (What's the future of the former Soviet Union?); sometimes it is pretty specific (Should we introduce a new operating system?). Either way, the point is to agree on the issue(s) that will be used as a test of relevance

12 Interview with Anna Isacson, Ernst & Young (Jan 3, 2012)
13 Wikipedia, *Scenario Planning*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scenario_planning, (Jan. 12, 2012)

as we go through the rest of the scenario-making process.[14]

Scenarioplanning usually follows the steps of:

1. Identifing theme – Defining the scope of the scenario
2. Isolating driving forces – Identifying social, economic, political, technological forces that will affect the scenario
3. Building scenarios – Create multiple stories of the future based on determination of theme and driving forces
4. Explore implications – Analyze significance of alternative future worlds for current strategy. [15]

Related risk assessment and management methods typically include:

1. Identifying. characterizing, and assessing threats
2. Assessing the vulnerability of critical assets to specific threats
3. Determining the risk (i.e. the expected consequences of specific types of attacks on specific assets)
4. Identifying ways to reduce those risks
5. Prioritizing risk reduction measures based on a strategy. [16]

The purpose of scenario planning is not to pinpoint future events but to highlight large-scale forces that push the future in different directions. It is about making these forces visible, so that if they do happen the planner will at least recognize them. It is about helping make better decisions today.[17] The thought processes involved in getting to the scenarios have the dual purpose of increasing knowledge of the environment in which you operate and widening the participant's perception of possible future events - encouraging them to 'think the unthinkable'. For each of the scenarios created, appropriate action plans can be considered. Asking the key question, 'what do we need to do (now) to be ready for all scenarios?', can then inform the formulation of strategies to cope with these differing pictures of the future (or at least to address the maximum number of possibilities). [18]

Scenarioplanning bear a striking recemblance to the creation of a formal science fiction scenario (see "literary scenarioplanning" below), as they both have as their essence a conglomeration of current interesting social, political, economical and technological trends and subsequent extrapolation and formulation of scenarios based on these. Also, as with science fiction, some of the issues considered might at first glance seem rather silly. However, this is one of the strengths of scenarioplanning as it takes into account issues which otherwise might be rationalized and overlooked. These are in coorporate contexts called "black swans".

An example of the connections inbetween the method employed by scifi authors and coorporate risk managers is strikingly illustrated in Jamais Cascio's article from 2006 named

14 Lawrence Wilkinson, *How to Build Scenarios*, Wired, www.wired.com/wired/scenarios/build.html (Dec. 15, 2011)
15 Mark Lane, *Enterprise Architecture Scenario Planning*, Centre for Advancement of the Enterprise Architecture profession, caeap-org.biz/wordpress/enterprise-architecture-scenario-planning-3/ (Dec. 20, 2011)
16 Wikipedia, *Risk Management*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Risk_management (Jan. 12, 2012)
17 www.wired.com/wired/scenarios/build.html
18 Northumbria University, JISC info net, Tools & techniques, *What is Scenario Planning?* , www.jiscinfonet.ac.uk/tools/scenario-planning (Dec. 19, 2011)

"Open source scenario planning"[19] where he passionately describes the concept and use of an open source library of factors, constantly updated, which could help predict increasingly varied and useful scenarios due to the sheer mass of collected variables. This idea was predicted by the scifi author Isaac Asimov, starting with a series of short stories in 1942, where he describes it in terms of a fictional science called "Psychohistory".[20]

Literary scenarioplanning

In parallell to the above corporate method, it is interesting to see how scenarioplanning can be used in a different context such as literature. As a literary genre science fiction is arguably the most misunderstood. It is often confused with its cinematic genre, or the Fantasy genre, both of which are not overly associated with intellectual challenges or additional uses. The definition of literary scifi on the other hand has as a specific requirement to provide intellectual challenge and has historically been used as a tool for authors, thinkers and scientist to put their finger on current issues and test theories, alerting their readers to potential futures and provoking discussion.[21] The genre developed in the early 19th century as a response to the industrial revolution, dealing with questions resulting from this paradigm shift.[22] Mary Shelley's "Frankenstein" from 1818 is commonly agreed to be the first scifi novel[23], correlating with the industrial revolution it explores the potential of machines and warns for possible consequences of man playing God. George Orwells "1984" from 1949 followed the first world war and raises the issues of the weakness of man to be led by propaganda into totalitarian regimes. In the 80's the sub-genre of Cyperpunk flourished (with William Gibson's "Neuromancer" in the lead), exploring the fear of a world where cooperations ruled the world. As a genre dependent on inspiration from current issues it is constantly evolving, investigating and discussing the future by creating scenarios extrapolated from current events, often involving possibilities with science (interestingly, more recently scenarios resulting from social changes have gained ground). The general definition of literary scifi follows these three steps:

1. Change a factor (world has run out of fossil fuels)
2. Create an interesting narrative (a culture of harvesting the few remaining sources has developed)
3. Provide an intellectual challenge[24] (what are the economic, social, environmental consequences of this scenario)

The above steps parallells the above corporate method; by imagining a scenario in the above manner, authors make possibilities more real and provokes thought on how one would react to these.

Processes leading to change can be slow as they need to deal with the multiple complexities of society, from governance and policy to mental attitudes and culture. The post apocalyptic fiction sub-genre of science fiction respond to changes quickly by necessity (it would not sell if it did not tap into current fears). Apocalyptic fiction is concerned with the end of civilization due to a potential catastrophes such as nuclear warfare, pandemics, impact events, the technological singularity, dysgenics, climate change, resource depletion or some other general disaster. The particular nature of post-apocalyptic fiction, in contrast to sci-

19 Jamais Cascio, *OtF Core: Open Source Scenario Planning*, Worldchanging, www.worldchanging.com/archives/004246.html (Dec 13, 2011)

20 Wikipedia, *Psychohistory*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psychohistory_(fictional), (Jan. 12, 2012)

21 George Orwell, *1984*, (Stockholm, Sweden: Albert Bonniers Förlag, Bonniers Grafiska Industrier AB, 1949), Margaret Atwood, *A handmaid's tale*, (Canada: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse 5*, (USA: Delacorte, 1969), to mention a few famous examples.

22 Eric S. Rabkin, *Science Fiction, the Literature of Technological Imagination*, 8x45 min audio, The Teaching Company, (Chantilly, VA: 1999)

23 Eric S. Rabkin, Department Of English Language And Literature at the University Of Michigan, *English 342 Science Fiction, Mary Shelley, Frankenstein, Oxford World's Classics,* Winter 2010 semester

24 Eric S. Rabkin, *Science Fiction, the Literature of Technological Imagination*, 8x45 min audio, The Teaching Company, (Chantilly, VA: 1999)

ence fiction, is that the stories are set in a world or civilization after such a disaster. Recognizable apocalyptic novels have existed at least since the first quarter of the 19th century. Additionally, the subgenre draw on a body of apocalyptic literature, tropes, and interpretations that are millennia old.[25] The interest in post-apocalyptic scenarios rise and ebb in correlation with current events that spark fear, an example of this is how the post-apocalyptic scenarios gained popularity after World War II when the possibility of global annihilation by nuclear weapons entered the public consciousness[26]. Throughout history, envisioning one's fears have been an important tool of dealing with these (see for example the use of game theory in the Cold War). Literary scenarioplanning such as post-apocalyptic fiction do not only bring problems into the light, they vividly animate them, exploring their various details from multiple angles and propose ways of dealing with these.

Currently post-apocalyptic fiction authors are responding to the fear regarding sustainability, exploring both environmentally, economically and socially sustainable (and unsustainable) futures. Dealing with responding and re-building after an apocalypse, post-apocalyptic fiction could serve as an inspiration to from these thought experiments raise awareness in architects, urban planners and designers for particular problems and potential, adding tools for planning to avoid a particular kind of future. Unlike apocalyptic scenarios however, the process in this thesis does not stop at a narrative, but develops this further into a design proposal.

Changing the status quo

"After exploring recently-abandoned buildings I felt that everything could fall into ruins very fast: your home, your office, a shopping mall, a church ... any man-made structures around you. I was reminded of how fragile our sense of security is and how vulnerable people truly are."[27]

Apart from the predictive and preventive planning qualities of imagining the future, there lays a powerful psychological effect in altering our perception of the status quo, and realizing our vulnerabilities can be provoked through seeing the actual effects of this vulnerability. The fragility of our society, and the feeling of "all things shall pass" is vividly illustrated in ruins of buildings. Ruins have served as a reoccurring inspiration for architects, from the ruins of Italy to the gentrified rewamped factory areas of today, even going so far as creating artificial ruins, intended to create a sense of mystery and serve as a reminder of the temporary nature of all things. However, the prerequisite for a ruin to be perceived as pleasurable is need for a distance in time. If the ruin is with a personal attachment (such as a home or workplace) "the strong feelings have had no time to subside, the moss has not yet taken root"[28]. This can be illustrated via the example of two shipwrecks: bringing the Regal ship Vasa to the surface has an historical, almost mystical interest while raising Estonia (sunk in the 90's) would raise discomfort and sadness. It is just to soon.

A purpose of using the scenario of the present city of Gothenburg is precisely to raise this feeling of discomfort, of illustrating what could well happen, the pressing need for sustainable solutions, and push towards action through forethought.

The dystopic and utopic scenarios are used as tools by which to break the status quo, stepping away from the current. They serve to free the imagination from limitations stemming from the current situation, letting creativity run free without being dictated by the present, as the present is what we are trying to get away from.

25 Wikipedia, *Apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic fiction*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Apocalyptic_and_post-apocalyptic_fiction, (Feb. 5, 2012)

26 Ibid

27 Miru Kim is an explorer of abandoned and underground places. She explores industrial ruins underneath New York and via photography underscores the vulnerable nature of the human explorer in these no-woman's-lands, Miru Kim, Ted Talks, *Miru Kim's Underground Art*, www.ted.com/talks/miru_kim_s_underground_art.html

28 Lars and Nanna Cnattingius, *Ruiner: Historia, Ode & Vard* (Stockholm, Sweden: Carlsson Bokforlag, 2007), p.11

Formulating sustainable scenarios

Visualizing problems in order to be aware of and avoid them is one side of the coin, the other where these scenarios may be used to inspire visions of a future we *do* want. The sustainable scenario of this thesis aims to be constructive and progressive, moving from awareness of the problems to inspiration for solutions.

This method of "painting the picture" and use this a tool to gather meaningful and engaging trans-disciplinary input could aid architects in formulating proposals regarding how the built environment could support sustainable future cities.

Summarizing the above, creating scenarios have the potential of enabling us to think about what we don't want to happen, think outside the current situation, bring potential together into design proposals which can be constructively discussed with other urban stakeholders to identify strengths and weaknesses, problems and potential we are not even yet aware of and proactively use these in planning for the future.

Using nightmare and dream scenarios in this thesis consequently has three main benefits: firstly, as tools whereby weaknesses in our present system become real. Secondly, breaking the veil of normalcy and "business as usual". Thirdly, as a means to provoke thought on the failure or success of sustainable urbanization, what we don't want to happen, what we do want to happen and what architects could help do about it.

DEFINITIONS

"VISION"

"A specialist was hired to develop and present a series of half-day training seminars on empowerment and teamwork for the managers of a large international oil company. Fifteen minutes into the first presentation, he took a headlong plunge into the trap of assumption. With great intent, he laid the groundwork for what he considered the heart of empowerment-team-building, family, and community. He praised the need for energy, commitment, and passion for production. At what he thought was the appropriate time, he asked the group of 40 managers the simple question on which he was to ground his entire talk: "What is the vision of your company?" No one raised a hand. The speaker thought they might be shy, so he gently encouraged them. The room grew deadly silent. Everyone was looking at everyone else, and he had a sinking sensation in his stomach. "Your company does have a vision, doesn't it?" he asked. A few people shrugged, and a few shook their heads. He was dumbfounded. How could any group or individual strive toward greatness and mastery without a vision? That's exactly the point. They can not. They can maintain, they can survive; but they can not expect to achieve greatness."[29]

The idea of being visionary can be scary. Attempting new ideas involves moving into unchartered territory. Architects deal with making visions physical. Their visions are inhabited, directly affecting the lives of the inhabitants. Therefore, it is of importance for sustainable urbanisation that the visions of architects are targeted towards achieving greatness in this field. Visions ought to be a crucial aspect in the work of an architect or planner, as in order to determine where we are going we need to know where we stand, then determine where we want to go and how we will get there.

Macmillan dictionary define "vision" as: *"The ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business/someone's idea or hope of how something should be done, or how it will be in the future."* [30] In this, architects and planners may glance towards definitions within corporate strategic management. Oren Harari, author, speaker and leader in the subject, defines visions as: *"...describing a set of ideals and priorities, a picture of the future, a sense of what makes the company special and unique, a core set of principles that the company stands for, and a broad set of compelling criteria that will help define organizational success."*[31] Burt Nanus, another well-known author and expert in the area, goes on to explain what a vision could help accomplish for an organization: attracting commitment and energizing people, creating meaning in worker's lives, establishing a standard of excellence and bridging the present and the future. Nanus sums up his concepts with two simple formulas (slightly modified):

Strategic vision x communication = shared purpose

Shared purpose x empowered people x appropriate organizational changes x strategic thinking = Successful visionary leadership.[32]

If we as architects and planners look towards the corporate uses of visions, substituting the company or organization with the complex system of a city, it is easier to see the need to clearly identify our direction, using visions to identify where we want to go, and from there backcast the steps we need to take in order to get there. After all, we do not merely want to maintain the status quo, or just survive, we want to achieve greatness.

29 National Defense University, *Strategic Leadership and Decision Making: Strategic Vision*, www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/ndu/strat-ldr-dm/pt4ch18.html (Jan 5, 2012)

30 MacMillan Dictionary, *Vision*, www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/vision (Jan 5, 2012)

31 Strategic management, *Strategic vision*, strategicmanagement-management.blogspot.com/2011_07_01_archive.html (Feb 9, 2012)

32 National Defense University, *Strategic Leadership and Decision Making: Strategic Vision*, www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/ndu/strat-ldr-dm/pt4ch18.html (Jan 5, 2012)

"SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT"

The widely used definition of sustainable development coined by the Brundtland Commission states:

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts: the concept of "needs", in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.[33]

Kain, 2003, (drawing on Jacob, 1996) outline a a three layer framework for sustainable development:

- The ethic of sustainable development, i.e. the hard core of ideas/values/ principles: Intergenerational equity, Participatory decision-making, Human-human interdependence, Human-biosphere interdependence
- Sustainable development as a concept, i.e. the ethic applied to both environment and development at the strategic level
- Sustainable development as an operational indicator within everyday policy and practice.[34]

The "social" aspect of sustainability is arguably the most difficult to define. While environmental intutively links the definition with "green" and "nature" and economic sustainability is a clear cut to "finance" the social aspect is not as immediately graspable. This issue is explored in multiple papers, for example Stephen MacKenzie's "Social sustainability: Towards some definitions" from 2004, which discusses the use of the term separately from economic and environmental sustainability, and aims at discussing the term as distinct from economic and environmental sustainability, as all encompassing definitions have been too broad to be usefully applied in specific contexts.[35]

In the Habitat Agenda the state representatives authoring the document are *"... committed to a political, economic, environmental, ethical and spiritual vision of human settlements based on the principles of equality, solidarity, partnership, human dignity, respect and cooperation"*[36], and goes on to state *"Sustainable human settlements are those that, inter alia, generate a sense of citizenship and identity, cooperation and dialogue for the common good, and a spirit of voluntarism and civic engagement, where all people are encouraged and have an equal opportunity to participate in decisionmaking and development."*

"RELATED CASES"

"Related cases" in the context of this thesis are cases which attempts to look at the reflections of this thesis through the lenses of specific events or projects. This is done through interviews where the experiences of people engaged in the cases are discussed in relation to the reflections.

The related cases are used to combine the reflections within one context, and identify synergies and lessons learnt in particular reference to these. This in order to get inspiration for a design proposal on what architecture could do to support sustainability in relation to these issues. The interviews of the related cases follow the template outlined under "Relat-

33 World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) (WCED, 1987:43)

34 Jaan-Henrik Kain, Department of Built Environment and Sustainable Development, *Sustainable Development and Infrastructural Change*. (Göteborg, Sweden: Chalmers University of Technology)

35 Stephen MacKenzie, *Social sustainability: Towards some definitions*, Hawke Research Institute Working Paper, no.27 (2004)

36 United Nations, Human Settlements Programme, *Habitat Agenda,* www.unhabitat.org/declarations/habitat_agenda.htm (6 of 109) 11/13/2003 12:50:09 P (Jan 12, 2012)

ed cases" below, starting with a brief overview of the project/situation and continuing with a discussion on the reflection issues as it relates to the experience of the interviewee.

"BACKCASTING"

Backcasting is used in this context as "looking at the current situation from a future perspective", after envisioning a successful result in this future scenario you can then ask "what can we do today to reach that result". This allows you to ensure that your actions and strategy are taking you in the direction you want to head. This may seem simple and obvious, but many people do not do it. It complements other perspectives usually applied in business planning such as not only scenarioplanning but forecasting, and action planning of next steps.[37] The final sustainable scenario and associated design proposal of this thesis serve as a first step for backcasting.

37 We are arising, *Backcasting*, wearearising.org/2009/01/13/backcasting/ (Jan 13, 2012)

LIMITATIONS

CRITERIA, LIMITS, CONDITIONS

This thesis uses scenarios relating to a specific place, space and issues as a discussion tool towards formulating a sustainable architectural response. It does not consider all issues associated with sustainability, but limits itself to the issues defined under "reflections" and in particular to how these could be affected by the built environment. The over-arching focus and common denominator is always how the built environment can support sustainable cities. The scenarios, reflections and related cases are always checked for relevance towards this focus.

The initial narrative and scenario sets the frame for the subsequent reflections, identifying key issues where the built environment may have an effect, and help identify relevant related cases for viewing these issues through the lenses of particular projects, events or other experiences. The key issues identified through the unsustainable scenario defines the boundaries of the following steps; serving as basis for the reflections; identifying related cases; using the lessons learnt from the input for inspiration toward ultimately develop a sustainable scenario.

The reflection part, involving the key issues and sub-issues as identified through the nightmare scenario, are intended as a source of inspiration for the design proposal, not as a comprehensive account of all possible topics but as an overview of some of the problems and potentials which relate to the specific scenario and are found of interest.

This scenario limits itself to a vision relating to the place, space and issues discussed as they relate to the built environment. It does not consider all potential or all problems but focus on inspiration from the reflections and related cases.

The first scenario is formulated based on freely imagining unsustainable possibilities but later anchored in reflections on specific key issues. These reflections provide the framework by which to address the unsustainability, to ensure the discussion stays relevant and focused on providing input for the subsequent architectural response of the sustainable scenario. The key issues are the red thread throughout the thesis, finally ending with a set of principles whereby the built environment could affect these positively.

The unsustainable and sustainable scenarios are envisioned using the city of Gothenburg as a platform. This to provide a specific cultural context on which to base the scenarios, providing relevant conclusions for this context. The place selected (Kungsportsavenyn) is currently of the city, but it also represents the archetype of that particular type of built environment, in this case personal vs public space.

Inherent in the word "vision" is that its nature is one of a "first step" outlining the prospect of a future, not a tried and tested solution. Therefore the above process is to develop a concept, not a final plan, to act as an opening for trans-disciplinary discussion in order to identify the path towards collaboratively develop the vision into reality, moving the design from vision towards a sustainable reality.

As the thesis has mostly been written from Nairobi in collaboration with UN-Habitat, it attempts to incoorporate the perspectives of developing countries and their conditions and potential as relating to a western context. The majority of the related cases are conducted through interviews with either staff or partners of UN-Habitat.

This thesis has the nature of a conceptual project, focusing on the role of architects as creative conglomerators of potential and communicators of ideas, the below reflections and related cases in this intend to provide the inspiration for a conceptual design proposal which will be used as a discussion tool at the World Urban Forum 6 in Naples, 2012.

METHOD

STEPS

Getting inspired

SELECTING URBAN SPACE AND PLACE OF INTEREST
Public and personal space on Kungsportsavenyn, Gothenburg

1. NIGHTMARE: IMAGINING THE WORST
What is the worst that could happen with these spaces in this place? Imagining an unsustainable, dystopic, scenario. Summarized in illustration and short narrative. From this identify key issues where the built environment could play a role.

Conglomerating potential

2. REFLECTIONS: KEY ISSUES
Reflect on the key issues of interest, focusing on how the built environment could have a positive effect on sustainability. Identify related cases.

3. INTERVIEWS: RELATED CASES
Interviews identifying how the key issues were combined in different cases relating to the above reflections.

INSPIRATION
On what the built environment can do.

Translating potential into design

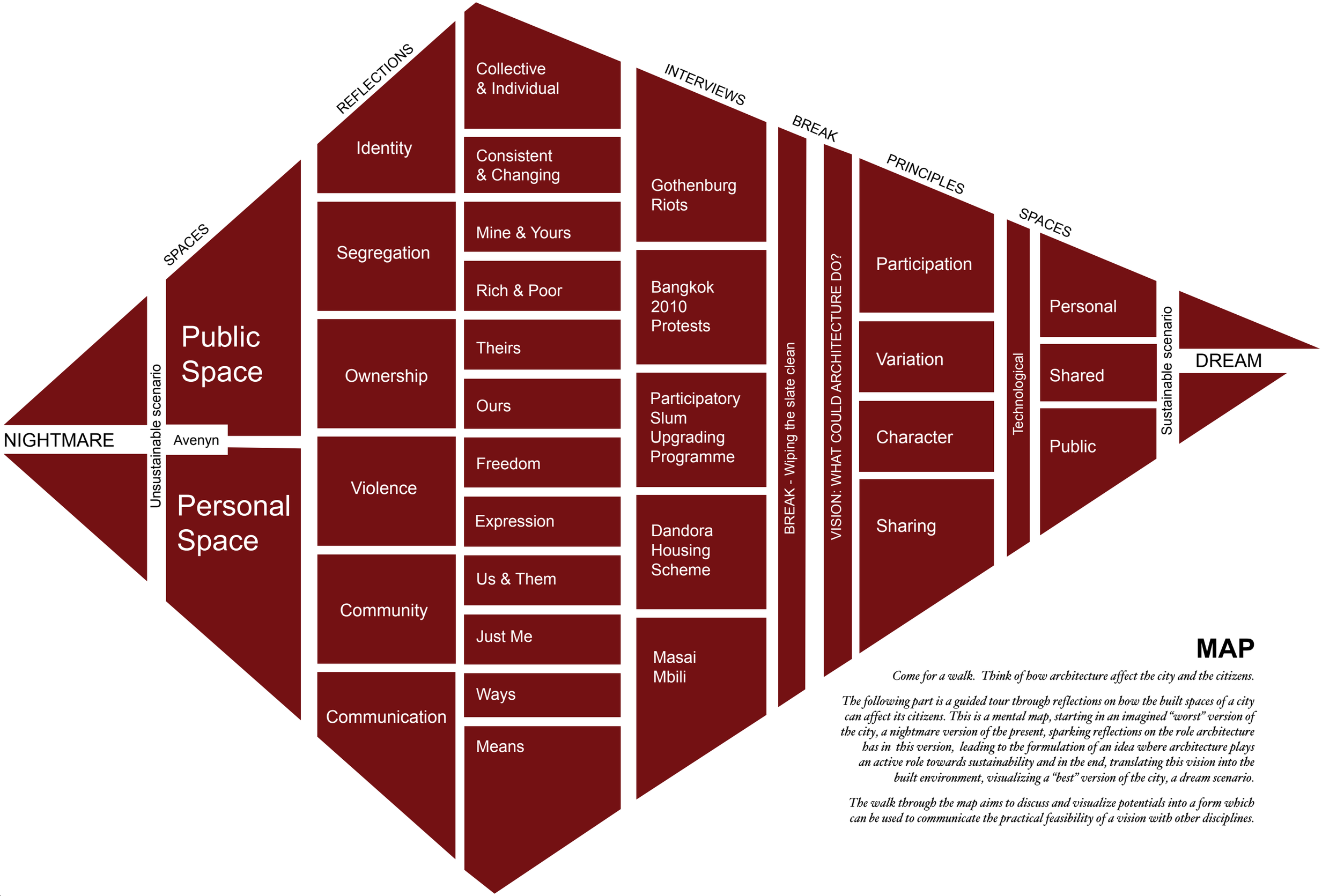
4. VISION: POTENTIAL
Summarizing the inspiration from the previous parts

5. DREAM: PLANNING FOR THE BEST
Translating the vision into design, visualizing how potentials and ideas of a sustainable future could be transformed into the physical environment.

PART THREE:

WALKING THE CITY

© MIRU KIM



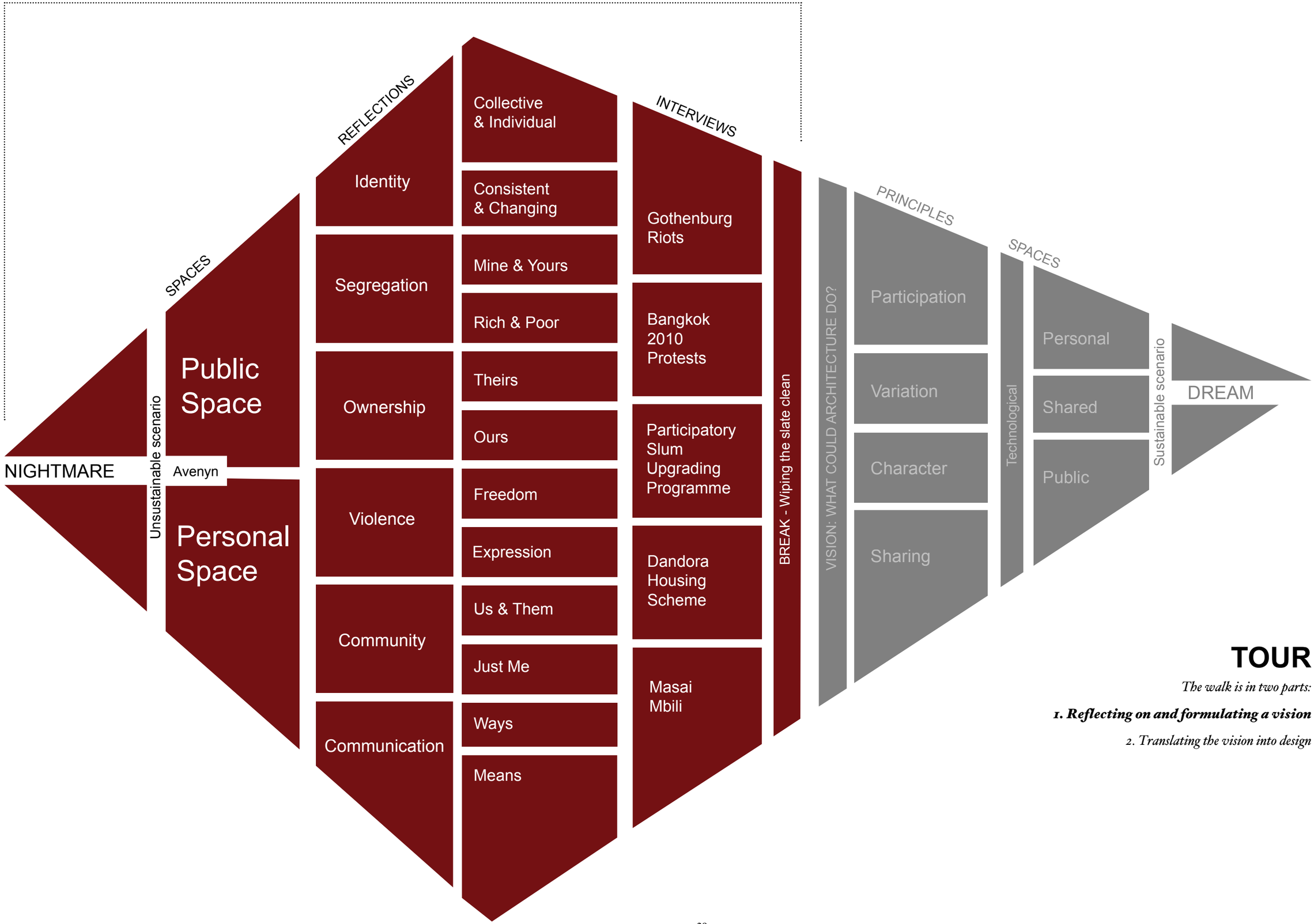
MAP

Come for a walk. Think of how architecture affect the city and the citizens.

The following part is a guided tour through reflections on how the built spaces of a city can affect its citizens. This is a mental map, starting in an imagined "worst" version of the city, a nightmare version of the present, sparking reflections on the role architecture has in this version, leading to the formulation of an idea where architecture plays an active role towards sustainability and in the end, translating this vision into the built environment, visualizing a "best" version of the city, a dream scenario.

The walk through the map aims to discuss and visualize potentials into a form which can be used to communicate the practical feasibility of a vision with other disciplines.

BASIS FOR VISION

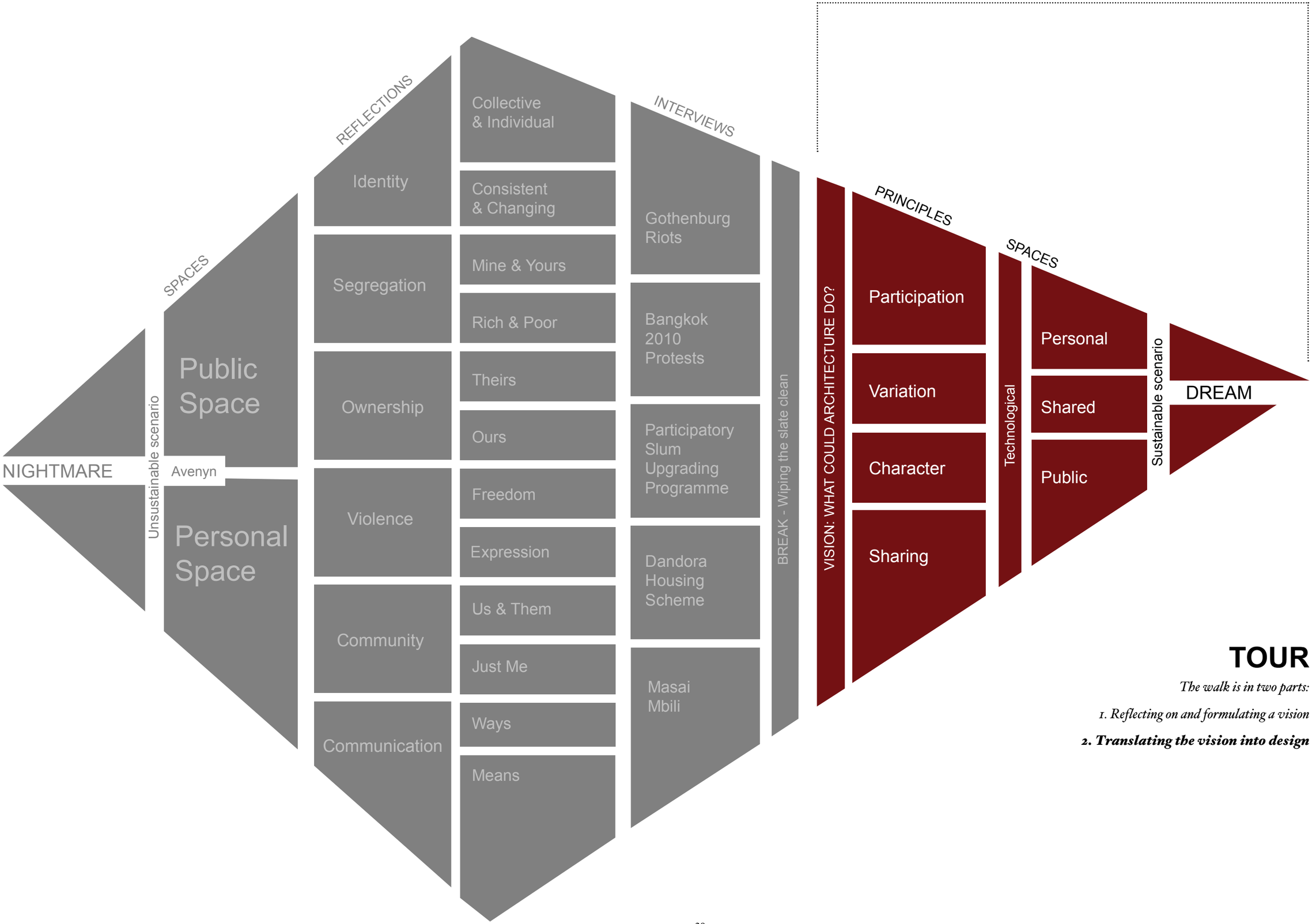


TOUR

The walk is in two parts:

1. Reflecting on and formulating a vision

2. Translating the vision into design



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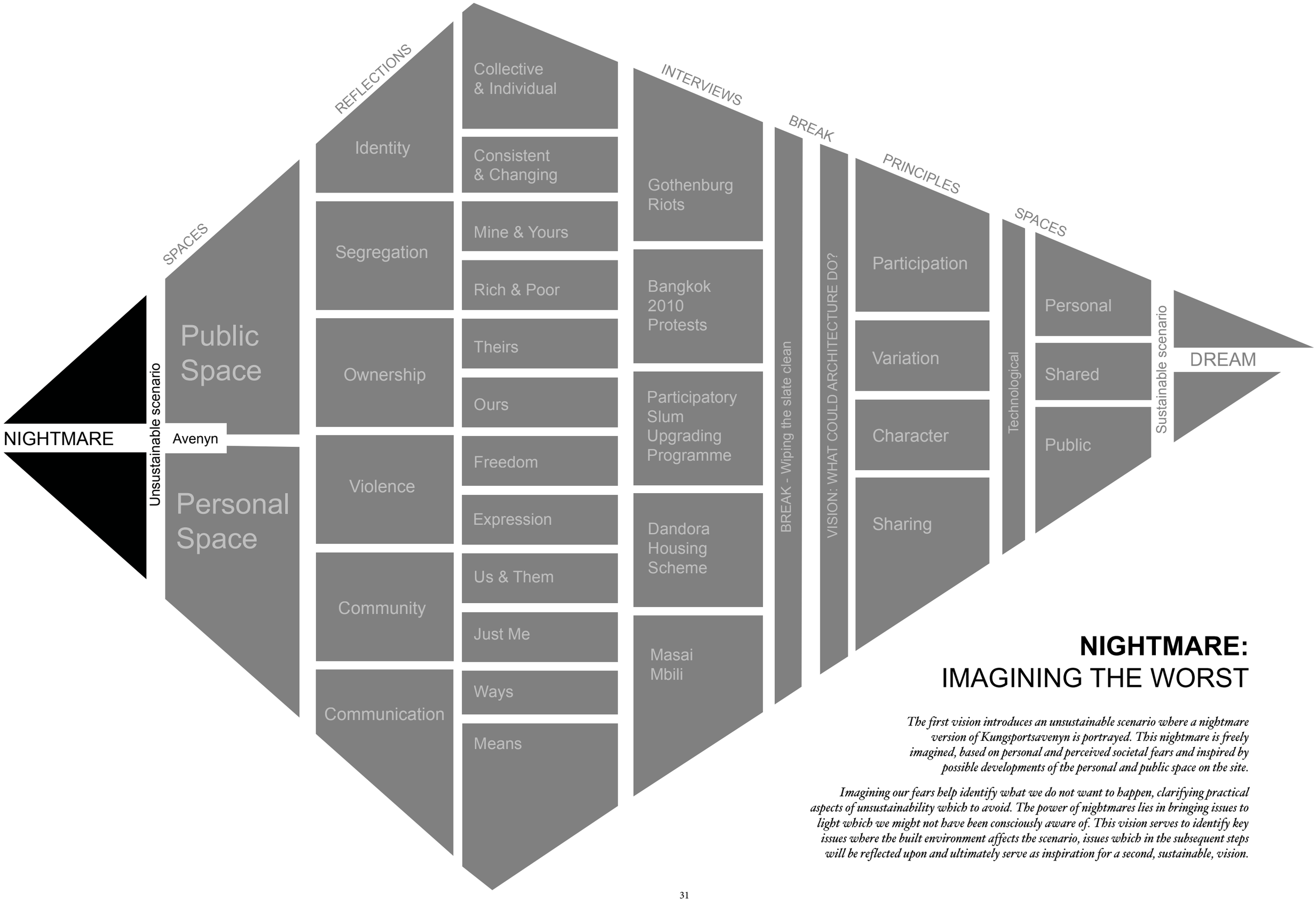
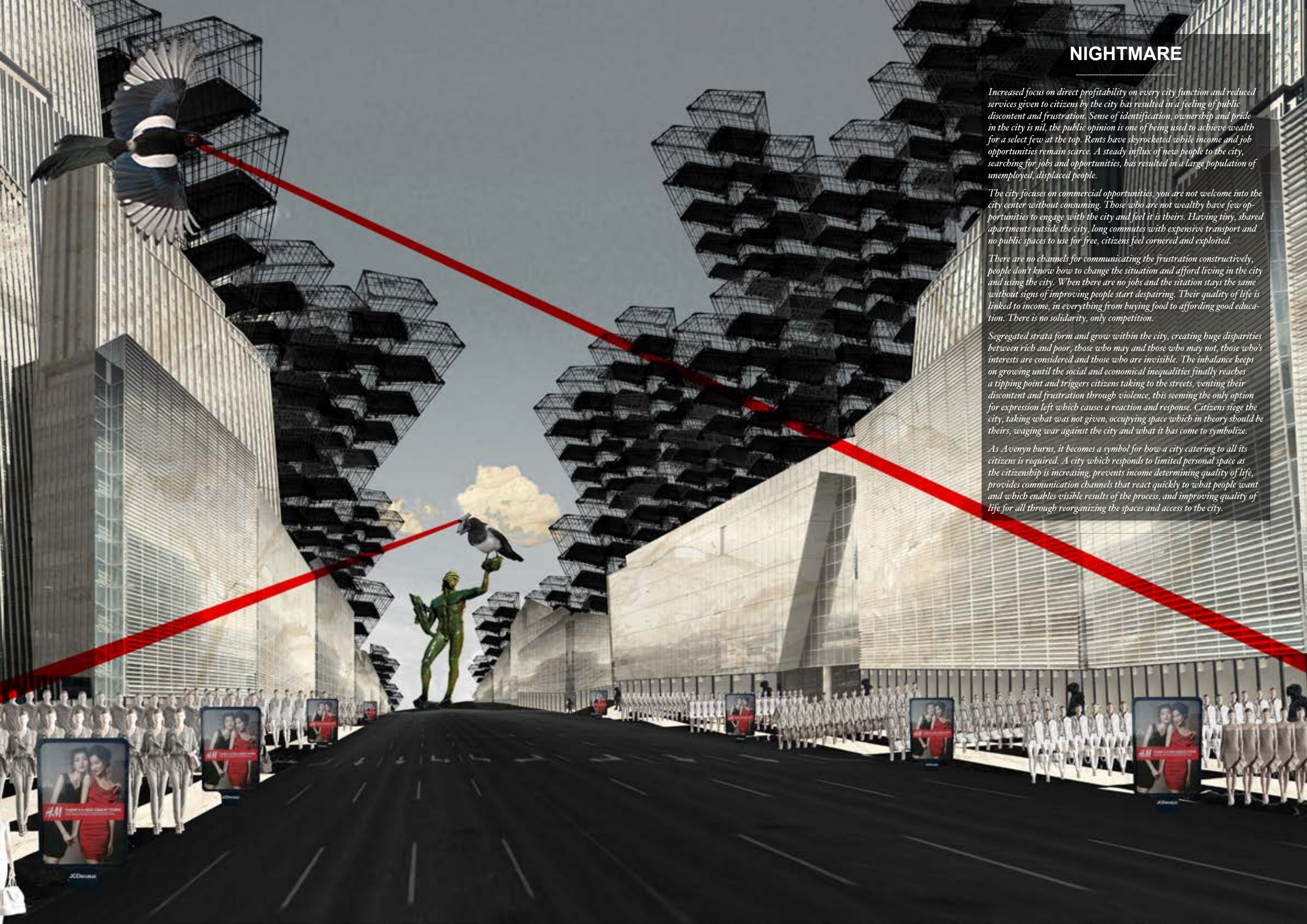
2. Translating the vision into design



NIGHTMARE:
IMAGINING THE WORST

The first vision introduces an unsustainable scenario where a nightmare version of Kungsportsavenyn is portrayed. This nightmare is freely imagined, based on personal and perceived societal fears and inspired by possible developments of the personal and public space on the site.

Imagining our fears help identify what we do not want to happen, clarifying practical aspects of unsustainability which to avoid. The power of nightmares lies in bringing issues to light which we might not have been consciously aware of. This vision serves to identify key issues where the built environment affects the scenario, issues which in the subsequent steps will be reflected upon and ultimately serve as inspiration for a second, sustainable, vision.



NIGHTMARE

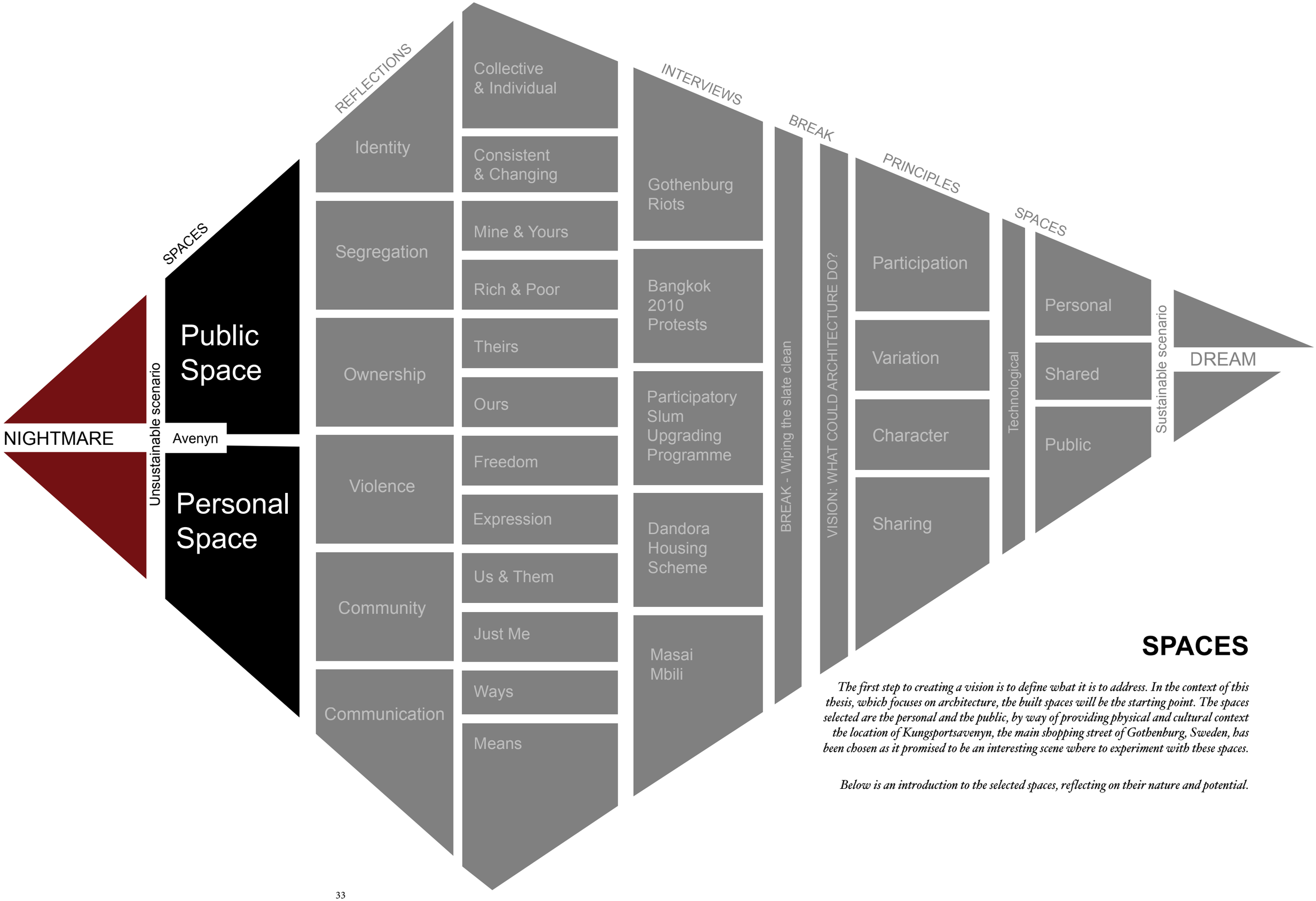
Increased focus on direct profitability on every city function and reduced services given to citizens by the city has resulted in a feeling of public discontent and frustration. Sense of identification, ownership and pride in the city is nil, the public opinion is one of being used to achieve wealth for a select few at the top. Rents have skyrocketed while income and job opportunities remain scarce. A steady influx of new people to the city, searching for jobs and opportunities, has resulted in a large population of unemployed, displaced people.

The city focuses on commercial opportunities, you are not welcome into the city center without consuming. Those who are not wealthy have few opportunities to engage with the city and feel it is theirs. Having tiny, shared apartments outside the city, long commutes with expensive transport and no public spaces to use for free, citizens feel cornered and exploited.

There are no channels for communicating the frustration constructively, people don't know how to change the situation and afford living in the city and using the city. When there are no jobs and the sitation stays the same without signs of improving people start despairing. Their quality of life is linked to income, in everything from buying food to affording good education. There is no solidarity, only competition.

Segregated strata form and grow within the city, creating huge disparities between rich and poor, those who may and those who may not, those who's interests are considered and those who are invisible. The inbalance keeps on growing until the social and economical inequalities finally reaches a tipping point and triggers citizens taking to the streets, venting their discontent and frustration through violence, this seeming the only option for expression left which causes a reaction and response. Citizens siege the city, taking what was not given, occupying space which in theory should be theirs, waging war against the city and what it has come to symbolize.

As Avenyn burns, it becomes a symbol for how a city catering to all its citizens is required. A city which responds to limited personal space as the citizenship is increasing, prevents income determining quality of life, provides communication channels that react quickly to what people want and which enables visible results of the process, and improving quality of life for all through reorganizing the spaces and access to the city.



SPACES

The first step to creating a vision is to define what it is to address. In the context of this thesis, which focuses on architecture, the built spaces will be the starting point. The spaces selected are the personal and the public, by way of providing physical and cultural context the location of Kungsportsavenyn, the main shopping street of Gothenburg, Sweden, has been chosen as it promised to be an interesting scene where to experiment with these spaces.

Below is an introduction to the selected spaces, reflecting on their nature and potential.

SETTING

A sustainable city is economically, environmentally and socially well-balanced, ensuring a high quality of life for all its citizens. Currently citizens spend their time working for the city, making sacrifices in terms of space and time for the privilege of living in an urban environment and taking part of its benefits. In this, the balance between the personal space and the public space is a key factor: If the economic part of it is prioritized public spaces risk being treated as places solely associated with profit and the ownership of this space be transferred from the public to commercial actors, giving the impression of a city which does not care for its citizens, only its customers. The public space would no longer belong to the public and common spaces which don't place a demand on the citizens would be removed. In terms of environmental balance, living in a dense city implies space is limited, meaning incorporating all wanted amenities in a personal space is unsustainable, expensive and largely unattainable for the masses. This indeed seems to be the behaviour of the perfect consumer but not of a future urban citizen dealing with issues such as energy consumption. Regarding the third aspect of sustainability; if the social aspects of public spaces which act as glue inbetween the various parts of the city are neglected these risk becoming separate disconnected islands segregating the population. In addition to this, as public spaces are the venues available for being "public", congregating in numbers with people you may not know but who share something with you, be it a need or a grudge, these places are also connected to democratic processes which allow the opinions of the public to be seen and heard. Balanced cities ought then to enable citizens adequate personal space as well as access to and use of public spaces which connect the city, support sharing of resources as well as allow for a democratic visibility of opinions and actions. In this way public space act as an indication of the sustainability of cities, mirroring both the attitude of city governance and the satisfaction of its inhabitants.

Key in this discussion is the relationship between the personal and the public space, a balance which has changed over history and currently, due to the rapidly expanding population of the world's cities, is in transition. This thesis aims to identify some of the aspects which need to be considered in dealing with achieving a sustainable balance of these spaces in future cities.

We cannot keep adding people to a space without eventually saturating it, having to reduce the private area of each individual. Also, people come with an assortment of perifernalia; furniture, clothes, pets, dishwashers... that also need to be housed. The urban rich may afford a large apartment housing all sorts of conveniences, from microwaves to swimmingpools, regardless of the location, but the less rich have to prioritize: which are the necessities; can we do with a 2 room apartment? Can we do with a two plate gas cooker instead of a kitchen? This situation of our modern cities is a backlash reminicent of the early industrialist era, where large families shared small, badly equipped apartments[38]. Swedish living standard was in the 1930's among the lowest in Europe, a situation tackled by the social democratic government via rational building techniques and a strong engagement from the state[39]. The manifesto *"Accept!"* (from the world exhibition in Stockholm 1930) was a major inspiration, listing the qualities of the home as being *"Good, roomy and comfortable"*[40], for fulfilling the functions of *"gathering, work and rest"*.[41] *"Accept!"* became a physical interpretation of the political ideas behind the creation of the Swedish "folkhem"[42], which largely succeeded in creating high standard homes for the Swedish population[43]. The situation today however seems to require a different approach.

Where the Swedish ideas of the 30's centered around raising the *individual* living standard, this implies having the space to accomodate the asssociated necessities of modern life, rending it too expensive for a majority of citizens and correlating directly to income,

38 Ola Nylander, *Bostaden som arkitektur*, (Stockholm, Sweden: AB Svensk Byggtjanst, 1999) p.24
39 Nylander, p.24
40 Ibid
41 Ibid
42 Author note: lit. "Home for the people"
43 Nylander, p.25

which in turn opens up a can of worms considering which groups are able to attain and maintain that income and standard of living. Hopefully the majority of future architects and planners do not want to build cities catering only to the 1%. The approach of the 21st century seem to require a different approach, raising the living standards for the city as a whole, taking into consideration the city as a system while still maintaining a high quality of life for all its individual citizens. In this architects and planners need to consider their options. If personal space is diminishing one option could be to focus more on the shared space. Alex Steffen compares the situation with that of shared products: *"The average home power drill is used somewhere between six and 20 minutes in its entire lifetime, depending on who you ask. And so what we do is we buy these drills that have a potential capacity of thousands of hours of drill time, use them once or twice to put a hole in the wall and let them sit. Our cities, I would put to you, are stockpiles of surplus capacities. And while we could try and figure out new ways to use those capacities -- such as cooking or making ice sculptures or even a mafia hit -- what we probably will find is that, in fact, turning those products into services that we have access to when we want them, is a far smarter way to go. And in fact, even space itself is turning into a service. We're finding that people can share the same spaces, do stuff with vacant space."* [44] By moving functions to the public space or create more shared spaces we could possibly utilize these capacities more efficiently, and possibly use this as a tool to create a more economically equal situation in cities, where everyone can afford rent without missing out on the standard of life a city may provide because necessary services no longer need to be incoorporated in the personal space.

The concept of balancing limited personal space with qualities and services in the public is not new. While Sweden in the early 1930's focused on raising the living standard of individuals[45], the Soviet Union had examples of focusing on raising the living standard of the collective. In Leningrad 1932, an observer[46] comments on the text displayed on the curtain of the city's "People's theatre", which proudly stated the investments in the public space: *"As a reward for Leningrad so splendidly completing its five year plan in only four years, Leningrad will now become the first "socialist city". In 1932 the government of the communal building activity in our town have appointed 290 million rubel to build: 1200000m2 habitation, 450 new trams, 55 new tramlines, 2915 new cars, 40 electric buses, 85m2 new waterpipes, 450000m2 new paving, 5 bath houses, 3 laundry houses, and a new leisure park on the Islands"*[47] In the opinion of the observer the attitude of the Soviet people seems to be one of more interest for the state and the public than the Swedish, considering this display of investment personally relevant "*...his trams, his laundry houses, the city belongs to him, is his property, also because he has not previously had any of this"*[48] Written in the early 30's, without hindsight as a friend, this enthusiasm may seem overwhelming and naive. It is however an interesting document to regard in terms of how the built environment strongly can reflect and support political ideas, affecting the attitude towards what is mine, what is yours and what is ours. Interestingly, the observer lists a parallell to the situation with the cramped, miserable quarters of the industrialisation and modern day cities (the growth of the city bring an influx of new citizens, squeezing into *"everywhere with a roof and four walls"*[49]) but means this in Leningrad was accepted as the prize people were willing to pay to live in a large, living city, and that it is countered by the feeling of being meaningful and having the new improvements of the city to look forward too.[50]

The nightmare scenario is inspired by the dynamics between the personal and the public space, and aimed to illustrate how an unsustainable imbalance between these could feel. The basis for the inspiration to this and the potential for experimenting with the balance is further elaborated in the sections following the nightmare scenario. But first, let's define the selected spaces, starting by what is closest to you.

44 Alex Steffen, Tedtalks, *The shareable future of cities*, www.ted.com/talks/alex_steffen.html (22 Jan, 2012)
45 Although this was not of course the sole focus of the social democrats, they also invested heavily in the public space, creating a series of "People's parks", "People's houses", "People's Theatres" whereof many still are in use today.
46 That is, B. Idestam-Almquist.
47 Robin Hood (B. Idestam-Almquist), *Landet som skall skratta*, (Stockholm, Sweden: Bokforlaget Natur och Kultur, 1932) p.68
48 Hood, p.68
49 Hood, p.69
50 Ibid

PERSONAL SPACE

DEFINITION

Personal space is the region around a person which they consider psychologically theirs. The concept is based on the idea that your sense of self does not stop at skin level, but can expand or retract to define a psychological zone that defines boundaries and actions.[51] This space is described as a sort of psychological bubble and can be conceived as a series of shells that not only represent our relation to the environment but also determine a process of differentiation between us and the world. The first of these being our clothes, then in succession follows our body movements, apartment, neighbourhood, city, region, nation and lastly the world.[52] (see the "identity", "ownership" and "community" reflections below for implications of this).

The anthropologist Edward T. Hall introduced the concept of "proxemics" in the 1960's, defining it as *"the study of man's perceptions and use of space"*[53]. There are more than twenty major aspects of proxemics, including eye-contact, facial expression, smells, body warmth, gender, number of people involved, subject matter, goals of the communication and culture, for which our use of space is continuously and automatically adjusted.[54] Generally, proxemics research findings have discovered that allowing somebody to enter your personal space or entering somebody else's personal space are indicators of how you perceive your relationship: there is an intimate zone reserved for lovers, children and close family members, another zone used for conversations with friends, to chat with associates, and in group discussions; a further zone is reserved for strangers, newly formed groups, and new acquaintances; and a fourth zone is used for speeches, lectures, and theater; essentially, public distance is the range reserved for larger audiences.[55]

51 Gustave-Nicolas Fischer, *Individuals and environment: a psychosocial approach to workspace*, (Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 1997) p.16
52 Fischer, p.17
53 Edward T. Hall, *Proxemics*, Current Anthropology, Vol 9, 2/3, The University of Chicago Press (April/June 1968)
54 Mike Sheppard, *Proxemics*, www.cs.unm.edu/-sheppard/proxemics.htm, (March 20, 2012)
55 Isa N. Engleberg, *Working in Groups: Communication Principles and Strategies*, My Communication Kit Series, (2006) p.140-141

56

Four general categories of distances relating to social use of space have been noted:

-Intimate: where an intrusion is seen as aggression

-Personal: for friendly relationships and private conversation

-Social: for everyday social relations

-Public: for more solemn, official occasions. [57]

FUNCTION

The psychological effects of having your personal space breached inappropriately, that is by someone you do not want to allow within this space, is recognized in psychology as a cause for discomfort[58], examples include somebody sitting down across from you or next to you in an otherwise empty cafeteria or standing to close in an elevator. Most people feel anxiety or even anger when their personal space is breached (see "violence" below for more on this).[59] The personal space is here an invisible boundary which seems to serve both protective and communicative functions. It has been described as a buffer zone, serving as a mechanism regulating social interaction. In addition to proximity due to intimacy inbetween family, friend or lovers, people usually sit and stand closer to people who are similar to themselves in race, age, or socioeconomic status.[60]

In *"History of Private Life, Volume V: Riddles of Identity in Modern Times"* the authors traces a clear line from how in modern times society has moved from an entirely-public to an almost entirely-private way of life[61] In modern society, especially in crowded urban communities, it is at times difficult to maintain personal space, as we need to share crowded spaces such as shopping streets, elevators or trains. The need for personal space in such a public setting as a city has led to various mechanisms by which individuals "protect" themselves by creating their own personal space in the midst of a crowd.[62] Even though a breach in our personal space seem to have negative consequences such as discomfort, anxiety and even violence, research[63] points out that people in some cultures seem to learn to cope with high density and also share their ways of coping with others. People in crowded cities such as Tokyo and Hong Kong interact more harmoniously than North Americans and Britons, who dwell in less dense cities (see "density" below for more on this).

Although personal space relates to our psychological and physical proximity to others it is

56 Wikipedia, *Personal Space*, upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/35/Personal_Space.svg/1000px-Personal_Space.svg.png, (Feb. 5, 2012)
57 Gustave-Nicolas Fischer, *Individuals and environment: a psychosocial approach to workspace*, (Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), p.17
58 Jeffrey S. Nevid, Spencer A. Rathus, *Psychology and the Challenges of Life*, (John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2010) p. 102
59 Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, Mendeley, Volume: 6, Issue: 1, Publisher: Doubleday, (1966) p. 94–94
60 Jeffrey S. Nevid, Spencer A. Rathus, *Psychology and the Challenges of Life*, (John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2010) p. 102
61 Phillippe Ariès, Georges Duby, Paul Veyne, Arthur Goldhammer, *History Of Private Life, Volume V: Riddles Of Identity In Modern Times,* (Harvard, US: Harvard College, 1991) (Feb 5, 2012)
62 Wikipedia, *Personal Space*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Personal_space, (Feb. 5, 2012)
63 Jeffrey S. Nevid, Spencer A. Rathus, *Psychology and the Challenges of Life*, (John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2010) p. 102

also associated with the concept of "home" and private life (although it is not clear whether this has the same distinction and boundaries at all levels of society[64]). The home is commonly the place where we retreat and take refuge, containing our possessions, our family and the functions by which we handle our personal needs and hide things from public view. Most modern day households contain sanitary facilities, means to prepare food, places to rest and store personal property.[65] An essential aspect of the home is its restoring properties such as sleep, food or social bonding with family. To fulfill this function, it follows that the private space needs to provide some privacy where these activities can take place. Therefore homes usually consist of an en enclosed space, often with varying degrees of openness depending on time of day and activities within (drawing of curtains, opening of doors etc).

Another aspect to the home is shown in sayings such as "home is where the heart is", "home is where you hang your hat" or "this feels like home", where home is not defined as a physical location but instead a mental state associated with a state of refuge or comfort (see "identity" below for expansion on this). An interesting, last comment on the home is its varied relation to being independent of interventions from governmental or other institutions.

In summary, critical functions of the personal space are seen to be:

- Differentiating between our self's and the world
- Physically representing our self's, our homes.
- Providing a space of refuge, recuperation, storage and privacy

64 Phillippe Ariès, Georges Duby, Paul Veyne, Arthur Goldhammer, *History Of Private Life, Volume V: Riddles Of Identity In Modern Times,* (Harvard, US: Harvard College, 1991) (Feb 5, 2012)

65 Wikipedia, *Home*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Home (Feb 2, 2012)

PUBLIC SPACE

DEFINITION

Public space on the other hand is an area where accessibility is inclusive, where everyone is allowed to come independent of gender, race, ethnicity, race, economic or social levels. Public space consist of many key components of the city, including streets and pavements, parks, townsquares and some buildings such as public libraries. In Nordic countries all nature areas are considered public due to the law "allemansratten", which states the right to common passage. In his 2012 book *"Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance"*[66] John R. Parkinson offers a four-fold definition of public space as space which:

"1. is openly accessible; and/or

2. uses common resources; and/or

3. has common effects; and/or

4. is used for the performance of public roles"[67]

FUNCTION AND TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

In the above definition, the idea that it is ownership that defines whether space is public or private is abandoned, as ownership turns out not to track the other categories (see discussion on this under "ownership" below). Parkinson continues by arguing that democracy requires public space in the sense that it is used for the performance of public roles (see "community" and "communication" below for more on the relation between public space and democracy)[68]. Public space is thus an important physical aspect of cities where all citizens are allowed to interact freely.

Stephen Carr, a pioneer in the research on public spaces, describes public space as *"the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community [...] it is the stage where the drama of communal life unfolds."* Similarly Holland et al. (Holland et al. 2007) note that public spaces *"allow people to meet on ostensibly neutral*

66 John R. Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University press, 2012)

67 John R. Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University press, 2012) p. 15-16

68 Ibid

ground in planned and unplanned ways, to interact with others within the context of the whole community."[69] This aspect of public spaces relate to sense of community and identity.

In considering the balance betweeen the personal and public space, an essential aspect is which qualities the public space add to the city. The following is based on an article regarding community informatics (also incorporating community psychology, architecture, environmental behavior, social networking, and ubiquitous computing) as well as an investigation on the main features of successful social spaces:

- *Community and time-sharing.* Because of benefits that public spaces offer, they are usually occupied with many different people that often belong to diverse social groups and communities. Sometimes these groups "time-share" public spaces out of convenience since they might be available at different times, but more often, different communities "time-share" public spaces in order to avoid others. A typical example would be elderly citizens and teenagers (Holland et al. 2007). This inability to co-share public space at the same time sometimes even forces certain groups to move from their preferred space and find the one where they would be left a lone, e.g., within the "gray" or "slack" areas, such as remote hallways or walkways (Gehl & Matan 2009). As Holland et al. (Holland et al. 2007) conclude, public places should promote the "provision of difference", i.e., they should be able to cater to the needs of different groups successfully and in a concurrent way, and should not be promoting social homogeneity. They furthermore point out that *"being able to be seen in public and to be able to see different types of social groups may go some way to enabling everyone, and children and young people in particular, to observe difference, and thereby perhaps, promote tolerance for social diversity."*[70] The use of public spaces varies according to the time of day and day of the week, and is affected by what is on offer in a particular place at a particular time. In one town centre studied there was a clear rhythm to the day, with older people shopping in the central market early on, children and young people out at the end of the school day, and young adults dominating the town centre at night. Some groups may be self-segregating in their use of different public spaces at different times, with social norms affecting how and whether people engage with others. Public spaces are a particular and distinct resource for young people looking to socialise with others. However, groups of young people are sometimes perceived as having antisocial intentions, which in many cases is simply not true. Retailing and commercial leisure activities dominate town centres, and though public space can act as a 'social glue' the research found that in some places 'the society that is being held together is a stratified one, in which some groups are routinely privileged over others' (Holland et al, 2006). So, for instance, young and older people are discouraged from frequenting shopping areas by lack of seating or (for groups of younger people) by being "moved on". It is also important for policy-makers and practitioners to recognise that so-called marginal or problem groups, such as young people, are also a part of the community. Definitions of 'community' that exclude particular groups are of questionable legitimacy in the long term. Regeneration strategies or policing approaches intended to 'design out crime' can end up 'designing out' people. Approaches that strip public spaces of all features vulnerable to vandalism or misuse actively discourage local distinctiveness and public amenity.[71]

- *Connections Within Local Communities.* Traditionally, communities were formed within a small geographical region where neighbors bumped into each other on the streets, i.e., in public space, to share the latest news, help with a heavy grocery bag, or just 'hang out'. These activities, in turn, helped in creating the common identity (Clark 2007). Unfortunately, today's highly mobile lifestyles make this harder: people relocate more often than they used to 20 years ago, more time is spent in commuting from/to

69 Nemanja Memarovic, Marc Langheinrich, Florian Alt, CIRN Prato Community Informatics Conference 2011, *Connecting People through Content – Promoting Community Identity Cognition through People and Places*, pd-net.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/memarovic-CI2011.pdf, (March 5, 2012)

70 Ibid

71 Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *The social value of public spaces*, www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/2050-public-space-community.pdf (March 10, 2012)

work, and spare time is often spent traveling to distant places (Clark 2007). The "common identity" and integration that existed within the communal life tends to get lost. Although we today's have a plethora of ways to stay in touch with friends and family through mobile phones, email, and social networking services, getting to know people who live right next to you seems to get harder. Although your Facebook account could potentially contain all your friends it still might fail to help you out with a tablespoon of sugar when you need one (Boyd & Ellison 2007).[72] John R. Parkinson supports this in his *'Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance"* where he in response to the argument that the requirement for physical public space is overstated, as democracy could simply move online, highlights the losses for communication when that occurs and the reliance on physical events by the media, pointing out the crucial confusion between medium and message that underlies the objection.[73] Public spaces (including high streets, street markets, shopping precincts, community centres, parks, playgrounds, and neighbourhood spaces in residential areas) play a vital role in the social life of communities. They act as a 'self-organising public service', a shared resource in which experiences and value are created (Mean and Tims, 2005). These social advantages may not be obvious to outsiders or public policy-makers. The research challenges several current government policy assumptions concerning public space. The 'urban renaissance' agenda appears too concerned with matters of urban design, as well as being distinctly metropolitan in character. The majority of public spaces that people use are local spaces they visit regularly, often quite banal in design, or untidy in their activities or functions (such as street markets and car boot sales), but which nevertheless retain important social functions. Public spaces offer benefits such as the 'feel-good' buzz from being part of a busy street scene; the therapeutic benefits of quiet time spent on a park bench; places where people can display their culture and identities and learn awareness of diversity and difference; opportunities for children and young people to meet, play or simply 'hang out'. All have important benefits and help to create local attachments, which are at the heart of a sense of community.[74]

- *Connections among Distributed Communities.* Although we relocate more often than we used to, we still like to remain connected to our own geographical roots, and to the public life within them. Some places, e.g., Washington Monument and the Statue of Liberty (Carr et al. 1992), even have the ability to emit connections that exists within a larger society. Public spaces are one of the core drivers that enable people to connect or re-connect within larger communities. However, as previously mentioned, today's high rate of mobility often leads to people physically disconnecting from such local roots. Although today's information and communication technologies allow people to join online social networks that provide one way to connect distributed members, their "hiding-behind-a-screen" access model might not be enough to stir up the feeling of belonging. Recent research points out the benefits of mixing the online and offline communities (Matzat 2010). There might be cases where having too strong a focus on a particular community can potentially weaken the sense of community. For example, in remote communities, such as rural villages, we can often see their members feeling "left out" and having desires to see "what lies beyond" their part of the world (Jones et al. 2008). Connecting such isolated groups to other communities might be beneficial: not only could it "spice" up the social life, but it could also help to instill a new sense of "connectedness" and camaraderie by reflecting and confirming the community's uniqueness within "the world"[75]

Jan Gehl distinguishes between necessary/functional activities, optional/recreational

72 Nemanja Memarovic, Marc Langheinrich, Florian Alt, CIRN Prato Community Informatics Conference 2011, *Connecting People through Content – Promoting Community Identity Cognition through People and Places*, pd-net.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/memarovic-CI2011.pdf, (March 5, 2012)

73 Parkinson, p. 15-16

74 Nemanja Memarovic, Marc Langheinrich, Florian Alt, CIRN Prato Community Informatics Conference 2011, *Connecting People through Content – Promoting Community Identity Cognition through People and Places*, pd-net.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/memarovic-CI2011.pdf, (March 5, 2012)

75 Ibid

activities and social activities in public spaces. While necessary activities take place regardless of the quality of the physical environment, optional activities depend to a significant degree on what the place has to offer and how it makes people behave and feel about it. The better a place, the more optional activity occurs and the longer necessary activity lasts. Social activity is the fruit of the quality and length of the other types of activities, because it occurs spontaneously when people meet in a particular place. Social activities include children's play, greetings and conversations, communal activities of various kinds, and simply seeing and hearing other people. Communal spaces in cities and residential areas become meaningful and attractive when all activities of all types occur in combination and feed off each other."[76]

GENERAL GUIDELINES

The study of a wide variety of public spaces in Cardiff, Preston and Swindon (Mean and Tims 2005) suggested the following 'rules of engagement' were important in creating shared social spaces:

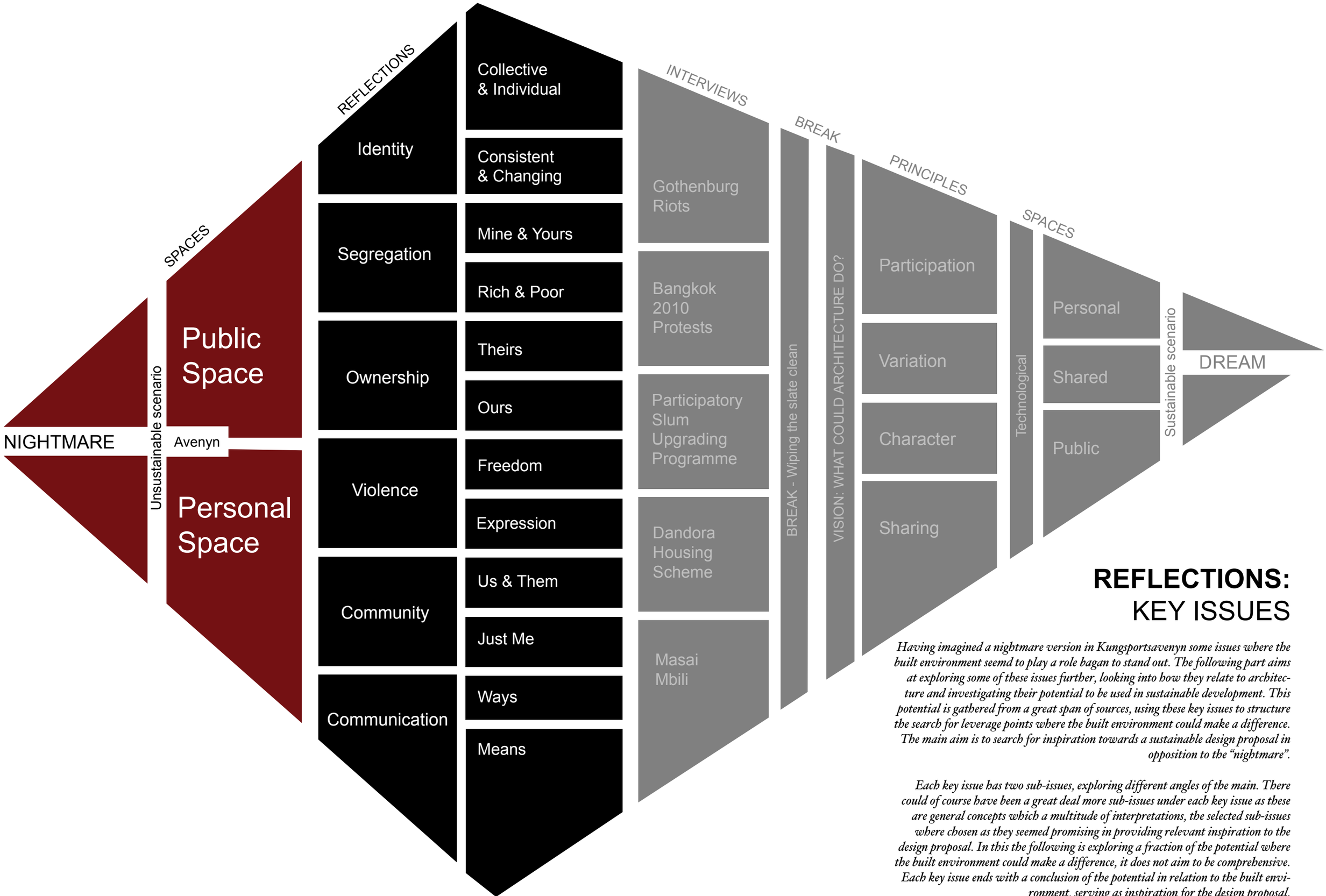
- Access and availability –good physical access, welcoming spaces and extended opening hours;
- Invitations by peers and others – embedded in social networks to encourage use;
- Exchange-based relationships – moving beyond consumerism to participation in the exchange of goods and services;
- Choreography of spaces by discreet good management while also leaving room for selforganisation;
- Moving beyond mono-cultures – encouraging diverse groups and activities to share common spaces; and
- Avoiding over-regulation of design and space, as security and well-being are more likely to grow out of active use.
- Having features that attracted visitors to the site;
- An active and engaged community of traders to provide goods for sale and contribute to the social scene;
- Opportunities to linger through the provision of cafés and food vans or 'comfort zones'[77]

"The success of a particular public space is not solely in the hands of the architect, urban designer or town planner; it relies also on people adopting, using and managing the space – people make places, more than places make people."[78]

THE SHARED SPACE

Inbetween the private/personal and the public spaces are shared areas such as theatres, stores, cafes, where everyone (although "everyone" is debatable) is allowed if they are able to pay. These areas are sometimes referred to as "semi-public". Besides these commercial venues there are transitional spaces inbetween the private/personal space and the public, mainly corresponding to common needs (such as laundryrooms), where different forms of social interaction are facilitated. An important function of the semi-public spaces is to loosen the social boundaries of who is within your personal space, and who is considered belonging outside.

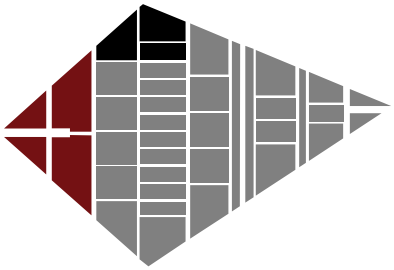
76 Project for Public Spaces, *Jan Gehl*, www.pps.org/articles/jgehl/ (March 3, 2012)
77 Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *The social value of public spaces*, www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/2050-public-space-community.pdf (March 10, 2012)
78 Ibid



REFLECTIONS: KEY ISSUES

Having imagined a nightmare version in Kungsportsavenyn some issues where the built environment seemd to play a role bagan to stand out. The following part aims at exploring some of these issues further, looking into how they relate to architecture and investigating their potential to be used in sustainable development. This potential is gathered from a great span of sources, using these key issues to structure the search for leverage points where the built environment could make a difference. The main aim is to search for inspiration towards a sustainable design proposal in opposition to the "nightmare".

Each key issue has two sub-issues, exploring different angles of the main. There could of course have been a great deal more sub-issues under each key issue as these are general concepts which a multitude of interpretations, the selected sub-issues where chosen as they seemed promising in providing relevant inspiration to the design proposal. In this the following is exploring a fraction of the potential where the built environment could make a difference, it does not aim to be comprehensive. Each key issue ends with a conclusion of the potential in relation to the built environment, serving as inspiration for the design proposal.



IDENTITY

In the nightmare scenario identity is uniform and associated with your finances. In terms of identity particularly two areas stand out as possibly being affected by the built environment: The collective vs the individual identity and the consistent vs the changing identity. These are explored below in terms of how the public or personal space could support our sense of identity.

COLLECTIVE & INDIVIDUAL

The question "where are you from?" indicates more than geographic origin. Based on the answer to this question we are often able to determine a persons social, economical and even political status. Being from New York evokes different connotations than being from Plzen. The identity of a city is associated with the identity of its citizens, reflected in the prejudice we exhibit when reacting to the answer to this simple question. Our individual identity can in this way be linked to a collective identity of a place, as the character of the physical location where we are from indicates whether you are rich or poor, young or old, as well as more complex identity associations such as coming from "the projects" or "the suburbs" or "the gay quarters", which aside from socio-economic status also can bear associations to sub-cultures.

In a way, the collective identity of a city or neighbourhood is branding you. You as a resident of a place become associated with the identity of the place, it rubs off on you: if you come from Compton people may think you're carrying a gun, if you live on Boulevard Haussmann it might be assumed you can afford to go to the classy restaurants. Where you live makes people have assumptions on who you are. This kind of branding of you as an individual is dependent on the branding of your neighbourhood or city, if the branding at this level changes then your own branding becomes affected. There are many examples of how city planners and architects have tried to rebrand a place which has had a negative reputation but the most famous, and arguably the most successful, could be New York. In the 70's New York had the reputation of being an extremely dangerous place, violent and polluted, hostile and chaotic. In 1977, an extensive blackout prompted sustained rioting and looting, resulting in 4,500 arrests, *"Crime was at its highest level in the history of the city,"* says Robert McGuire, who was NYC's police commissioner from 1978 to 1983. *"There was a crack-cocaine epidemic, and certain neighbourhoods like the Lower East Side and parts of the Bronx had totally deteriorated. We had a city out of control. It was the Wild West."*[79] The graphic designer Milton Glaser was hired to change the image of the city and promote tourism, coming up with the I (heart) NY logo. In an interview with Chip Kidd from 2003 he reminices:

"CK: God, I can't imagine. At the time you got the assignment, did it really feel like, "Shit, New York is doomed"?

MG: Well, it was the mid-seventies, a terrible moment in the city. Morale was at the bottom of the pit. I always say you can tell by the amount of dog shit in the street.

CK: Dog shit.

79 The Telegraph, *Milton Glaser: his heart was in the right place*, www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/art-features/8303867/Milton-Glaser-his-heart-was-in-the-right-place.html, (March 25,2012)

MG: Yes. There was so much dog shit because people didn't feel that they deserved anything else, right? I mean you were just walking through all this dog shit day after day, in this filthy city, garbage, and so on. And then the most extraordinary thing happened: There was a shift in sensibility. One day people said, "I'm tired of stepping in dog shit. Get this fucking stuff out of my way." And the city began to react. They said, "If you allow your dog to crap on the street, you have to pay a fine of $100," and within a very short time it became socially untenable to allow your dog to shit on the street. Now, I don't know what produces those behavioral shifts, right? From one day where it's OK, and then suddenly the city simultaneously got fed up and said, "It's our city, we're going to take it back, we're not going to allow this stuff to happen." And part of that moment was this campaign."[80]

Launched in 1977, the "I love NY" design became one of the most recognizable logos of any city in the world. The campaign was so successful it was plastered on everything from coffee mugs, to buttons, to bumper stickers. John Lennon and other boldfaced names have all been famously photographed wearing T-shirts emblazoned with the slogan, and the state still sells official "I Love NY" merchandise today.[81] The logo became a banner under which to feel a common identity in the city. A feeling of "yes, we are different but we all live in this city, we all love it despite all it's flaws" The branding of New York succeeded in helping the inhabitants feel the common identity of being parts of the city, and precisely by being so diverse adding to the character of the place they loved. The rebranding of New York was of course not solely due to the logo, serious initiatives to deal with the city's problems where part of the deal, but the common visual symbol helped support a common identity that was positive.

When we think of cities, we tend to refer to distinctive neighborhoods and characteristic housing[82], all bear connotations and expectations regarding character and identity of both the place and it's people. The public space, being a very visible aspect of cities and the arena for public life, plays an important role in forming this identiy. Being the "face" of a place it has the added value of informing us who we are and what our role is within the city, affecting the general mood of a city as it correlates with the feeling of communality and the way we consider ourselves in relation to our fellow citizens. As James Howard Kunstler phrases it in his "dissection of suburbia": *"...The public realm has to inform us not only where we are geographically, but it has to inform us where we are in our culture. Where we've come from, what kind of people we are. By doing that, it needs to afford us a glimpse to where we're going in order to allow us to dwell in a hopeful present. And if there is one great catastrophe about the places that we've built, the human environments we've made for ourselves in the last 50 years, it is that it has deprived us of the ability to live in a hopeful present."*[83] A city where the sense of communality and common identity is constantly reinforced through the visibility and casual interaction inbetween different groups and individuals improves the feeling of security by integrating its citizens, reducing tension and avoiding different stratas of the city considering eachother enemies. The built environment plays a large role in this, through emplying the vocabularies, grammars, syntaxes, rythms and patterns of architecture it informs us who we are, indicates functions and status of places and, associated with the places, people. This body of knowledge is called "Civic Design"[84]. Kunstler continues:*"Your ability to create places that are meaningful and places of quality and character depends entirely on your ability to define space with buildings (...) The public realm in America has two roles: It is the dwelling place of our civilization and our civic*

80 Believermag, *Chip Kidd [Graphic Designer] Talks With Milton Glaser [Graphic Designer],* www.believermag.com/issues/200309/?read=interview_glaser (March 24, 2012)

81 Gotham Gazette, *I sell New York*, www.gothamgazette.com/article/issueoftheweek/20030315/200/312 (March 24, 2012)

82 Affordable Housing Institute, *Housing is the linchpin of cities*, affordablehousinginstitute.org/blogs/us/2007/12/housing-is-the-linchpin-of-cities.html, (March 2, 2102)

83 TedTalks, *James Howard Kunstler dissects suburbia*, www.ted.com/talks/james_howard_kunstler_dissects_suburbia.html, (March 2, 2012)

84 Ibid

life, and it is the physical manifestation of the common good. And when you degrade the public realm, you will automatically degrade the quality of your civic life, and the character of all the enactments of your public life and communal life that take place there."[85]

Establishing roots in a new place, especially if you do not stay in the place for long, can be hard. Public space has the potential of promoting symbols for common identities, be it monuments such as the Eiffel tower or a more encompassing character such as the Montmartre streetscape. In this way a potential of the built environment to support identity could be via conscious symbolism in the built environment. Symbolism for belonging, for having connections to and influence over the place. Visual symbols which say: "this is my block, this is my street, I may just have moved in but I belong to a community with a particular character". In the interview below with the art collective Masai Mbili Gomba and Ashif are discussing the way art has changed their part of Kibera (the largest slum in East Africa)

"Gomba: (...) before Masai Mbili was really something, before it became household name it was...art was really something that was just underground in Kibera, not many people appreciated art, not many people wanted to associate with that. And that is like... only crazy people doing their own stuff. But since we have done a lot of things in the community, and people want to brand themselves as artists, people call themselves like "we are artists" while initially it was that people were more identifying with...people wanted to be more of a gangster.

Ashif: We have everywhere graffitis of "keep peace" "keep peace" "keep peace". It's like using advertisement, were branding our part of Kibera."[86]

Identity likewise is an important factor in relation to the personal space, as individual identity psychologically coincides strongest geographically with a dwelling, to the concept of "home". Usually the sense of home attenuates as one moves away from that point, but it does not do so in a fixed or regular way.[87] The state of a person's home may influence behavior, emotions, and overall mental health and the loss of a home (due to whatever reason, be it through accident or natural disaster, repossession, or in the case of children simply the decision to move from their parents) can be a valid cause of relocation. Some people may become homesick when they leave their home over an extended period of time, even causing actual symptoms of illness. Homes can trigger self-reflection, thoughts about who one is or used to be or who one might become. These types of reflections also occur in places where there is a collective historical identity, such as Gettysburg or Ground Zero.[88] The personal and the public space also relates to our behaviour and actions depending on our class. Some actions, such as doing laundry in public, are deemed acceptable depending on which class you belong to. Edward Hall's theory of proxemics,mentioned under "personal space" above, suggests that people will maintain differing degrees of personal distance depending on the social setting and their cultural backgrounds.[89]

In the nightmare scenario identity associated with consumption. What you are able to consume defines your individual identity as well as your collective identity and social status and privileges to use the city. Liberty has come to mean having the freedom to as an individual choose what to consume. You have the liberty to starve or prosper, and responsibility for only yourself. There is no overarching community of collaboration, you do not feel part of something bigger, instead considering whomever is not included in your socio-economic bracket a threat to your security. The spaces where your life takes place are either personal homes, which exclude those not within your personal sphere, or commercial venues open

85 Ibid
86 See full interview in Appendix E
87 S. Terkenli, *Home as a Region*, Geographical Review. 85.3: (1995) p. 324-334.
88 Douglas Burton-Christie, *Place-Making as Contemplative Practice*, Anglican Theological Reviews 91.3: (2009) p. 347-371.
89 Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, Mendeley, Volume: 6, Issue: 1, Publisher: Doubleday, (1966) p. 94–94

to only those who have the resources to use them. The public space is phased out as there really is no public, no sense of us: the public. Instead places are built to cater for individuals making their choices without consideration for others. If personal space has the potential of supporting our personal identity and public space has the potential of indicating a collective identity, what could this have for effect in a scenario where the public space has been commericalized in this manner?

In a lecture at Oxford in 1958 Isaiah Berlin expanded on the concepts of positive and negative liberty, which relates to the above in terms of how they are linked to identity choices. In it, he discusses two concepts of liberty, one relating to being the master of your life, the other concerned with which doors lie open to you.[90] In essence:

"Negative liberty is the absence of obstacles, barriers or constraints. One has negative liberty to the extent that actions are available to one in this negative sense. Positive liberty is the possibility of acting — or the fact of acting — in such a way as to take control of one's life and realize one's fundamental purposes. While negative liberty is usually attributed to individual agents, positive liberty is sometimes attributed to collectivities, or to individuals considered primarily as members of given collectivities"[91]

In the scenario identity is associated with income, what you can afford defines you and determines whether and in that case how you can use the city. It interestingly has connections both to positive and negative liberty; the positive being having the range of options available for a consumer, limited in the sense that the venues available only permits certain actions; the negative liberty lays in, at least superficially, being free to choose, not being limited by external restraints. This contradiction can be exemplified through the following story: Imagine you are driving a car through town and you come to a fork in the road. You turn left, but no one was forcing you to go one way or the other. Next you come to a crossroads. You turn right, but no one was preventing you from going left or straight on. There is no traffic to speak of and there are no diversions or police roadblocks. So you seem as a driver to be completely free. But this picture of your situation might change quite dramatically if we consider that the reason you went left and then right is that you're addicted to cigarettes and you're desperate to get to the tobacconists before it closes. Rather than driving, you feel you are being driven, as your urge to smoke leads you uncontrollably to turn the wheel first to the left and then to the right. Moreover, you're perfectly aware that your turning right at the crossroads means you'll probably miss a train that was to take you to an appointment you care about very much. You long to be free of this irrational desire that is not only threatening your longevity but is also stopping you right now from doing what you think you ought to be doing.[92] Having a built environment focusing on the equivalent of tobacconists then would seem to superficially allow freedom to choose but by by determining the choices actually limiting the liberty. In the scenario of a commercialized public space, there is no liberty other than the liberty to choose where to shop. The idea of individual and collective identity based on consumer choices are deceptive as it on the surface implies full freedom to choose but at the same time determines which choices are available as your income is the determinant of your privileges and right to space. How could the built environment open doors while preventing determining which doors to build? In other words; the choices you provide affect the choices people make.

90 Isaiah Berlin (1958), *Two Concepts of Liberty*, www.cas.umt.edu/phil/faculty/walton/Berlin2Concepts.pdf (February 2, 2012)
91 Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, *Positive and Negative Liberty*, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberty-positive-negative/ (February 25, 2012)
92 Ibid

In relation to how we perceive ourselves as part of a bigger whole or as separate units it seems important to consider the consistency, and lack of consistency, in identity.

Historically identity has had a strong association with physical place. This can be illustrated by how many cultures have naming traditions which does not only refer to family belongings or occupation but also location, for example in Arabic, naming by geographical *hisba* (derived from the place of residence or birth) e.g., Yusuf al-Isfahani [Joseph of Isfahan][93]. Family belonging, honorifics and geographical origin are common themes in the practice of names, exemplified (to an extensive degree) by names such as that of the compiler of the chief book of Hadith (Traditions and Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) who was known as Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn Ibrahim ibh Mughirah al-Ju'fi al-Bukhari, or (roughly), the father of Abdullah, Muhammad, the son of Ishmael, who was the son of Abraham, who was the son of Mughirah, of the tribe of Ju'fi, a native of Bukhara. In the British isles there are only four types of native surnames:

i) Those taking – or based on – the first name of the ancestor's father (patronymic).

ii) Those recording localities or places where ancestors originated.

iii) Names reflecting the occupation or status of the ancestor.

iv) Surnames that are nicknames describing the ancestor's face, figure, temper, morals, or habits.[94]

In India locational words are sometimes used in names either to specify one's place of residence or the place where one comes from, e. g., navs-ohoer', 'one who belongs to Navsahar' sogom', 'one who belongs to Sogam' sopor', 'one who belongs to Sopore'; k'alam ione who belongs to Kilam'.[95] And in Norway people could take on a particular farm name.[96] The pattern of associating personal identity with location continues across various cultures. It was used to identify where the individual was from, and in some cases, such as my Mother's family in Sweden (Brunby, lit. "Brown Village"), to distinguish between workers with similar patronymic names. Location is used as a means to identify the person, anchoring them to a recognizable identity. In the wake of western industrialisation and the great movement of population this connection between place of residence and identity

93 David Appleton, *Arabic Naming Practices And Period Names List*, www.s-gabriel.org/names/daud/arabic-naming/, (March 2, 2012)

94 John Kennedy, Family Chronicle, *British Surnames: First-names, Localities, Occupations, Nicknames*, www.familychronicle.com/british.htm, (March 2, 2012)

95 Kashmir News Network, Braj B. Kachru, *Naming in the Kasmiri Pandit Community*, Socio-linguistics and Antroponymy, ikashmir.net/names/kpnames.html (May 2, 2012)

96 Johan I. Borgos, *Norwegian Naming Patterns*, http://www.nndata.no/home/JBORGOS/names.htm (March 3, 2012)

was disassociated. In the first decades of the 21st century most western surnames are fixed since generations, changing a name based on locality is no longer practical as we no longer have a consistent base to serve as reference point. Defining who we are is no longer strongly associated to either location or family. In relation to the built environment the loss of identities is examplified by the move from the rural to urban. Tom Anyamba, Dean of the Department of Architecture, University of Nairobi, mentions in the "Dandora" case below: *"A lot of Kenyans still live two lives, what we call straddling: they are in town and they are in the village. So on retirement the majority would retire to the rural area and leave their living unit to their offspring who would continue the family."*[97] An issue with slum upgrading is that the habitation is not seen as permanent, it is merely a necessity to have a roof over your head but not something to be invested in or attractive to be associated with.

The closing decades of the 20th century witnessed revlutionary shifts in the ways new generations grow to adulthood. The march of mothers into the workplace, combined with the rise of alternatives to lifelong marriage, created domestic arrangements differing greatly from that of an "ideal" family. By 2000, 60 percent of all married couples in America had two earners, while only 26 percent depended solely on the husbands income. In 2006, two pay-check couples were more numerous than male-breadwinner households had been in 1970. During this same period, single parent homes, overwhelmingly headed by women, claimed a growing proportion of american households. As today's young women and men have reached adulthood, two-income and single-parent homes outnumber married couples with sole (male) breadwinners by a substantial margin. Equally significant, members of the new generation lived in families far more likely to change shape over time. While families have always faced predictible turning points as children are born, grow up and leave home, today's young adults were reared in households where volatile changes occurred when parents altered their ties to eachother or to the wider world of work.[98] Feminist sociologist Meguro Yoriko claimed already in 1987 that changes in modern roles amount to the coming of "individualized" families in Japan, a trend towards a redefinition of relationships between individuals and collectivities. This trend is akin to what some American sociologists call the "coming of postmodern families" -diverse families that come together as voluntary social units that privilege individual needs over "traditional" institutionalized arrangements (Stacay 1996; Castells 1997) In American societies today, a wide variety of families - single-parent families, blended families, stepfamilies, cohabitating couples, childless couples, gay and lesbian, and other variations - replace the prototypical nuclear family, and comprise the majority of families.[99] In such a changing environment there might be room for alternative forms of stability, which does not rely on the concept of the core family but opens up for options where community or services may take over some domestic issues, in the process increasing social interaction outside of the personal sphere.

Apart from the association with home and city there is an aspect of identity which transcends the physical. The immaterial identity is mostly disconnected from physical space but serves to connect us globally via internet. The emergence and development of the online identity could possibly provide a consistent support to identities which seems to be ever changing, or be an important tool as a first step for participation with the collective. For example, student dorms such as Smalands Nation in Lund are at present using shared networks accessible only to the inhabitants of the dorms, where information relevant to them as members of the "Nation" as well as files (movies, music, audiobooks) are shared. As a uniting tool a non-physical network of this sort could be interesting to combine with

97 See full interview in Appendix D
98 Gerson, *The unfinished revolution*, www.google.co.ke/ (March 2, 2012)
99 Akiko Hashimoto, John W. Traphagan, *Imagined Families, Lived Families: Culture and Kinship in Contemporary Japan*, (New York, USA: State University of New York Press, 2008)

affecting the built environment and interactions therein. In providing ample social opportunities for connectivity and requiring minimal funds the online community has the benefit of outreach and connectivity without physical presence. In a shy society such as Sweden having these networks as a first, tentative step to get to know your communty and participate in it could be useful and an initiation to daring to interact physically with your neighbours, since you've already been introduced online. The possibilities of the online identity to compensate with stability in relation to a flexible material identity as well as supporting social interactions would be interesting to explore further.

The above suggests a trend of impermanent personal space in urban settings, where the home is transferred from one place to another, where friends and family constallations are in flux and where identity roles are ever changing. People maintain a nationally or globally dispersed network of friends through connecting over internet but still retain the need to physically meet new people in their new locations. There seems to be a need for physical meeting places due to people moving from their old settings, needing to establish new roles through social interactions. There lays potential in working with the trends of cohabitation, non-standard family setups and associated needs for child-rearing and domestic services.

Then how do we identify with a place? If we do not have a history with a location, what is the common denominator for building individual and collective identities? Built environment which supports social interaction and the formation of roles could here be a possible key. According to psychology theories on the formation of identities social interaction produces the social self, that part of the personality which links the individual to society and is an important intervening variable in human behaviour. Through social interaction the individual aquires a view of him/herself as an objective and meaningful social entity by taking the role of specific and then of generalized others. It implies that the individual develops an awareness and an acceptance of the social positions he/she occupies in the community and larger society. Identities are claimed and sustained in reciprocal role relationships. Role relationships are governed by behavioural expectations; the rights and duties of each interactant are normally prescribed. Thus if one knows who one is (in a social sense), then one knows how to behave. In contrast, if one does not know who one is (in a social sense), or if one loses a valued identity, then one simply does not know how to behave. Role requirements give purpose, meaning, direction, and guidance to one's life. The greater the number of identities held, the stronger one's sense of meaningful, guided existence. A sense of meaningful existence and purposeful, ordered behaviour are crucial to psychological health[100] and integrated individuals benefit more from identity gain and also suffer more from identity loss than isolated individuals[101]. A strong sense of identity and your role in society seem to be important in planning for socially sustainable cities, but as location nor family nor friend or job affiliations no longer are permanent, what is this identity to be based upon?

Stryker and Serpe (1982, 1983) suggests that identities may be organized in a "salience hierarchy", where salience is the probability that a given identity will be invoked across a variety of situations. Salience, in turn, is determined by the amount of commitment an individual has to an identity. Commitment is *"...the degree to which the persons relationships to specified sets of others depends upon his or her being a particular kind of person, i.e., occupying a particular position in an organized structure of relationships and playing a particular role. Commitment is a function of the number, affective importance, and multiplexity (or overlap) of network ties that are formed by the person*

100 Peggy A. Thoits, *Multiple identities and psychological well-being: a reformulation and test of the social isolation hypothesis*, Princeton University, American Sociological review, Vol.48, No.2 (Apr.,1983), pp.174-187 ftp://ftp.cba.uri.edu/classes/banerjee/websyagnik/webpage/mobility%20new/identity%20accumalation%20hypotheses.pdf

101 Ibid

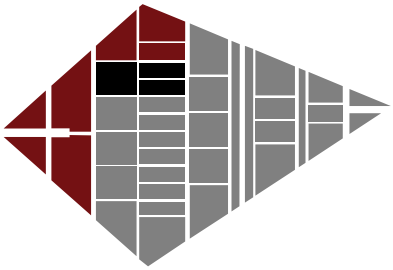
enacting an identity. In short, identities are hierarchically organized by degree of commitment, or what might be called their "network embeddedness"."[102] If the built environment could be actively integrated with non-physical networks to support the formation of physical social networks, and manifest the effects of the actions of these in everyday life, then the creation of roles within the structure could be supported. In other words, if you arrive alone and rootless the built environment could possibly indicate where you've arrived and naturally introduce you to new roles.

In summary there seems to be four main potentials to look further into in terms of how the built environment could positively affect sense of identity: common identity could be supported through visual cues indicating the branding of the place, secondly, not limit the choices in the built environment but allow people to affect the functions and their choices to be visible, thirdly provide spaces flexible enough to adapt to changing needs, and lastly, to design spaces which naturally support people in forming their roles within the community. In general: giving the place a character easy to identify with and a nature making it possible for the inhabitants to shape that character to reflect themselves and their needs, supporting a both a collective and individual, a consistent and changing identity.

POTENTIALS: WHAT CAN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT DO?

Let people brand their own places. Strengthen the public space as the face of this place.
Allow people to visually affect their neighbourhoods. Let the outcome of participatory processes directly show in the buildings not only by their functions but also by their decoration.
Let the character of a place develop as a result of the inhabitants efforts to shape it as a reflection of themselves and their needs, making it easier to identify with.
Realize the importance of public and shared spaces for the definition of your role within a community, support the formation of these through shared functions which allows paths to cross naturally.
Create flexible spaces that do not dictate their use. Cater to the changing nature of modern identity by providing spaces which more easily respond to it and reflects it.

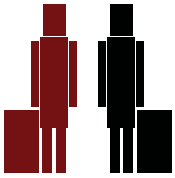
102 Ibid



SEGREGATION

The scenario paints a vision of a city segregated between what you can get and what you can not, indicating a rift between those who have and those who don't have. This form of segregation is emphasized by architecture, as it includes or excludes people by its expression and access. The following discusses how architecture plays a role in segregating what's mine from what's yours, and in distinguishing the rich from the poor.

MINE & YOURS



"No." I shook my head, remembering. "No one could have been ready for that. But...I thought something would happen someday. I didn't know how bad it would be or when it would come. But everything was getting worse: the climate, the economy, crime, drugs, you know. I didn't believe we would be allowed to sit behind our walls, looking clean and fat and rich to the hungry, thirsty, homeless, jobless, filthy people outside. "I should have seen some of that stuff," she said. "But I didn't. Those big walls. And everybody had a gun. There were guards every night. I thought...I thought we were so strong." /s. 187, "Parable of the Sower", Octavia E. Butler[103]

A first impression of Nairobi is that you can not actually see it. What you can see are the hedges and the walls, often covered with wire or pieces of broken glass. It screams at you to keep away, get out, don't even try it. Life in the city is often referred to as living in a "bubble", the expat-bubble, UN-bubble, NGO-bubble, meaning you live in a separate world of your own, only meeting people of your particular group. Everyday life for those of means usually involves long commutes between point a and b, both of these being walled-off, "safe" environments. Pedestrians are discouraged by the very limited and badly maintained sidewalks (as by the manners of driving), and are recommended not to venture outside after sunset. The public spaces which are maintained are few, apart from the variety of malls (following the american model), which provide a degree of freedom in walking among shops and meeting other people of your socio-economic status. Due to these being limited to those who can afford the wares, they sport a segregated view of the community, merely mixing various bubbles. It is a city of separated components, tied together by badly working infrastructure, promoting the need for each component to be self-sufficient (as the power cuts out on Mondays and you hear the generators kick in, or not, and migrate to another components which are more self-sufficient, you will feel this point) It is a city of extreme segregation, where communities may be strong in terms of identity (Indian, UN-staff, NGO-belonging) but where you rarely have a clue of who your next-door neighbour is, only having glanced them through tinted glass.[104]

A reason for this extreme fragmentation is the need, and perceived need, of safety. Having a house as an international staff without a wall and guards is inconceivable, and is written into the contracts of UN staff. Underlaying this are the inequalities of the system, where a large part of the population is unemployed and living in poverty. The issue of trust is a big one, many living in the walled houses share stories of maids stealing and guards cooperating with thieves. These are uncomfortable discussions, as they reflect the feeling of "us" and "them" in the society, and also as they indicate hopelessness in terms of how to deal with trust "you cannot be too kind, people will take advantage" is a reoccuring sentiment. As you as an individual cannot tackle the underlaying social and economic inequalities, how

103 Octavia E. Butler, *Parable of the Sower*, (New York, USA: Grand Central Publishing, 2007 [1993])
104 Own observations, Nairobi, Kenya Feb 2010-May 2012

best to relate to the situation? The common praxis is to add some wire to your wall, and test your alarm buttons. Compare this with the bubbles of the personal space (described above under "personal space"), similar to the personal space the segregated space likewise includes violent reaction if the walls are breached.

In Nairobi the rifts between what is mine and what is yours, what is forbidden for some groups and allowed for others are obvious in the built environment. The glass on top of the walls denotes the protected personal space of the privileged while the piles of trash and flimsy corrugated iron walls of the informal settlements symbolizes the areas of the unprivileged (and unprotected). What could be learnt from this contrast is how safety and security expresses itself in the very different contexts. Both the privileged and underprivileged are in (at least perceived) need of protecting what is mine from what is yours but the method by which this is achieved differs. The former employ an individual approach to safety, employing guards to protect their property and valuables, who are intended to repell by their very presence, carrying guns and uniforms and acting as a visible line of defense. In the informal settlements, where private security is not financially doable the dwellers to a large degree have adapted a deterring community security in the form of public punishments of offenders, sometimes referred to as mob or slum justice. Thiefs literally risk being beaten to death**.** The following quote is from a 16 year old male Kibera dweller: *"There are so many thieve in this kibera and they are in every corner of kibera when you go to ayany estate you will found them so this is the has been disturbing people in the whole kibera thieves are every where iin this world. The thieves some have been caught and taken ti jail they are steal talking to their to help them, they are being realesed again and they are just desturbing so the good idea that I can invite is just to burn them not catching and taking them to the jail. And there is giving warning when get the one whom you have ever meet him/her stealing forgive her/him but next time burn."*[105] Many examples of mob or slum justice have been caught on video, such as that of man was caught after stealing a DVD machine and iron box from one of the residential houses at Karanja Drive in Kibera, an incident that left the suspect thoroughly beaten up and almost burnt dead.[106] voiceofkibera.org regularly reports incidents of mob violence, including maps of where the incident took place and nearby incidents.[107] Here incidents where the police have interferred are also reported, such as that from Oct 15 2011: *"The Kenya Administrative police today morning hunted down and killed a gang of thieves in Laini Saba. The thieves are believed to have been disturbing the residents of the area for a long time. Residents woke up in the morning at the sound of gun shots at 5PM later to find out the thieves had been killed by police who were hunting them down. The police later carried their bodies away."*[108] Whether from the police or civilians justice can be instant in Kibera. Achieving safety is a matter of the community often taking it into their own hands.

The informal justice handed out in these settlements seems an extreme of the principles of the communal "eyes on the streets" propagated by Jane Jacobs, where individuals feel safe in their environment due to the surveillance of the community[109]. You feel safe because somebody is watching you and can react if something bad were to happen. Contrast this to the surveillance by CCTV cameras in London and other major cities, where cameras are used to monitor the citizens ensuring their compliance with the law and safety from eachother. The public space is here not a safe place but an arena where contrary to the idea of be-

105 Global Giving, Thieves in Kibera, www.globalgiving.org/stories/14633/there-are-so-many-thieve-in-this-kibera-and-they-are-in/ (March 5, 2012)

106 Youtube, *End of 40 days for a thief in Kibera*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ff6ZZbf4bqg (Feb 27, 2012)

107 Voice of Kibera, http://voiceofkibera.org/reports/view/502 (Feb 28, 2012)

108 Voice of Kibera, http://voiceofkibera.org/reports/view/666 (Feb 28, 2012)

109 Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York, USA: Random House, 1961)

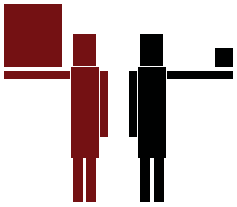
ing protected by your fellow man you need to be protected from him.

In the nightmare scenario this issue of forced surveillance has been brought to an extreme where protection of what is mine from what is yours is being accomplished not by any sense of trust and respect for eachother as individuals in a community but has moved the responsibility of safety away from internal regulation and toward external enforcement. In a way this scenario likens citizens with children, having to be controlled by a higher power since they are not capable of taking care of themselves. This nightmare involves declaring the citizens incompetent.

Apart from the personal spaces being heavily associated with the need for security in Nairobi and the communal fear of the other being reflected through visible protective measures (glass shards, barbed wire, guards, guns, walls, "Mbwa Kali" (beware of the dog) signs) the public space is equally telling of how little integration between mine and yours there is actually opportunity for. True public spaces (that is, places open for use by the general public, irrelevant of income. Not malls.) are rare. The lack of focus on public spaces are examplified by the lack of sidewalks, which are scarce and those that exist are badly maintained. The significance of sidewalks is by Jacobs distilled as safety, contact and assimilation of children.[110] Street safety is promoted by pavements clearly marking a public/private separation and by spontaneous protection with the eyes of both pedestrians and those watching the continual flow of pedestrians from buildings. To make this protection effective, she says there should be an unconscious assumption of general street support or an element of trust. Being the main contact venue, pavements contribute to building trust amongst neighbours over time. Public characters such as shopkeepers enhance the social structure of sidewalk life by learning the news and spreading them informally. Jacobs means that sidewalk contact and safety, together, counter segregation and racial discrimination. Not only the function but the symbolism of sidewalks are of interest. In a city such as Nairobi where only a fraction of the population can afford a car and walking still is the most common way of transport, what message does the lack of sidewalks give to the citizens?

In considering the segregating effects of spaces belonging to me or you it is of interest to explore the potential of how the built environment can provide spaces belonging to *us*, where feelings of security and trust can be developed through casual interaction and meetings, introducing the other and being visible to eachother, dissolving the limits through shared space, not dividing the city into what is mine and what is yours but moving towards sharing the city, building a sense of community and trust.

110 Ibid



The nightmare involves a segregation of space where those who cannot afford to live within the city are pushed to tiny apartments on the outskirts, basically being ousted. Their right to the city is taken away not only by their inability to afford its services but also by the lack of affordable options to inhabit it. The segregation of rich and poor and the role of the built environment in this is explored below in a continued Kenyan context.

As cities grow larger without increasing affordable living space this generates slums, informal settlements detached from the services of the city such as water, sanitation and infrastructure. As a result of the socioeconomic status of slumdwellers these not only are shut of from the services of the city but also commonly not welcome in the commercial spaces or public spaces. Slumdwellers are not seen as citizens but as illegal occupiers of a space belonging to the city. As Kerstin Sommers, from UN-Habitat's Participatory Slumupgrading Program puts it: *"Mauritius is having a big scale slum upgrading project, but to a certain extent they don't even consider the lower income group as full citizens, it is almost like we cater for them, we allow them to be there, but they are not being seen as a real part of the society. For example it was very clear to see that they have this social housing programme in place at a government level so when I am a low income family I have the right to 39m2 house, somewhere outside, I get a bus so I will get picked up and brought to work, go somewhere in the in the industrial area. I will have an income and I will have to prove for a while that I can do that. And if I get for ten years an injection as a woman to not have children I get a 45m2 house and I own it faster... So that is what I mean, they see it as somebody who is there but they don't see them as the same... as the not low income families. So they are spacewise segregated they are segregated in that they are not seen to have the same value as others and they are not integrated in the planning. Still in a highly developed context you can see this...racism almost."*[111]

In the below interview with Erik Berg on the Gothenburg riots, he comments on the way the built environment may cater to segregated cities *"The city as a geographical place is a battle ground for economical interests and with the rising rents and prices for land in central locations the struggle for being part of the city hardens. Sweden has come quite a long way in doing physical deportation of its working classes from central districts to high-rise suburbs. This is what is often referred to as segregation, but it is also an act of expulsion. In everyway that you are reminded that you have been expelled, that you are unwelcome in the heart of a city you would like to call yours, you are naturally filled with frustration and a growing need for revenge. This always happens when you go from being part of something to being outside of something. (...) The city becomes a battleground because of the way the economy works, because of the way the economy as a social mechanism disintigrates society and segregates people into different sub-groups and economically defined classes. And all of this, in Swedish cities, is expressed in very subtle ways. There are not many walls*

111 See Appendix C for full interview

or gates or guards saying "you cannot go here" or "you are not welcome here" or saying "you are supposed to go over there", there are not many signs saying "this is a private area", but it is even worse than that, because there are a lot of invisible hints built into the social fabric even on the architectural level, to a large extent following ethnical lines that makes it obvious to everyone when you are in the wrong place, if you have a lower income you basically do not live in a house in the stone city, you are a stranger there. In Swedish cities there are, at least in Stockholm and Gothenburg, a very clear social division between the actual physical blocks of the stone city characterized by the age of the houses, the material of the houses as well as the spacial structure of city blocks on the one hand and the public housing in four to nine stories, its a physically initiated and architecturally replicated segregation."[112]

Back to the example of Kenya; Nairobi plays an important role in the global, regional, national and local economy. It is a centre of international diplomacy, finance, banking and commerce, because of its facilities and its strategic position in the African continent. The city is a hub of road, rail and air transport networks, connecting eastern, central and southern African countries, and the potential for development is huge. Nairobi employs 25% of Kenyans and 43% of urban workers in the country, generating over 45% of national GDP.[113] Still over 60% of its population lives in slums.[114]

Kerstin Sommers continues on the effects of segregated cities: *"...the worst is actually the segregation aspects, that you are keeping people out of the city, you provide the people with land where they can have a house, three room house whatever, but they are then 50 kilometres outside the city where they are excluded from all parts of city life so... It has shown in many African cities. In Kenya people say that density is not accepted but it is not true, you have Eastley etc, you have areas which are very economically active and there are waiting lists for the apartments to rent in these multi-story buildings so it is not... I think it is not true that density is not accepted. (...) I see very much that there is a possibility of balancing the lacks in personal space with qualities in the public space. From a lot of points; overall it is superimportant to build additional skills and empower people who are living there and... maybe I am too biased by a developing context but...also in the western world it is important. In terms of information flow people are telling eachother about jobs or how they were defending themselves when things happened or... so it is also... (...) Plus you create space that you share so that you integrate people with eachother because they share space with eachother, and this has a lot of other positive impacts such as social exchange with the neighbours and so on. But you also give a lot of opportunities for small businesses, you can more easily engage them and increase exposure for them. An then from a city planner perspective it is much cheaper for me to provide a bit of shared space and integrate it than have a low density where I waste a lot of space. And then having high rents, meaning it being very exclusive, this is not good for the overall city development."*[115]

One of the main problems encountered when aiming to respond to the issue of informal settlements is the question of affordability; schemes aiming for the low-income group often end up catering to the slightly richer, missing the target group who instead of being provided for in these initiatives simply establish new informal settlements.[116] In this manner, enhancing the circle of segregation. The below describes Nairobi's ladder of housing affordability, based on interviews with tenants, agents, landlords and officials in/about selected parts of Nairobi's East in September/October 2005:[117]

112 See Appendix A for full interview
113 United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), Nairobi Urban Sector Profile, (Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat, 2006) p.9
114 Ibid, p.4
115 See Appendix D for full interview
116 See Appendix C for full interview
117 Marie Huchzermeyer, *Slum Upgrading in Nairobi within the Housing and Basic Services Market - Housing Rights Concern*, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol 43(1): 2008, p. 19–39

Monthly rents/payment	Description of housing unit	Services and service charges
K.Shs 400–500	Wattle and daub/tin/timber room in Kibera	No municipal provision of water and electricity. Water vending
K.Shs 450	Two-bedroomed council flat in Embakasi	Water and electricity provided but not included in rent
K.Shs 1800–2000	'Single' room in a multi-storey tenement in Huruma, Mathare Valley	8–14 rooms/floor sharing toilet and wash cubicle. Rationed electricity and communal water access included in rent (landlords estimate that water and electricity costs per unit are K.Shs 500–600, which is deducted from their rental income)
The Rent Restriction Act (Chapter 296 of 1982) applies to units with rents up to K.Shs 2500		
K.Shs 3000	Remaining mortgage payment for two-bedroomed flat in the Pumwani-Majengo slum redevelopment, if the two bedrooms are rented out at K.Shs 4000 each and the kitchen and toilet/shower shared	Water and electricity provided but not included in the mortgage payment
K.Shs 3600–4000	Two single rooms with connecting door in a multi-storey tenement in Huruma, Mathare Valley	4–12 units/floor sharing toilet and wash cubicle. Rationed electricity and communal water access included in rent
K.Shs 4000	Room with shared toilet and kitchen in shared three-roomed flat in Phase 2 of the National Housing Corporation's Pumwani-Majengo slum redevelopment project. This rent is paid to the home ownership beneficiary to finance the mortgage repayments	Water and electricity provided but not included in the rent
K.Shs 5000	Self-contained bed-sitter in multi-storey tenement in Umoja	Water and electricity provided but not included in the rent
K.Shs 5500	Self-contained 'seven-seater' (one room the size of two rooms, with toilets/shower) in Eastleigh	Water and electricity provided but not included in the rent
K.Shs 7000	One-bedroomed flat in Umoja	Water and electricity provided but not included in the rent
K.Shs 8500	Two-bedroomed flat in Umoja	Water and electricity provided but not included in the rent
K.Shs 11,000	Monthly mortgage payment for two-bedroomed units in the Phase 2 of the NHC Pumwani-Majengo slum redevelopment project (water and electricity not included)	Water and electricity provided but not included in the mortgage payment

Note The exchange rate at the time was K. Shs 69 to US$1.

As seen above the cheapest options (Kibera, Embakasi, Mathare) provide merely the essentials of living (personal space for rest, with shared facilities for food and sanitation), informal settlements tend (to different degrees) to lack in the seven elements of the rights to housing as defined by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *"General Comment 4 (CESCR, 1991):*

1. security of tenure;

2. access to services and infrastructure;

3. affordability;

4. habitability;

5. physical accessibility;

6. location;

7. cultural adequacy."

Slum upgrading should achieve a balanced realization of all these seven elements."[118]

One aspect of slums which is not often brought to the front is the aspect of them (from the standpoint of a diversified housing financial ecosystem) being 'economically rational' – that is, they will inevitably emerge when certain condi-

118 Huchzermeyer, p. 28

tions are present.[119] As the author on "affordable housing institute" puts it:

"The private sector has a straightforward and economically rational solution to the problem of unsustainable renters, consisting of the following steps:

- *Compress rentable space each unsustainable renter occupies. This has the effect of increasing the revenue per unit.*
- *Reduce operating expenses to a bare minimum. This results in an accelerating cycle:*
- *Inadequate operating expenses —> deferred maintenance and a decline in property physical condition.*
- *Declining property condition –> lower curb appeal, difficulty attracting good tenants –> acceptance of marginal tenants.*
- *Accepting marginal tenants –> higher collection/ bad debt losses, higher maintenance, secondary problems (e.g. vandalism) –> higher-income tenants move out.*
- *Loss of market tenants –> lack of rentability –> stigmatization of the property.*

Adverse-select the worst location because these have the lowest acquisitions/ operating costs and the tenancy residing in them has the fewest alternatives and the least economic imperative for (as an example) transportation and public services.

(...) Slums will inevitably come into being unless government intervenes in otherwise 'normal' market practices." [120]

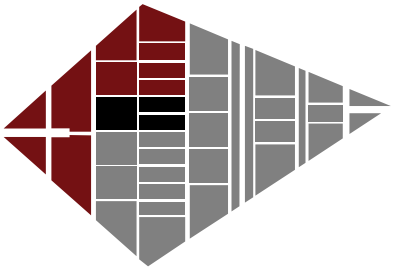
Slums can be seen as a logical response to lack of space and need for resources. The result as described above is a cycle leading to segregation and unhygienic living conditions. In their creation however, due to precisely this lack of space we could possibly draw some lessons regarding sharing resources. Due to lack of space in slums, living area is minimal (see table above) and as Gomba from Masai Mbili puts it (on the structure of Kibera) *"...everything is made for necessity, and for the use at that particular moment"*[121]. Necessary functions of households are often performed outside the home, in the shared spaces. In housing new urban citizens slums have been the only answer, as cities have failed to meet the need for sustainable expansion. Although a less than optimal solution, it seems important we look at the lessons the necessity of sharing limited space can teach us about alternative organizations of space, se more on this under "ownership" below.

Grades between personal and public may act as an integrative tool inbetween segregated city components and citizens, combining the practical and social needs of people and enhancing the feeling of safety. In terms of segregating the rich and poor, an important issue is to provide options which are financially comparable to the options found in slums. An important factor in why cities become segregated betwen the rich and the poor is which feasible economic options are available. You live where you can afford to live. If there are affordable option within the city, the physical segregation between rich and poor have potential of diminishing.

POTENTIALS: WHAT CAN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT DO?

Densify the city and redistribute the spaces towards less private space and more space in common.
Design options which open up for prioritizing location over space, providing cheaper alternatives to living in the city.
Avoid symbols of exclusion and representations of lack of trust.
Build inclusive places which allows people to meet based on common needs, not income.
Reduce the sense of mine and yours by focusing on what is ours through shared spaces.

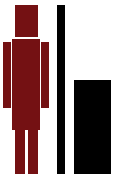
119 Affordable Housing Institute, Slums are "Economically Rational", affordablehousinginstitute.org/blogs/us/2005/05/slums_are_econo.html (March 7, 2012)
120 Ibid
121 See Appendix E for full interview.



OWNERSHIP

The question of ownership refers both to the actual ownership of place, which in its turn strongly effects what and who can use it, and the ownership of a space, such as being proud of one's city or block, or naturally using shared spaces as an extension of one's personal space.

THEIRS



The privatization of public space is interesting to look at in terms of how it affects who uses, has responsibility for and feels ownership of the space. In relation to the informal spaces of slums, ownership of critical functions relate to the responsibility for these functions. In an article addressing the high level of commercialization of shelter and basic services in Nairobi and its implication for slum upgrading in Kenya, the situation is described as:

"Decades of poorly functioning local government in Kenya have led to commodification or commercialization of water, shelter, refuse collection and to some extent sanitation (fees often being charged for the use of the scarce toilet facilities, as they are provided through informal profit-seeking and often exploitative enterprises). None of these informal commercialized systems provide services to adequate standards (Gulyani et al., 2006). Water access is insufficient and often contaminated, refuse collection is inadequate and its disposal unsanitary, and rented shelter is of the lowest quality due to minimal investment by the illegal structure owners (COHRE, 2005b). The processes of commercialization have resulted in a complex structure of economic stakeholders, who have acquired a degree of social legitimacy to extract profit out of the trade of inadequate basic necessities to the poor. In this system, and due to a scarcity of formal employment, people with the intention of residing in the city for a longer term aspire to become sellers of water, collectors of refuse or owners of rentable rooms. This underpins the legitimacy of market exploitation and has complex implications for the realization of the right to access to adequate housing, and the associated access to water, sanitation and refuse collection"[122]. In relation to the seven elements of the rights to housing, as defined above under "Rich & Poor", the commercialization of spaces undermines the efforts to meet these, the article continues *"...in the context of intense commercialization of basic necessities within slums and a distorted wider housing market, as is the case in Nairobi, conventional physical slum upgrading and regularization does not lead to the realization of these elements. As habitability and physical accessibility of housing units and access to services and infrastructure are improved through slum upgrading or redevelopment, tenure security is undermined by the market competition for these improvements. The market undermines affordability and displaces slum dwellers to less convenient locations. Displacement means that both affordability and tenure security have been undermined and access to convenient location is lost"*[123]. The informal space has the nature of a commercial space where private actors fulfill all services a city usually provides for its citizens, but without rights. No space is public, the city as an underlaying set of rules aimed to serve the needs and rights of its citizens does not exist. In this manner, the ownership of the city over its citizens is reduced, the space becomes "theirs" not "ours" and since we don't have any ownership of the place it becomes "their" problem.

As previously quoted by Stephen Carr under "Public Space" above, the public space can be seen as the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, if these spaces increasingly has commercial functions, does this imply consumption is our most important common

122 Huchzermeyer, p. 28
123 Ibid

function? Tom Anyamba mentions how churches act as substitutes for public spaces in the below Dandora interview, in the context of how the area has hardly any public or social spaces and the residents have to find own alternatives:*"...the church becomes a major...it is a new social space. Because it is the only space where they can go and vent. And meet in a bigger space."*[124] In the Swedish context, where religion plays a decreasing role (between november 2008 och october 2009 the number of members in the Swedish Church dropped by almost 72 000 members, economic reasons were stated as a possible cause[125] (you don't have to pay the church taxes if you are not a member)) it is tempting to see an increasing commercialization of the public space as replacing other rituals. Consumption as a substitute for religion.

Enlightenment theorists such as Rousseau suggest democracy requires a sphere within which to cultivate the habits and attitudes needed to sustain democratic practices.[126] Relating to consumption as a substitute for democracy. Both the symbolic nature of the public space as a democratic arena and its practical functions as a place to congregate is illustrated by the case of the city of São Paulo, which in 2007 passed the Clean City Act (law PL 379/06), treating advertisement as a visual pollution of the public sphere. Being the largest metropolis in South America, São Paulo is home to more than eleven million inhabitants and prior to 2007 home to 15,000 billboards, more than 16,000 signs, and 1,300 metal panels. Mayor Gilberto Kassab targeted the issue of the advertisement with the motivation *"The Clean City Law came from a need to combat pollution... pollution of water, sound, air, and the visual. We decided that we should start combating pollution with the most conspicuous sector – visual pollution."*[127] The law includes a ban on any form of external advertising, including billboards, posters, and the distribution of flyers, in the city.[128] In general, the main concerns about the effects of the law circled around the city looking dull, people being bored with looking at facades, streets (and, presumably, eachother). As Dalton Silvano (the only city councillor to vote against the laws and also an ad executive), was quoted in the New York Times: *"I think this city will become a sadder, duller place... advertising is both an art form and when you're in your car, or alone on foot, a form of entertainment that helps relieve solitude and boredom"*[129]. According to businessweek there where concerns of a concrete jungle replacing the chaos of the present, and North Korea and communist Eastern Europe were cited as indicative of what was to come[130]. There lays something frightening in this attitude; if the concern is that the city would lose its entertainment value by removing advertisement, leaving a bland, concrete jungle behind, does this imply the buildings and spaces of the city without the advertisements do not have an identity of their own but is dependent on the advertisements? Does this imply a negative, parasitic nature of advertisements, if their removal results in their hosts no longer having value by themselves? The ban in São Paulo illustrates the idea that it is a city's inhabitants and cultural heritage that bring the true flavor of a city, not it's neon lights and advertisement campaigns. Vinicius Galvao, reporter for Folha de São Paulo, Brazil's largest newspaper:*"My old reference was a big Panasonic billboard, but now my reference is an art deco building that was covered [by the massive sign]. So you start getting new references in the city. The city's now got new language, a*

124 See Appendix D for full interview

125 Amanda Billner, TT, Dagens Nyheter, *Svenska Kyrkan Krymper Snabbare*, www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/svenska-kyrkan-krymper-snabbare, (April 7, 2012)

126 Brian Weiner, *The Democratization and Commercialization of Public Space*, University of San Francisco - Department of Politics, Western Political Science Association 2010 Annual Meeting Paper (March 29, 2010)

127 New York City Global Partners, *Best Practice: Clean City Act*, www.nyc.gov/globalpartners/innovationexchange (Jan 20, 2012)

128 Ibid

129 Ibid

130 Patrick Burgoyne, Businessweek Jun 18, 2007, *São Paulo: The City That Said No To Advertising*, www.businessweek.com/innovate/content/jun2007/id20070618_505580.htm, (Jan 23, 2012)

new identity"[131]. Additionally, the architecture of the city has been revealed. Houses and buildings that were covered by the billboards could now be seen. Not all of the revelations proved beautiful: shantytowns, once hidden under massive signs, revealed gross inequalities.[132] *"They (the removal of the advertisments) uncovered a lot of problems the city had that we never realized. For example, there are some favelas, which are the shantytowns. I wrote a big story in my newspaper today that in a lot of parts of the city we never realized there was a big shantytown. People were shocked because they never saw that before, just because there were a lot of billboards covering the area."*[133] The previous use of advertisements effectively occupied the public space: *"São Paulo's a very vertical city. That makes it very frenetic. You couldn't even realize the architecture of the old buildings, because they were just covered with billboards and logos and propaganda."*[134] This blanket of advertisement over the city, hiding the faces of the buildings behind ads with the purpose of selling products and services indicates that the citizens ownership of the public space was compromised by commercial interests. The law seemed to focus on improving the city for the sake of the public, not profit. Advertising and business groups, though, regarded the legislation as injurious to society and an affront to their professions. Saying that free expression would be inhibited, jobs lost and consumers less informed in their purchasing decisions, and even that streets would be less safe at night with the loss of illumination from signs. *"This is a radical law that damages the rules of a market economy and respect for the rule of law,"* said Marcel Solimeo, chief economist of the 32,000-member Commercial Association of São Paulo. *"We live in a consumer society, and the essence of capitalism is the availability of information about products."*[135]

In the Masai Mbili interview below, Gomba discusses the connections between art and spaces: *"First and foremost for us we developed our street art. It is a form of fusing our contemporary art and signs we used to do. For me signs are very strong in that everywhere you go, you are just led by the signs. So you want to go to the pub, you have to look for a sign for the pub, you have to go to the loo, then you have to look for the sign for the loo. So it is more like a symbol...(...) It becomes like a living thing. The sign doesn't serve for only one time, it is there and many people see it and many people use it. And even places get their names from the signs you know. Like... if you come here they will tell you "you drop off at Bombolulu", Bombolulu is a pub there. So there is a pub there called Bombolulu. So Because of the pub being there the place is known as Bombolulu now."*[136] Advertisments can be a form of art, but the form usually employed in western cities are of advertisements as signs towards things far away and out of reach, not connected to the actual place where they are situated and thereby in a way claiming the space for a purpose which it does not have anything to do with.

According to the New York City Global Partners' online resource bank of international best practices and global city data one of the principal goals of the São Paulo clean city laws was to *"...improve and transform São Paulo's urban landscape by eliminating visual pollution and environmental degradation, and in turn protect the cultural and historical heritage of the city. The City of São Paulo aimed toward celebrating the aesthetics of the buildings, streets, avenues, facades, and natural elements of the city, as well as open visual pathways to neighborhoods previously blocked by street signs, billboards, posters and logos that cluttered the city."*[137] This attitude shifts ownership of the space from

131 Bob Garfield, Vinicius Galvao, On the air, *Clearing the air: Transcript from Friday, April 7, 2011*, www.onthemedia.org/2007/apr/20/clearing-the-air/transcript/, (April 10, 2012)

132 Amy Curtis, Center for a New American Dream, *Five Years After Banning Outdoor Ads, Brazil's Largest City Is More Vibrant Than Ever,* www.newdream.org/resources/sao-paolo-ad-ban, (Feb 27, 2012)

133Bob Garfield, Vinicius Galvao, On the air, *Clearing the air: Transcript from Friday, April 7, 2011*, www.onthemedia.org/2007/apr/20/clearing-the-air/transcript/, (April 10, 2012)

134 Ibid

135 Larry Rohter, New York Times Dec 12, 2006, *Streets Are Paved With Neon's Glare, and City Calls a Halt*, www.nytimes.com/2006/12/12/world/americas/12paulo.html (Feb 28, 2012)

136 See Appendix E for full interview

137 New York City Global Partners Innovation Exchange, *Best Practice: Sao Paolo*, www.nyc.gov/html/unccp/gprb/downloads/pdf/Sao%20Paulo_CleanCityAct.pdf (April 8, 2012)

the commercial sector to the citizens using functional and aestethic elements of the city without associated consumer messages.

A prediction of US$133 million in lost advertising revenue for the city surfaced in the press, while the São Paulo outdoor media owners' association, Sepex, warned that 20,000 people would lose their jobs.[138] The law got approved by a vote of 45 to 1. *"The truth is that there are so many banners, billboards, placards, signs and posters all over the place that they've lost their impact, and I hardly pay attention to them anymore,"* said Lívia Okamoto, a dental technician. *"So what's the point in the manufacturer of a product paying for advertising if all it is going to do is block my view and irritate me?"*[139] 70 percent of city residents find the ban beneficial, according to a 2011 survey.[140]

The case of São Paulo provide opportunities to examine our understanding of the "public" and its relationship to the market as well as broader understandings of democracy under the conditions of capitalism. The ownership of the public space is an important issue as it determines the level and kind of demand that is placed on the citizen in order to use it. As Jan Gehl puts it: *"In a Society becoming steadily more privatized with private homes, cars, computers, offices and shopping centers, the public component of our lives is disappearing. It is more and more important to make the cities inviting, so we can meet our fellow citizens face to face and experience directly through our senses. Public life in good quality public spaces is an important part of a democratic life and a full life."*[141].

The visual and physical occupation of a space as it relates to ownership was also mentioned in the Gothenburg Riots interview below, where Erik Berg talks about the actions of and reactions to the "Reclaim the Streets" movement. *"... the underlying idea is to reclaim the city from cars and commercial ventures, so it is a way of expressing a political opinion by having fun, but certainly it involves not obeying the rules. This is interesting because they did not alter the environment in doing this, but they used it in a way that was not allowed. For the police this happy and innocent act of civil disobedience was considered a major provocation and a breach of civil order. "Reclaim the streets" tried to redefine ownership of the streets, temporarily. The policy of actually physically redefining the ownership of the streets, implied trying to uphold one interpretation of accessibilty of ownership to the public space."*[142]

The danger of commercialization of public spaces is that citizens could end up with very few options of how to use the city without being a consumer. Public spaces are democratic in that they allow citizens ownership of the space, irregardless of what you can afford to buy, a commercialization of public spaces risk taking away an important integrative function amongst citizens. The visual occupation of a space indicates which interests are being met within it. If the public space become downsized or usurped by commercial space, excluding those not able to pay for the proffered services, this seems to promote a segregated city where quality of life directly correlates to income.

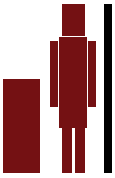
138 Patrick Burgoyne, Businessweek Jun 18, 2007, *São Paulo: The City That Said No To Advertising*, www.businessweek.com/innovate/content/jun2007/id20070618_505580.htm, (Jan 23, 2012)

139 Larry Rohter, New York Times Dec 12, 2006, *Streets Are Paved With Neon's Glare, and City Calls a Halt*, www.nytimes.com/2006/12/12/world/americas/12paulo.html (Feb 28, 2012)

140 Amy Curtis, Center for a New American Dream, *Five Years After Banning Outdoor Ads, Brazil's Largest City Is More Vibrant Than Ever,* www.newdream.org/resources/sao-paolo-ad-ban, (Feb 27, 2012)

141 Project for Public Spaces, *Jan Gehl*, www.pps.org/articles/jgehl/ (March 3, 2012)

142 See full interview in Appendix A



"We don't need a drill, we need a hole in the wall"

/Rachel Botsman, Author of "What's mine is yours"[143]

The ownership of place can be symbolized by which interests are visible within it, as seen in the example of São Paulo above. The feeling of a space being "theirs" can be denoted by who is allowed to use it. To feel a space is "ours" you need to be able to use it. There should be both opportunities to use it and incentives to do so. In this, the needs of people to share space is interesting, as common needs could be a factor providing both of these.

One question to be asked regarding the distribution of space in this context is what right those living in large private spaces have to maintain that space. If we view cities as communities this impacts badly on the feeling of fairness. Individual wealth is one thing, taking up wastly disproportionate space from the city is another. In this the people having luxurious ten room apartments could be likened to the Kenyan landgrabbers of the countryside. As Tom Anyamba mentions in the Dandora interview below *"what happened was that all the land around Nairobi got privatized, even what was city council before got privatized. Railway land, which was a lot, also got privatized. So now it is in private hands it is very difficult to get it. So now if the city has to grow they have to do what we call compulsory aquisition. For the city to work you cannot leave it in private hands. Cities are supposed to cater for not the individual but for citizens."* [144]Who has the right to the land? To what extent is it justified that city land is privately owned? This seem to reflect a general attitude towards the city, whether it is to be considered as a conglomeration of economic interests or viewed as a common space. Who has the right to the city? Who does it belong to? In this the issue of slumupgrading connects to more than right to water and sanitation, it also raises the question of the essential nature of cities: what are they but a reflection of the society we want to live in, in itself a reflection of the basic striving of humanity to develop progressively as a species?

The possibilities of sharing space was named one of the "10 ideas that will change the world" in Time, March 17, 2011: *"Someday we'll look back on the 20th century and wonder why we owned so much stuff. George W. Bush won re-election as President in 2004 in part by proclaiming an "ownership society": "The more ownership there is in America, the more vitality there is in America." Even as Bush was announcing its birth though, the ownership society was rotting from the inside out. The digitalization of music and the ability to share it made owning CDs superfluous. Then Napsterization spread to nearly all other media, and by 2008 the financial architecture that had been built to support all that ownership — the subprime mortgages and the credit-default swaps — had collapsed on top of us. Ownership hadn't made the U.S. vital; it had just about ruined the country."*[145] The article mentions a sharing culture which helps people rent goods or houses or services via internet. By sharing and renting more stuff we produce and waste less, plus renting a power drill for the one day you need it is a lot cheaper than buying it. For an urban lifestyle in which you have lots of neighbors and little storage these are initiatives which have sprung out of convenience. "*But the real benefit of collaborative consumption turns out to be social. In an era when families are scattered and we may not know the people down the street, sharing things — even with strangers we've just met online — allows us to make meaningful connections. We yearn to trust and be trusted — one researcher has found that people get a spike of the pleasant neurotransmitter oxytocin when they're entrusted with another's goods. That's the beauty of a sharing society — and perhaps the reason it might prove more lasting than one built on ownership".*[146]

143 Rachel Botsman, *What's Mine Is Yours: The Rise of Collaborative Consumption*, www.collaborativeconsumption.com (April 15, 2012)

144 See full interview in Appendix C

145 Bryan Walsh, Time Specials, March 17, 2011, *Today's Smart Choice: Don't Own. Share*, www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2059521_2059717_2059710,00.html (April 15, 2012)

146 Ibid

Other examples of how sharing can be integrated in cities is by Rachel Smith, who gives the anecdote of Kirsty: *"Kirsty can't afford to start her own business. The council won't let her use her own kitchen, retrofitting a domestic kitchen is unviable and commercial spaces are too big and expensive. So what can people like you and me and Kirsty do in our cities to mainstream sharing? For a start we can share commercial space. Most cafés where I live close on a Saturday and don't reopen until Monday. Even when they are closed they still have the bills to pay; rent, insurance, electric and so the list rumbles on. So why don't we share our commercial spaces? We could give people like Kirsty 'a fair go'. Wouldn't it be ingenious if Kirsty could 'borrow' a cafe, closed on Sundays, to make her cupcakes and realise her dream?"*[147] There could be potential in the built environment to provide for these facilities, making these options more readily available."*We could share our cars. Apparently, the average car is parked for 95% of its lifetime and 70% of traffic in our city centres are searching for a parking spot. (...) When you live in a rented apartment like me, space is at a premium, but outweighed by the 'shared' benefits; the swimming pool and the gym. I dream of a 'Man shed in every suburb' a place where we share tools, belongings and skills."*[148]

The book from which the starting quote is taken describes how technology is enabling the sharing and exchange of all kinds of assets from money to cars to skills to stuff in ways and on a scale never possible before. From enormous marketplaces such as eBay and Craigslist, to sectors such as peer-to-peer travel (Airbnb), social lending (Zopa), swap trading (Swap.com) and car sharing (Zipcar), collaborative consumption is disrupting outdated modes of business and reinventing not only what we consume but how we consume.

In the context of owning actual place, the article mentioned under "Rich and Poor" above continues by pointing out that reduced minimum housing standards may be an important key for realizing housing rights through slum upgrading in a distorted market: *"Within the current housing market in Kenyan cities, an affordable housing alternative to wattle and daub slum rooming does not exist. An affordable alternative cannot be created by adhering to the current Kenyan government's minimum standard of two habitable rooms (Ministry of Roads, Public Works and Housing, 2003), as market pressures simply do not permit a poor family to inhabit two rooms."*[149] This raises an interesting issue of which affordable housing options architecture could provide if the current standards of minimum housing where adapted to encompass shared spaces. Would it for example be possible to achieve all seven elements of the right to housing above through investing in the shared space? And would the provision of services not only considered as basic (water, sanitation etc) but luxurious (access to greater shared spaces, similar to the personal spaces of the rich in the city etc) be able to balance extremely minimal but very affordable personal spaces? Various slum upgrading initiatives have explored possible solutions (see "Dandora" and "Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme" interviews below). The interests in the slums are of course extremely complex and impossible to understand from the outside as practically all services lacking in informal settlements have been usurped into a complex network of economic interests, ranging from exploitative to entrepreneurial to survivalist[150]. The implications of any interventions in slums seem best to be predicted via discussions with slumdwellers on their concrete and direct fears[151], in this it seems of crucial importance to be able to communicate clearly the action intended, so as people can envision it within their existing context, formulate their fears and convey these to decisionmakers. Going from a feeling of "their" space to "our" space in this seems to involve a process by which the complex individual needs of the group in question are identified and met, that is; active participation in the formation of the space.

147 Rachel Smith, Feb 21, 2012, *Can Cupcaces Inspire Collaborative Consumption in our Cities,* thisbigcity.net/can-cupcakes-inspire-collaborative-consumption-cities/ (March 2, 2012)

148 Ibid

149 Marie Huchzermeyer, *Slum Upgrading in Nairobi within the Housing and Basic Services Market - Housing Rights Concern*, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol 43(1): 2008, p. 28

150 Huchzermeyer, p. 22

151 Ibid

In attempting to build future sustainable cities, this issue of what constitutes "urban" could well help us in exploring the benefits of living in cities. Cities by their very nature are an increased concentration of people and buildings. By regulating the density of the city opportunities arise to affect large groups of people through their shared built environment. For example, the level of energy consumption is predestined by the kinds of communities and cities that we live in. The correlation is that denser places tend to have lower emissions[152] *"Increasingly, we're realizing that we don't even need to densify an entire city. What we need instead is an average density that rises to a level where we don't drive as much and so on.And that can be done by raising the density in very specific spots a whole lot. So you can think of it as tent poles that actually raise the density of the entire city. And we find that when we do that, we can, in fact, have a few places that are really hyper-dense within a wider fabric of places that are perhaps a little more comfortable and achieve the same results. Now we may find that there are places that are really, really dense and still hold onto their cars, but the reality is that, by and large, what we see when we get a lot of people together with the right conditions is a threshold effect, where people simply stop driving as much, and increasingly, more and more people, if they're surrounded by places that make them feel at home, give up their cars altogether. And this is a huge, huge energy savings, because what comes out of our tailpipe is really just the beginning of the story with climate emissions from cars. We have the manufacture of the car, the disposal of the car, all of the parking and freeways and so on. When you can get rid of all of those because somebody doesn't use any of them really, you find that you can actually cut transportation emissions as much as 90 percent. And people are embracing this. All around the world, we're seeing more and more people embrace this walkshed life. People are saying that it is moving from the idea of the dream home to the dream neighborhood."*[153] In contrast to the rural space, the urban, and in particular the urban public space which contain many of the benefits of living in a city, show potential in playing a great role in regards to affecting the patterns of a great number of citizens, affecting their everyday behaviour in regards to sustainability.

In terms of ownership, the ownership of the place seems associated with the visual occupation of the space. Advertisements or teenage boys gathering in a pedestrian tunnel effectively denotes who owns the space. Commercialisation of public spaces involves the danger of people feeling it no longer is their space, but that a demand is being placed on them to act in a particular way in order for them to use it, and if they cannot adhere to these demands the space becomes "theirs". The other side of ownership mentioned above involves the potential of sharing space, and its benefits in regards to both collective (sense of community) and individual (financial) benefits, but also the importance of protecting the health and rights of the people within dense environments through regulations.

POTENTIALS: WHAT CAN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT DO?

Increase opportunities for citizens to visually occupy the public space.

Prevent the commercialization of public spaces, supporting their nature as a democratic forum in the city, for use by all.

Densifying and managing the balance between urban spaces through reserving space for the public, shared and personal.

Allow the inhabitants to take a very active role in the formation and use of all the spaces they live in.

Provide opportunities for developing and sharing spaces with others, increasing the feeling of ownership of not only your personal space, but your shared and public spaces, making the whole city your extended home.

152 Alex Steffen, Tedtalks, *The shareable future of cities*, www.ted.com/talks/alex_steffen.html (22 Jan, 2012)
153 Ibid

VIOLENCE

A common vision in dystopic literary future scenarios is that of a society where the citizens have lost the right to express themselves and their opinions, including a placid populace which doesn't burn for any issues or expresses any emotions. In the scenario the citizens have become uniform, fitted into one mold and finally reach a braking point where discontent is vented through acts of violence. The issue of violence is interesting as it is not simply destruction, but reaction, indicating how people feel in their society.

EXPRESSION

Public space has historically been an arena for violence. Recently we have seen the public "taking to the streets" in the London Riots, Arab Spring, and the ongoing Occupy movement, the settings for these events unanimously being the public space. Joining in public spaces (parks, squares, streets) means making your presence known, increasing your visibility in the city. In this it is important to note that violence that originates "from below" is frequently driven by a demand for equality, and is thus sometimes considered the only endavour that can democratize a political system, while violence "from above" intends to preserve the status quo of the established order.[154] The public space is not only a space for passing through, or empty areas among developed residential, commercial or industrial areas, it also reflects the common good, and the reaction of citizens to it reflects their general feeling for their city and how it is run.

In 2011, the UK experienced a series of public unrest; multiple student protests, occupations of dozens of universities, several strikes, a half-a-million-strong trade union march as well as riots in the capital. The actions of the participants in the London riots have been critizised on the basis that people were not protesting in an orderly manner, there was no cohesive message and purpose, they did not seem to be politically motivated nor have any sense of community or social solidarity. People were looting H&M, trying things on first, nicking trainers and laptops, as one interviewee put it *"We're not all gathering together for a cause, we are running down footlocker"*[155] Although these events were sparked by a different cause they had their roots in government policies of brutal cuts and enforced austerity measures, which served to clarify the division between the entitled and the dispossessed (in

154 S. Springer, *Public Space as emancipation: meditations on anarchism, radical democracy, neoliberalism and violence*, Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography. 43 (2), (2011) p.528

155 Zoe Williams, guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 9 August 2011, *The UK riots: the psychology of looting* (Feb 15, 2012)

the UK, the richest 10% are now 100 times better off than the poorest)[156]. Violent acts triggered by the authorities are old news, but crowds moving from shopping centre to shopping centre is new. These were shopping riots, characterized by consumer choices.[157] It would be easy to dismiss the riots as purely criminal, due to their violent, selfish and seemingly non-political nature, but again the underlaying context needs to be looked at more closely; decades of individualism, competition and state-encouraged selfishness combined with a crushing of trade unions and an ever-increasing criminalisation of dissent have made Britain one of the most unequal countries in the world.[158] Looking at how in the UK consumerism based on personal debt for years has been pushed as the solution to a faltering economy[159], paired with moving descriptions of everday life illustrating the idea that such violent reactions are a natural human response to the brutality, Camila Batmanghelidjh in the Independent: *"Walk on the estate stairwells with your baby in a buggy manoeuvring past the condoms, the needles, into the lift where the best outcome is that you will survive the urine stench and the worst is that you will be raped. ...it is not one occassional attack on dignity, it is a repeated humiliation, being continously dispossessed in a society rich with possession."* Zoe Williams continues in the Guardian *"...this is what happens when people don't have anything, when they have their noses constantly rubbed in stuff they can not afford, and they have no reason ever to believe that they will be able to afford it."*[160]

Interestingly, and quite distressingly, a parallallel can be drawn between the appearent mechanism for the start of the London riots and start of riots in prisons[161]. Prison riots usually start by a rumour emanating of someone being hurt in some way, leading to moral outrage that takes its expression in self-interested revenge. There is no higher purpose. The difference of course is that in prison liberty has already been lost. Something pretty serious must have happened in order for young people on the streets to be behaving as though they have already been incarcerated. Alex Hiller, a marketing and consumer expert at Nottingham Business School, points out that consumer society relies on you ability to participate in it, "*...so what we recognize as aconsumer was born out of shorter hours, higher wages and the availability of credit. If you're dealing with a lot of people who don't have the last two, that contract doesn't work. They seem to be targeting stores selling goods they would normally consume. So perhaps they are rebelling against the system that denies its bounty to them because they can not afford it"*[162] The causes of the frustration could in this manner be indicated through the subjects of the violence. In understanding how to promote sustainable cities an understanding and respect in regards to how and why public violence is expressed are essential as they indicate which problems needs to be addressed. Violent acts within public spaces are in this manner mirrors of the feelings of citizens and is an important indicator for opinions and general moods that aren't communicated and acted upon via the usual governance channels, and historically has served as a warning bell for governments to sink or swim. Providing channels for the outlet of feelings has been one of the important goals of democracy, channeling opinions into constructive participatory building of the society. In relation to what has been happening in Syria, Yemen and beyond, people taking to the streets in the 2011 story of the Arab spring, the events and government reactions to the London riots causes Jonathan Freedland, Guardian, to say *"...just as those nations demand the tools for democracy, we are finding them rusting and blunt in our hands."*[163]

156 Nina Power, Guardian.co.uk, Monday 8 August 2011, *There is a context to London's riots that can not be ignored*, (Feb 16, 2012)
157 Zoe Williams, guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 9 August 2011, *The UK riots: the psychology of looting* (Feb 15, 2012)
158 Nina Power, Guardian.co.uk, Monday 8 August 2011, *There is a context to London's riots that can not be ignored*, (Feb 16, 2012)
159 Ibid
160 Zoe Williams, guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 9 August 2011, *The UK riots: the psychology of looting* (Feb 15, 2012)
161 Ibid
162 Ibid
163 Jonathan Freedland, guardian.co.uk, Tuesday 9 August 2011, *The year we realised our democratically elected leaders can no longer protect us*, (March 1, 2012)

Springer (2011) argues that public space is the battlefield on which the conflicting interests of the rich and poor are set, as well as *"... an object of contestation, and that incidents such as the struggles over water privitization in Cochabamba, Bolivia in 2000 (Kohl 2006), and the "battle for Seattle" during the World Trade Organization meetings of 1999, must be considered not as isolated events in a "Third World" or a "First World" milieu, but as moments tied to the broader assemblage of "global" contestations over "the right to the city" and alternative urban futures (Purcell 2008)"*[164]. An examination of the controversy of public space allows for an understanding of the ongoing struggle for a more radical democracy as fundamentally a clash between the machinations of global capitalism and the attempts of the poor and marginalized to insert their voices into the development policies and practices that adversely affect their lives. Erik Berg discusses violence in relation to the Gothenburg riots *"Its all a question of giving space to public expression of discontent. If this is not allowed, then violence is the unavoidable outcome in the end. This is sort of like a pressure boiler where you can build up a huge pressure by not letting the steam out and if the pressure boiler is a society that will be catastrophic. The public space is like the outlet for the steam, and of course for radical movements you can use the public space to build a steam engine for revolution. Or reform. If that is what you prefer."*[165]

SYMBOLISM

In considering public space, we need to consider the question whether spatial arrangement also affect political behaviour. If so, battles over public space are important not only for the immediate reasons of ownership of the city but also because it affects the kind of society we want to live in. This in turn raises another question of who should be in control over the public space. In privatizing and commercializing the public space power is taken from the elected representatives of the public to unelected decision-makers like property developers or business associations. Is public space better of in the hands of the elected or the unelected, presumably responding to the needs of the public? Is there the third option?

Violence in cities are indicative of the feelings of the citizens, and in this manner is an important mean by which issues of dissatisfaction are brought into the public awareness. As public space is increasingly privatized or otherwise brought under greater control, possibilities for democratic action risk being minimized[166] This connection between democracy and public space is explored in "Democracy and Public

164 S. Springer, *Public Space as emancipation: meditations on anarchism, radical democracy, neoliberalism and violence*, Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography. 43 (2), (2011) p. 527

165 See full interview in Appendix A

166 Don Mitchell, *The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol 85, Issue 1, (1995)

Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance" from 2012. Starting by identifying the roles in democracy (elected, selected or self-elected representatives) it continues by setting out in broad terms the theoretical linkages between each role and the kind of stage - the kind of physical public stage - that the performance of those roles requires: *"In doing so, I draw on Kenneth Burke's concept (1969) of the "scene-act ratio", by way of Hajer (2009) arguing that while for some roles and some narrative content pretty much any stage will do, for others there are very specific requirements, In particular, I argue that public claim-making requires highly visible stages, which limits the range of possibilities in interesting ways, and that binding collective decision-making and scrutiny of the decision-makers require not just visible but single stages, putting decision-makers under the spotlight and keeping them there. The implications are these: it is a functional requirement of democracy that binding collective decision-making takes place in a single, visible, and accessible venue; and it is this requirement of democracy that public claims be made in places that are conductive to being noticed and taken seriously by the rest of the demos."*[167]

It follows that substituting public space with other kinds of space, such as commercial space which has other motivations than corresponding to the above roles and stages, could have a negative effect on democracy as it would limit the freedom of the public to express themselves and architecture to reflect this process. It undermines the openness in terms of communication from the public to the authorities. The common belief that privately owned public spaces are more controlled than publicly owned spaces was empirically tested in a study from 2009, where the findings showed that *"...the use of the private sector to provide publicly accessible space leads to increased control over use, behavior, and access. Furthermore, while both publicly and privately owned public spaces tend equally to encourage public use and access, managers of privately owned spaces tend to employ more features that control behavior within those spaces. More specifically, spatial control in privately owned spaces is normally achieved through the use of surveillance and policing techniques as well as design measures that 'code' spaces as private."*[168] In the Gothenburg Riots interview below Erik Berg describes how the physical environment interacted with the protesters and police *"They basically rebuild the city by putting these abnormal things that would not normally be in the streets, blocking off and sort of creating "traps", also they created the feelings of part of the city being militarized in an abnormal way. That was something that sort of raised the psychological level on all sides. it was like saying "we expect the worst". (...) one of the most fundamental things that happen when you seal of entire parts of the city in that way is that you say to the people that "we regard you as a threat, you are not allowed to come close to the political process", and that undermined the whole purpose of the protest because the purpose was to actually make the politicians in the congress hall aware of this public outcry. On a psychological level its a contra-productive strategy if you want to keep it peaceful to "rebuild the city" in such a way. To many people protesting this was the ultimate provocation. (...) there is something that occurs when the looting begins in the mind of people, peoples mind change, It is like something switches in the normality, things that are normaly not allowed become allowed by breaking the barrier of what's allowed by breaking the barrier into state of emergency. Normal people suddenly give up their usual boundaries and may suddenly participate in looting. The situation as such initiated this psychological switch. "Avenyn" is a 1.5 km long street, if you where standing in the middle of that street in this situation you were suddenly not in Gothenburg anymore, you were in a game zone, if you were looking down the street you could clearly see things where not normal, so the normal rules did no longer apply."*[169]

In his dramatically phrased article on anthropocentrism Martin Coward *"...examines the nature of the destruction of built environments. Such destruction should be seen as a*

167 John R. Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University press, 2012)

168J Németh, S Schmidt, 2011, *The privatization of public space: modeling and measuring publicness*, Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design 38(1) p. 5 – 23

169 See full interview in Appendix A

distinct form of violence: urbicide. This violence comprises the destruction of shared spatiality which is the condition of possibility of heterogeneous communities. Urbicide, insofar as it is a destruction of heterogeneity in general, is thus a manifestation of a 'politics of exclusion'. However, this account of the destruction of the built environment is not only an insight into a distinct form of political violence. Rather, an account of urbicide also offers a metatheoretical argument regarding the scholarly study of political violence: namely that destruction of built environments contests the anthropocentric frame that usually dominates the study of violence"[170]

Another aspect of violence in relation to the built environment is how to actually propote or discourage it. If you had to choose between 10% more cops on the beat or 10% more citizens knowing their neighbors' first names, the latter is a better crime prevention strategy.[171] Note that the following relates to violence as used in a non-democratic way, that is in no way indicating larger public unrest and does not relate to freedom of expression. In 1971 C. Ray Jeffrey coined the phrase "Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED).[172] This deals with how the "proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime and an improvement in the quality of life."[173] CPTED is guided by five major principles:

1. Natural surveillance refers to the placement of physical features that maximize visibility. Example: The strategic use of windows that look out on the school entrance so that students can see into the school and know that others can see them.

2. Access management involves guiding people by using signs, well-marked entrances and exits, and landscaping. It may also include limiting access to certain areas by using real or symbolic barriers. Example: Landscaping that reduces access to unsupervised locations on the school grounds.

3. Territoriality is defined by a clear delineation of space, expressions of pride or ownership, and the creation of a welcoming environment. Example: Motivational signs, displays of student art, and the use of school colors to create warmth and express pride.

4. Physical maintenance includes repair and general upkeep of space. Example: Removing graffiti in restrooms in a timely manner and making the necessary repairs to restrooms, light fixtures, and stairways to maintain safety and comfort.

5. Order maintenance involves attending to minor unacceptable acts and providing measures that clearly state acceptable behavior. Example: Maintaining an obvious adult presence during all times that students transition from one location to another. [174]

The use of CCTV cameras seem both an undemocratic and excluding action *"Both the commercialization of public space and the policing of that space with CCTV have the effect of excluding people incapable of consuming, people who might fail to participate in or might actively disturb the main activity of the area, namely shopping."*[175]

From this we may get an indication that privatization and commercialization of public spaces

170 Martin Coward, *Against anthropocentrism: the destruction of the built environment as a distinct form of political violence*, Review of International Studies Volume: 32, Issue:03, (2006) p. 419-437

171 Harvard Kennedy School, *The Saguaro Seminar*, www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/factoids.htm (April 8, 2012)

172 Center for disease control and prevention, www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/cpted.html (May 5, 2012)

173 TD Crowe, *Crime prevention through environmental design: applications of architectural design and space management concepts*, (Boston, USA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000)

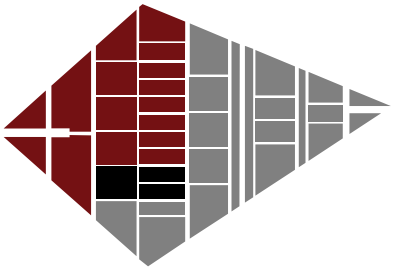
174 Center for disease control and prevention, www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/cpted.html (May 5, 2012)

175 Heidi Mork Lomell, *Targeting the Unwanted: Video Surveillance and Categorical Exclusion in Oslo, Norway*, Surveillance & Society, CCTV Special (eds. Norris, McCahill and Wood), 2(2/3) p. 346-360, www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles2(2)/unwanted.pdf (May 7, 2012)

affect deeper issues of society, as the built environment reflect the society's ideology and affect the freedom of expression of its citizens, including violent expression. The importance of freedom of expression in the public space is emphasized as it relates to a mechanism for feedback to governance which does not get satisfied in other arenas.

POTENTIALS: WHAT CAN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT DO?

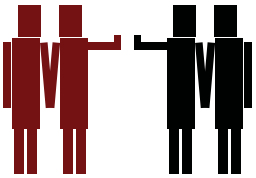
Provide doors instead of barriers, design spaces which allows for public use and expression.
Not limit the public use of spaces but instead actively encouraging public participation.
Employ user-friendly processes through which the built environment could support the democratic process, channeling dissatisfaction towards constructive change.



COMMUNITY

Communities consist of interacting people, living in some proximity (i.e., in space, time, or relationship). Community usually refers to a social unit larger than a household that shares common values and has social cohesion. In the nightmare scenario community is based on exclusion, bonding together over a unity of us versus them. This negative cohesion is explored in terms of the creation of groups below, the role of the individual in the context is discussed in relation to the abscence of community.

US & THEM



"One thing that never ceases to surprise the naive ethical consiousness is how the very same people who commit terrible acts of violence towards their enemies can display warm humanity and gentle care for the members of their own group. Is not it strange that the soldier who slaughtered innocent civilians was ready to scarifice his life for his unit?"[176]

The nightmare scenario illustrates a community juxtaposing socio-economic groups against eachother where the value of one is deemed more than the other, and the lower valued is constantly aiming for the inclusion in the higher valued group. In other words; the highest valued group is the wealthy, enhanced through them getting access to the city's privileges, the lowest is the poor, which are not able to interact with the city in the ways specified by the options available as these require having the means to do so. The built environment strengthens this divide through housing the options available, if all options mean you have to pay to use them, it gives the impression that only the people able to do so count. This division between those able to afford the city and those who don't is a mechanism which places one groups against another, creating a group mentality which distinct between us and them.

The Slovenian philosopher, sociologist and cultural critic Slavoj Zizek discusses the idea of Neighbour in his book "Violence" (2008)[177]. Starting with quoting *"An enemy is someone whose story you have not heard"*[178] he illustrates this premise by the litterary example of Mary Shelleys "Frankenstein", where the monster is allowed to speak for itself, to tell the story from its own perspective, which subjectivises and turns him from a horrible object no one dares to confront to a deeply hurt and desperate individual, yearning for company and love.[179] Although, there are limitations to this procedure *"...is one also ready to affirm that Hitler was an enemy because his story was not heard?"*[180] The opposition of one group against another requires a familiarity and identification with one and the ignorance or disinterest in the other.

The premise of enemies being the other, the unknown, has significant implications for architecture, as this is the arena for interactions which could either promote getting to know the story and gain interest in the other, changing its status from enemy, or distancing oneself from the same. In sociology and social psychology, ingroups and outgroups are social groups to which an individual feels as though he or she belongs as a member, or (for outgroups) to which they feel contempt, opposition, or a desire to compete. People tend to hold positive attitudes towards members of their own groups, a phenomenon known as ingroup bias. The term originates from social identity theory which grew out of the work of social psychologists Henri

176 Slavoj Zizek, *Violence: six sideways reflections*, (Croydon, Surrey, UK: Profile books ltd, CPI Bookmarque, 2008) p. 40
177 Ibid
178 Epigraph of "living room dialogues in the middle east" quoted from Wendy Brown, Regulating Aversion, *Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*, (Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, 2006) p.1
179 Zizek, p.40
180 Zizek, p.39

Tajfel and John Turner. Using a method called the minimal group paradigm, Tajfel and colleagues discovered that people can form ingroups, as well as outgroups within a matter of minutes. Such groups can form even on the basis of seemingly trivial characteristics, such as preferences for certain paintings. Tajfel and colleagues' experiments also demonstrate that people are likely to privilege ingroup members (e.g. by awarding them more points or money), even when groups have been formed on trivial characteristics.[181] As examples of this we may consider the formation of friendships at an early age. Young kids create ingroups on quite arbitrary basis "we have the same shoes", "we were born on the same day", "we both like strawberry icecream", the outgroup is defined in an equally simplistic manner "he's fat", "she's ugly", "he's got ugly pants". As we grow up, most of us expand our groups to include other denominators such as "we're doing soccer", "we like baking", "we work together". These groups have a higher tendency to include a mix of people from different nationalities, ethnicities, ages etc. The variety of personal groups we have and their compositions are dependent on the social and cultural environment we live in: a student in one of Sweden's student towns may have personal groups mainly including people of the same age, social background and interests, while a preacher in Liberia may have personal groups consisting of a great variety of ages and social backgrounds due to his line of work providing the opportunity to meet a variety of people.

Most people belong to multiple social groups. Besides our personal groups we belong to large ingroups such as gender, class, political beliefs and religion. These groups intermerge, involving mixes of all varieties. However, when one of these becomes too strong, placing one against the other, we get issues such as sexism, racism, religious and political wars. In this context the importance of intermingling ingroups, preventing the formation of too strong outgroups, becomes clear. If you belong to the groups of "poor" "christian" "women", it may be easier to sympathise with "poor" "muslim" "women". If the ingroups reach a level where they outweigh the outgroups, the differences become smaller than the similarities.

The concept of ingroup-outgroup is an extremely effective tool which throughout history have been used (consciously and unconsiously) to unite everything from a group of friends against a fat kid to a nation against another nation. An illustration of this mechanism's potential for both good and bad within a single example is that of religion. It has a wide base, joining both men and women, young and old, rich and poor, within the same ingroup, it even includes different cultures, ethnicities and nationalities. In terms of effect on peoples everyday lives it determines ethical and moral values, interaction with others, daily rituals and patterns, what we wear, what we eat, what we say, how we feel. Religions and as well as nationalism have been extraordinary in clustering people within one group, the other side of the coin is the potential for these huge groups to turn against eachother. In general the negative effects of the ingroup/outgroup principle (alienation, segregation, loneliness...) are reduced by individuals belonging to multiple sets of groups, thereby softening the edges of their social interactions, not placing one group as much against another.

Belonging to larger ingroups containing a variety of smaller ones is beneficial to creating harmonious cities as they reduce the effect of posing strong groups against eachother. If you belong to multiple groups you may always have a common denominator with the person you are trying to oppose. Creating an enemy of the other is harder if we already have been introduced to their kids. To avoid the oppositions between "us" and "them" it therefore seems important to encompass as many different groups as possible to promote interaction and intergration amongst groups. Compare this with the discussion of role creation under "identity" above. If we are aware of the importance of this function, and the need to create multiple ingroups, the built environment may provide ample opportunities to

181 Wikipedia, *Ingroups and outgroups*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingroups_and_outgroups (April 27, 2012)

promote integration by creating incentives to meet and get to know other groups.

The current Occupy Wall Street movement is an example of the potential in man to join up over a common cause, based on a rhetoric of community. On October 15th, 2011, protests were held from North and South America to Asia, Africa and Europe, with over 1,500 events in 82 countries. Occupiers of different ages, races, walks of life, and political beliefs joined the movement. The mix grew quickly to include students, elderly people, families with children, construction workers on their lunch breaks, unemployed Wall Street executives, Iraq & Afghanistan veterans, moms, and many others. *"The people-powered force of shared anger at a broken system that profits the top 1% at the expense of the rest has shifted the american national dialogue. The Occupy Wall Street protest has become a cultural phenomenon, mentioned everywhere from jokes on Saturday Night Live to the solemn dedication the national memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. by President Obama. The occupiers state themselves as having shown their country how to come together and respect differences while working together to build a movement for change."*[182]. The movement declares *"We are the 99 percent. We are getting kicked out of our homes. We are forced to choose between groceries and rent. We are denied quality medical care. We are suffering from environmental pollution. We are working long hours for little pay and no rights, if we're working at all. We are getting nothing while the other 1 percent is getting everything. We are the 99 percent"*[183]. The movement utilizes individual, personal stories reflecting a general situation in order to join together and affect change.

By using individual stories from the masses of the "99%" the occupy wall street movement is introducing the "enemy" in the manner discussed by Slavoj Zizek, humanizing the masses and putting a face to an anonymous group. The motto for this *"Put a face to the 99 percent. Let's get known."* interestingly juxtaposes the use of progaganda in totalitarian regimes, traditionally employed to unite large groups of diverse individuals under generalized groupings ("jews", "working class", "bourgouisie", "Trotskyists" etc.) Hanna Arendt describes the Nazi propaganda as using *"...the persuasion of mass demagogy only as a preparatory step and never overestimated its lasting influence, whether in oratory or in print. This gave the masses of atomized undefinable, unstable and futile individuals a means of self-definition and identification which not only restored some of the self-respect they had formerly derived from their function in society, but also created a kind of spurious stability which made them better candidates for an organization. (...) When public attention was equally focused on nationalism on one hand and socialism on the other, when the two were thought to be incompatible and actually constituted the ideological watershed between the Right and the Left, the "National Socialist German Workers Party" (Nazi) offered a synthesis supposed to lead to a national unity, a semantic solution whose double trademark of "German" and "Worker" connected the nationalism of the Right with the internationalism of the Left"*[184].

The OWS movement includes individualism as a tool for strengthening the collective group. This principle, joining various perspectives and groups of people under one flag without necessitating abandonment of individuality, is an example of how the positive aspects of the in-group/out-group mechanism may be used while avoiding the negative effects. In this case, the larger group consists of individuals, each with their own perspective, each belonging to several other groups (race, age, beliefs etc.) the diversity within the 99% are *emphasised* as part of the formation of the encompassing group, the individuals maintain their individuality but are joined by the common out-group of the 1%, the faceless corporations, larger institutions and individuals running these, their umbrella is to have a shared sense of purpose.

182 Occupy Wall Street, www.occupywallst.org/, (Feb 19, 2012)
183 We are the 99 percent, wearethe99percent.tumblr.com/ (Feb 18,2012)
184 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (Orlando, Florida, USA: Harcourt Books, 1948) p. 356-357

""If you live alone, it is inevitable that you may die alone"

/Yoko Yokota, assistant supervisor of the Tokyo Shinjuku ward's division for senior-citizen services.[185]

A couple of years back I was listening to Swedish radio, one of those programs where the listeners call in to the studio. A woman called in and recounted the story of meeting a retired old lady in the supermarket, in front of the milk section. The woman off-handedly made a comment on the prize of milk or such and she and the retired lady got to chat for a few minutes. When they each went their way the old lady told the woman "Thank you for talking to me. Noone has spoken to me in a week". The story illustrates a perceived discrepancy in terms of the roles available within the community. The woman seemed to have lost her role and thereby her purpose, becoming invisible in a society existing around her without her playing a part.

The role of individuals in modern societies are complex as the social units are changing. This is particularly interesting in terms of the aging and lonely, as they seem particularly vulnerable to be excluded from the community if this does not actively provide the structures where social interaction can take place independent of group belonging such as socio-economic status, age or occupation. Communities consist of people joined by a common denominator, being parts of a greater scene, but what if there are individuals who are not casted?

An extreme outcome of loneliness is reflected through the japanese term *kodokushi* ("lonely deaths"), meaning a solitary death where one dies completely alone without being taken care of or accompanied by anybody. One's body is often found several days after, in some cases even over a month after one's death.[186] A phenomenon first described in the 1980s, in 2008 in Tokyo, more than 2,200 people over 65 died lonely deaths, according to statistics from the city's Bureau of Social Welfare and Public Health.[187]

"The people die alone, sprawled on the floor beside crumpled clothing and dirty dishes, tucked beneath flowery bedspreads, slouched against the wall. Months — even years — can pass before somebody notices a body. On occasion, all that's left are bones."[188]

Kodokushi has been pointed out as something what may happen to anybody when loneliness coincides with poverty.[189] Stories on kodokushi often reflect a gradual decay in maintaining connections to society, such as this newspaper reporting on a man found in a temporary housing facility:

"Found by a Volunteer Nurse. He had been visiting the hospital for visceral disease. He bought liquor rather than food. There were a bottle of sake and two copies of his CV at his bedside. In the refrigerator there was only an apple which was distributed by the community association. It could be classed as death from starvation. (Kobe Newspaper, January 29th, 1997, Port-Island temporary housing, Minatojima-Naka-Machi)"[190]

Not having an active part in the community which enables them to be useful, the kodukushi are people without a purpose, disconnected and useless to the extent

185 Time World, *Japans "Lonely Deaths" a Business Opportunity*, www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1976952,00.html (May 5, 2012)
186 Hyogo Research Center for Quake Restoration, Kodokushi - Solitary Death, www.shinsai.or.jp/hrc-e/publish/lessons_ghe/lghe08.html (May 5, 2012)
187 Time World, *Japans "Lonely Deaths" a Business Opportunity*, www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1976952,00.html (May 5, 2012)
188 Ibid
189 Hyogo Research Center for Quake Restoration, Kodokushi - Solitary Death, www.shinsai.or.jp/hrc-e/publish/lessons_ghe/lghe08.html (May 5, 2012)
190 Ibid

that they are not even missed when they die, they existence or non-existence does not matter. In japanese art, one representation of aging is through the crone of *Obasuteyama*, as she has appeared in various forms throughout centuries of Japanese folklore, literature, theater, and film. Although the Obasuteyama story addresses the moral questions surrounding the fear of abandonment in old age, its various artistic interpretations also provide older adults with different, and sometimes contradictory cultural models to understand and cope with this fear. Ethnographic observations and interview material concerning aging and abandonment in the lives of present-day Japanese adults show how seemingly different attitudes toward aging can be linked to a shared narrative of abandonment. [191] The related term *Ubasute* (lit. "abandoning an old woman") refers to the custom allegedly performed in Japan in the distant past, whereby an infirm or elderly relative was carried to a mountain, or some other remote, desolate place, and left there to die, either by dehydration, starvation, or exposure.[192] Compare this with Nordic myth of *Ättestupa*; a cliff where elderly people who no longer where able to support themselves or contribute to the farm threw themselves, or were thrown, to their deaths. Both Ubasute and Ättestupa involves getting rid of perceived non-functional component of the community. In the former case this relates to individuals deciding themselves without value, and in the latter the community deciding for them. It is a very consumer way of looking at humans.

Studies have shown that loneliness and depressive symptomatology can act in a synergistic effect to diminish well-being in middle-aged and older adults[193], while strong social networks, consisting of a variety of ages, interests and ideas, on the other hand are shown to be beneficial to the well-being of people. Elderly living alone often have families nearby and other companionship. About 3 in 5 have lived in the same place for 10 or more years. Those living alone also have a greater tendency to use community services than do those living with others.[194] A study of 1982-84 National Long-Term Care Channeling Demonstration data found that elderly persons living alone were more likely than those living with others to use informal support services to meet instrumental activities of daily living and social needs, while those elderly living with others were more likely to use medical care services. Also, while the elderly living alone had generally better physical health than those living with others, those living alone reported greater levels of depression, loneliness, and social isolation.[195]

Sweden, as a secular country with no particularly strong ideological component and a dispersion of family and friends, is a culture valuing the individual. Perhaps because it has had the luxury of for a long time not needing to join into larger collaborative groups to unite and survive. The state has been the successful provider since the 30's, not requiring any particular effort from its citizens, no war, no reconstruction. As such, it is a country representing the tendencies of many other countries, moving from situations which required unity in order to survive (look again at Japan, after the second world war it represented perhaps the worlds most famous collective culture and one of the worlds most famous strife and recovery stories) towards more individualistic societies, based less on the need to join towards a common cause, and more on the need to be happy, fulfill your life

191 Jason A. Danely, Art, Aging and Abandonment in Japan, Journal of Aging, Humanities, and the Arts: Official Journal of the Gerontological Society of America, Volume 4, Issue 1, (2010)

192 Wikipedia, *Ubasute*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ubasute (May 2,2012)

193 John T. Cacioppo, University of Chicago, Mary Elizabeth Hughes, Duke University, Linda J. Waite, Louise C. Hawkley, and Ronald A. Thisted, University of Chicago, *Loneliness as a Specific Risk Factor for Depressive Symptoms:- Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Analyses*, Psychology and Aging, American Psychological Association 2006, Vol. 21, (2006) http://psychology.uchicago.edu/people/faculty/cacioppo/jtcreprints/chwht06.pdf

194 R.J. Havlik, B.M. Liu, M.G. Kovar, et al., National Center for Health Statistics, *Health Statistics on Older Persons, Data from National Health Interview Survey 1984*, Supplement on Aging, Vital and Health Statistics, Series 3, No. 25, Public Health Service, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, (1987) p. 26-27.

195 Ada C. Mui, J. Denise Burnette, *A Comparative Profile of Frail Elderly Persons Living Alone and Those Living With Others*, Journal of Gerontological Social Work, Vol. 21, (1994) p. 5-26

through fulfilling yourself as an individual. Ironically, a fully individualistic society does not seem to actually bring happinness. The Habitat Agenda even mentions *"...unsustainable patterns of production and consumption..."* as being one of the main contributors to the problems we are facing today in terms of sustainability.[196]

Robert D. Putnam is in his "Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community" from 2000, draws on evidence including nearly 500,000 interviews over the last quarter century to show that Americans sign fewer petitions, belong to fewer organizations that meet, know their neighbors less, meet with friends less frequently, socialize with their families less often and even go bowling alone. Declining social capital trends over the last 25 years include a 58% drop in attending club meetings, a 43% drop in attending family dinners and a 35% drop in having friends over.[197] *"We must learn to view the world through a social capital lens,"* says Lew Feldstein of the New Hampshire Charitable Foundation and co-chair of the Saguaro Seminar, an initiative related to the above book which works toward raising awareness of and improving social capital in America, *"We need to look at front porches as crime fighting tools, treat picnics as public health efforts and see choral groups as occasions of democracy. We will become a better place when assessing social capital impact becomes a standard part of decision-making."*[198]

The connections to the built environments involve how our habitation can provide spaces which support social interactions which both form groups and form connections inbetween different demographic groups, social interactions which in turn could help decrease clefts between generations, build social capital and create stronger social networks.

POTENTIALS: WHAT CAN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT DO?

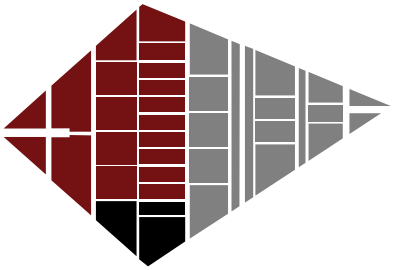
Build spaces for interaction. Aid in the feeling of belonging to a group by creating spaces for activities being common denominators for that group.

Create shared spaces for necessary everyday functions to include individuals and merge different groups, where meetings could happen in a natural manner, individuals could be integrated and develop their roles within the community and social capital could grow.

196 UN-Habitat, *Habitat Agenda*, www.unhabitat.org/declarations/habitat_agenda.htm, (2003) p.3, (April 26,2012)

197 Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, (New York, USA: Simon & Schuster, 2000), for the primary data sets see http://bowlingalone.com/?page_id=8

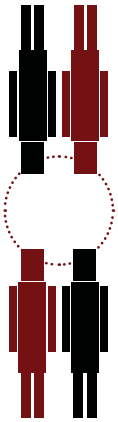
198 Better Together, www.bettertogether.org/ (May 8, 2012)



COMMUNICATION

In the nightmare scenario communication between authorities and citizens has failed. Even though communication mostly is non-physical it is often anchored in physical things, such as venues for discussion, paper for expression or phones for conversation. In the context of this scenario, the question is how architecture can support sustainable communication by translating it into the built environment. In this, there seems to be two parts: the first concerns the physical means by which communication is part of the built environment, and secondly, what "sustainable communication" could mean, which general communication method would be constructive to sustainability.

MEANS



The last decades, a major role in the development of tools for communication has been played by technology. Mid 20th century telecommunications (lit. "communications from afar") mainly meant telephone service and radio broadcasting.[199] According to a 2011 UN-Habitat report on information and communication technologies (Information and Communication Technologies in Cities: Lessons from the Developing World, UN-HABITAT 2011) by the end of the first decade of the 20th century the term now refer to a technological domain of expanding scope, defined under the common purpose to *"...create and use technological means to handle knowledge, aid in its transmission, reception and understanding, and the interplay of this process with life, society and the environment"*. Personal receiving devices, terminals, from landlines to minicalls, mobiles and smart phones, note books and ipads have had a particularly quick penetration into society, especially in urban areas: mobile subscribers worldwide reached 76% in 2010, in developed countries subscriptions were on an average 116 mobile subscriptions per 100 inhabitants, 71% of the population in developed countries was online and 65.5% had internet access at home (compared to developing countries where 21% were online and 15.8% had internet access at home), total number of SMS sent tripled globally between 2007 and 2010.[200]

The potential of information and communication technologies lays in aiding communication not only socially, such as using a phone to call your wife, but practically, such as sending her money for the children's school fees. The fastest growing number of mobile subscriptions and internet users is in Africa, which in this has grown faster than any other region in the world.[201] Mobile subscriptions are also becoming more evenly distributed between different income groups, a process which has been made easier by services tailored to the region such as prepaid mobile phones charging by the second instead of minute and convenient mobile banking, such as "M-PESA"[202]. M-PESA is a mobile paying platform introduced by the telecompany Safaricom in March 2007.Originally, it was a SMS system for handling financial transactions aimed to reach where banks couldn't. It is no being used to pay from everything from school fees to taxis and groceries, and incresingly also other uses such as collecting land rates and licence fees. The process is simple and involves the user purchasing digital funds fom any M-PESA agent, storing these in their phone in a manner similar to filling up your phone airtime, no bank accunt needed. At any M-PESA point and in a variety of countries, the

199 UN-Habitat, *Information and Communication Technologies in Cities: Lessons from the Developing World*, (Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat, August 2011, v.1.0), p.4
200 Ibid, p.5
201 Ibid
202 Ibid

user can than redeem the funds for conventional cash, use them to purchaise phone airtime or settle bills, or transfer them to other users. Balance can be verified at any time via SMS. By mid 2010 the customer base was 9.5 million people, more than 17,600 small retailers in Kenya had signed up as M-PESA agents, far outnumbering the countrys 840 bank branches.[203] The uses of M-PESA has grown as people take advantage of its flexibility: originally piloted as a system to advance micro loans and receive payments, it has grown to be used to send money up-country from Nairobi's marginalized slums, replacing systems which were not as reliable, such as the postal service and matatu (minibus) couriers. Additional uses have included women using M-PESA to store their "secret savings", preferring this form of storage than the bank because of its accessibility (there are no bank branches in the slum) and the possibility of keeping their savings secret from their husbands. During the post election violence in 2008, M-PESA proved its potential for crisis mitigation as it for many people was the only way to pay for food and water during the escalation of violence, as other systems shut down or where overwhelmed. During the famine that hit the horn of Africa July 2011 it served to reach isolated communities and provide relief income, the Media Owners Association and the Red Cross were able to raise KES 630 million with over 90% of the sum raised through M-PESA.[204] The system has developed dynamically from its original intention to encompass solutions to a number of needs not previously met for the urban african low income group, these have used the service in ways not originally intended but which was inherent in the system to meet their needs.

The above mentioned UN-Habitat report on information and communication technologies mentions, almost in a footnote, the basis of a debate which has been stirring and erupted in the early 2010's, that *"...with social networks, personal relationships are more visible and quantifiable, and some think this could improve productivity of the private sector or quality and responsiveness in the public one"*[205]. This sentence contains two points, both dealing with the question of what the information we enter in various communication tools are used for. The first point concern the use of our personal information in the private sector. Public data is viewed as an increasingly valuable commodity by the commercial sector. Access to this data is affected by many federal and state legislative acts, most notably the Freedom of Information, Privacy Act, and Open Access laws. Some governmental agencies recognize that their data is a saleable commodity and are seeking to charge access fees that exceed actual copying costs.[206] Social networks have shown to be efficient in gathering information from communication, combining it in ways useful for companies to target you as an individual. If you login to your gmail account, the advertisements on the side will now be determined by the topics you have discussed in your emails. The second point concerns whether these efficient methods for gathering and combining information could not be used for other purposes than determining relevant targets for specific advertisements, such as aiding communication and response in the public sector, improving public engagement and making participation more relevant, using the methods to predict who would be interested in engaging in a specific issue. Layering of information in the manner of facebook and google could, by using information entered by people themselves, help provide a more comprehensive view of the citizen, not be used to get a comprehensive handle on the consumer. The potential in aggregating and layering data for use in understanding and improving the complex system of a city is currently seen in examples such as the use of mobile phones for everyday citizens to report on everything from cleanliness of restaurants and the best bike roads (New

203 Ibid, p.20
204 Ibid, p.21
205 Ibid, p.6
206 Fritz H. Grupe, *Commercializing public information: A critical issue for governmental IS professionals*, Department of Accounting and Computer Information Systems, University of Nevada, Reno, USA, www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/037872069400045K, (April 6, 2012)

York), carbon emissions (Amsterdam), cardiac arrest alerts (San Francisco)[207] and locations where you've been kissed (Toronto). These use the built-in system of GPS in smartphones, allowing citizens to quickly react and report things they feel concern or interest them in their city. An important difference here is that this information is being consciously voluntered, and its purpose spelled out.

The above examples illustrate uses of new tools that enable us new forms of autonomy. The image of your society was once determined by those who had the power to determine what would be mapped, and what wouldn't be. By using the potential of individuals controlling what is being reported and shared according to the relevance for them is a concept which has not been possible until the development of these new convenient technologies of portable terminals. The potential of using this data for the common good is promising as it by its non-censoring and all access nature allows combinations which exposes inconsistencies and patterns previously not documented or seen. New overlaying forms of data, and means for collecting these, help expose connections between for example the built environment, socio-economic factors and riots. For example, when UK Prime Minister David Cameron denied outright[208] that the London riots had anything to do with poverty, Datablog, the Guardian blog dedicated entirely to data-based journalism (mapping everything from the impact of cuts to housing benefits in the UK to government attempts to get Google to remove content or reveal data about its users, providing maps, data sets and often the analysis necessary to understand the implications), countered by a map overlaying the addresses of the defendants in the riots with concentrations of poverty, showing a much different picture: nearly 60 percent of those appearing in court lived within the top 20 percent of England's most deprived areas.[209]

According to the mentioned UN-Habitat report, information and communication technologies are in many countries increasingly being regarded as another public service, as basic as water and safety, of which ignorance is equally onerous as with another.[210] The term e-Government, first introduced in 1993, is used to refer to communication between the government and its citizens via computers, the web, mobile devices and other information and communication tools. Examples of how cities have tried to use technological means as part of their governance processes include:

- Quito, Ecuador: www.quito.gov.ec (information and services regarding the municipality)[211]
- Sao Paolo, Brazil:www.prefeitura.sp (social services, government agencies contact information, guides on how to participate in decisionmaking of the city, town meeting schedules, informal online polls on the services of the city)[212]
- Pasto, Colombia: www.pasto.gov.co (accountability at municipal level, information on Mayors' office and online service provision, publishes information on public officers lives)[213]
- Istanbul, Turkey (citizens can post feedback and recommendations on the municipality website, special section capturing concerns. Surveys and polls, possibility to apply for participative local government grants called "I have a project")[214]

207 UN-Habitat, *Information and Communication Technologies in Cities: Lessons from the Developing World*, (Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat, August 2011, v.1.0),p.6-7

208 The Official Site of the Prime Minister's Office, PM's Speech on the Fightback After the Riots, www.number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-on-the-fightback-after-the-riots/ (April 7, 2012)

209 Simon Rogers, The Guardian, *England riots: suspects mapped and poverty mapped,* www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/interactive/2011/aug/16/riots-poverty-map, (March 3, 2012)

210 UN-Habitat, *Information and Communication Technologies in Cities: Lessons from the Developing World*, (Nairobi, Kenya: UN-Habitat, August 2011, v.1.0), p.7

211 Ibid, p.11

212 Ibid, p.12

213 Ibid, p.12

214 Ibid

- Moron, Argentina (SMS service where people could choose to get texts on public policies sport, culture, health, and traffic of the city. Citizens sign up by sending a text to a city nuber with information on age, neighbourhood, home address and interest)[215]
- Delhi, India: rcs.delhigovt.nic.in. (transport department database, ownership of private vehicles, in 2010 on average 1600 tender notices were published every month, 1830 vendors were registered on the site and 201 branches of 64 departments of the governemtn of Delhi were using the facility)[216]
- Buenos Aires, Argentina: www.arba.gov (making tax payments easier, updated information, partly interactive through chatfunction with a taxpayer agent)[217]
- Hyderabad and Secunderabad, India: www.esevaonline.com (66 services with the goal of increasing citizen convenience, including payment of taxes, delivery of cerificates, granting of licences and permits, bill payments, forms submission. The project as part of it implementation in 2001 built ten kiosks to enable citizen access to the web platform. By 2010, 210 centres were in operation across the state)[218]

There are a great deal of initiatives out there which are similar to the above as most governments have a webpage. In general, five instances of participatory relationships between urban governments and the public have been identified: informing (to provide citizens with balanced information), consulting (to obtain feedback on decisions and alternatives), involving (to work directly with civil society throughout the policy process), collaborating (to partner with stakeholders to develop ideas and solutions) and empowering (to place final decision-making in the hands of citizens).[219] It is the level of interaction which distinguishes the government initiatives, some reaching all the way to empowering the citizens, most only managing to inform. The most obvious use for information and communication technologies is to use them for civic engagement, involving the active involvement of citizens in public affairs. This, however, involves reaching and engaging the citizens, giving them a means of communication that is accessible and useful to them. An issue with the websites and other tools are their varying degrees of citizen-friendly interfaces, recognized by cities such as Fez, Morocco, which in 2004 took this issue into action and considered citizens cultural and sociological reality in providing services that were in a more human-centred and usable format, targeting specifically the illiterate population (which at the time was 42.7%)[220]. The potential of using simple interfaces familiar to the users can be seen in the previous example of M-PESA, as well as in the successes of Facebook and Google.

215 Ibid, p.13
216 Ibid, p.14
217 Ibid, p.15
218 Ibid, p.16
219 Ibid, p.21
220 Ibid, p.11

Public space, as mentioned under "Identity" above, does not only have the effect of informing us where we are geographically, but also of informing us where we are in our culture. The concept of using information and communication technologies in the public space as a way to enhance the democratic process is a concept which frequently reoccurs in visions of future cities; the ability to connect cities through common widely accessible systems. Examples of this has in visions of the future been descripted since the beginning of the 20th century, particularly frequent in descriptions of space ships with "intercoms" or "comlogs", featuring in everything from Arthur C. Clarkes' "2001-a space odessey" to James Cameron's "Alien", but these are merely phonesystems in essence (although targeted for the specific uses of connecting a particular sub-segment of a society, such as "the crew" of a submarine or space ship). However, with the development of communication technologies these visions have expanded to include a more faceted communication involving not only the practical means of communication within a particular group but also involving how to support ideologies through the possibilities of new technical inventions. Some of the most renown Scifi writers of the 21st century describe societies shaped according to specific ideologies which are developed via and dependent on new means of communication. Ian M Banks "the Culture" is an anarchic society held together by their network of artificial intelligences[221], Dan Simmons "Hegemony" explores participatory democracy through a concept of an "All-ting" resembling a user-friendly internet specialized on allowing direct democracy[222]. Possibly the most developed example is Alistair Reynolds "Demarchists" (from "democracy" and "anarchism") who explore how to run multiple societies according to the same system[223]. In his book "the Prefect" he describes a setting where a series of space habitats (basically huge self-contained spaceships with ecosystems) form around a planet, allowing whomever wants to set up a new societal model with like-minded people to do so and inhabit their own tiny world. The basic functioning of this system is that each citizen, regardless of the particular setup of their habitat, has the right to vote directly via the common datasystem.

In general, these visions explore how communication tools can support various forms of public participation. This touches upon an underlaying question in this debate of which ideology would be most constructive to sustainability. Would an authoritarian regime, implementing changes without the time consuming method of consulting the populace be more efficient in affecting sustainable changes than a consultative democracy, allowing peoples opinions and needs to guide the process? The argument comes down to efficiency, something new technologies could help improve in traditional democracy, a potential which scifi writers have picked up on and developed in their visions. Possibly, architects could help visualize the connections between these new technologies and the built environment, bringing more democratic and efficient ways of achieving sustainability one step closer to reality. Kerstin Sommers, in the "Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme" interview

221 Iain M Banks, *The Algebraist*, (London, UK: Orbit, Clays ltd, 2005 [2004])
222 Dan Simmons, *Hyperion*, (New York, USA: Bantam Books, 1995 [1989]), Dan Simmons, *The Fall of Hyperion*, (New York, USA: Bantam Books, 1995 [1990]), Dan Simmons, *Endymion*, (New York, USA: Bantam Books, 1996 [1995]), Dan Simmons, *The Rise of Endymion*, (New York, USA: Bantam Books, 1998 [1997])
223 Alistair Reynolds, *The Prefect*, (London, UK: Gollancz, 2007 [2007])

below talks about the potential of effective communication: *"I think the access to information is still a very privileged thing. It is better than in the rural areas but still, we should very much make use of that tool and empower people through it. And then, plus all the political decision making, having power in voting and I think by creating more public space I think you are also enabling people to get access to more information."*[224]

The idea of "the third wave" describes a way of looking at the development of human societies in primarily three stages: *"...the first wave sector delivers agricultural products and minerals, the second wave sector massproduction and cheap labour and the third wave sector has a dominant position due to its new way of creating and using knowledge."*[225] Communication of knowledge would in this third wave potentially have huge power, the question is what this knowledge is, what it is used for and in whose hands it is. There lays potential in utilizing advancements in technology to make both the production and power over knowledge more directly in the hands of the people. For example, currently Copenhagen has an ongoing project where .a 12 meter long and 2 meter high interactive plasma screen is part of the museum's communication strategy in connection with the archaeological excavations that are to be carried out in construction of Copenhagen's new City Ring Metro.

Currently, research is ongoing concerning how touch screens could be applied in cities of today. In a recent paper on promoting community identity the authors present a research agenda for interacting places, i.e., public spaces that connect communities through public displays: "*Public displays may play an important role in overcoming dispersion and interleaving effects among and within communities, both in and across public spaces. Large LCD screens are becoming a pervasive resource in urban public spaces due to their significant price drops: we can find them at the bus and tram stations showing the latest news and current schedules, in universities promoting interesting talks and events, or on an entire building façade advertising a new brand product. Although most of these displays are isolated installations that run locally stored content in the form of slide shows, videos, or even still images, it is not hard to imagine that these displays will be networked in the near future (Clinch et al. 2011, Ojala et al. 2010). Networked and empowered with rich input capabilities through touch (Peltonen et al. 2008), gesture (Rubegni et al. 2011), and/or mobile phone interaction (Ballagas et al. 2006), public displays have the potential to become a powerful new communication channel. We envision that such a channel could be highly beneficial for connecting communities."*[226] Research on the role of urban public spaces for democratic and social engagement has revealed that internet use within public spaces affords interactions with existing acquaintances that are more diverse than those associated with mobile phone use and that internet connectivity within public spaces may contribute to higher overall levels of democratic and social engagement than what is afforded by exposure within similar spaces free of internet connectivity.[227] In terms of using technology for increased democracy, it is interesing to once again look at the Occupy Movement, who applied methods for direct democracy: "*The organized process or governing body of the Occupy movement is the General Assembly. The movement has no hierarchy and attempts to ensure that everyone's voice is heard. The Facilitation group, open for anybody to attend, teaches individuals how to attempt to facilitate the General Assembly in a non-biased way. One person from this group will volunteer to facilitate the General Assembly, and this person changes every day. Anyone is welcome to take this position. In order to make an announcement or proposal during the Assembly, the Facilitation Committee (or "Working Group" socalled at Occupy Wall Street) keeps a list of individuals called "Stack," and those on the list wait their turn to speak,*

224 See Appendix C for full interview

225 Heidi & Alvin Toffler, *Creating a New Civilization: The politics of the Third Wave*, (Falun, Sweden: Svenska forlaget, scandbook AB, 1994), p.23

226 Nemanja Memarovic, Marc Langheinrich, Florian Alt, CIRN Prato Community Informatics Conference 2011, *Connecting People through Content – Promoting Community Identity Cognition through People and Places*, pd-net.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/memarovic-CI2011.pdf, (March 5, 2012)

227 Online Library, *The Social Life of Wireless Urban Spaces: Internet Use, Social Networks, and the Public Realm,* onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01510.x/full (May 1, 2012)

or can raise their hands and be put on the list if they wish to speak. If people have responses or questions concerning specific proposals, they are counted and each person can do so after the proposal is made. After the matter is finished, Stack can then continue Also to avoid interruption, there are various hand signals used to indicate feelings concerning specific proposals or announcements during the General Assembly. These hand signals include agreement, disagreement, point of information or clarification, "process-" if someone is speaking out of process, and "hard-block," meaning that you are so opposed to the proposal that if it passes, you will abandon the movement."[228] Aiding the democratic process is a possibility in using new technology, reflecting on this, the benefits of suporting cooperation in large communities is quite strikingly illustrated by examples from biology: *(..) we ask how a species with this type of life history and ecology was able to expand to successfully colonize the majority of the planet over a period of only 50,000 years. We suggest that the capacity for advanced cooperation and sociality in modern humans led to increased regional carrying capacities, thus stabilizing populations. The implication of this model is that the benefits of cooperation mitigated the density-dependent effects of competition and the inherently slow human life history and played a major role in the high rates of population growth and geographic spread as modern humans expanded out of Africa to colonize the globe over the last 50,000 years. Finally, because modern human hunter–gatherers form complex social networks and cooperate to extract and share resources, our model implies that social complexity increases stability in human systems (...) As such, the model presented here also has implications for space use, cooperation, and stability in other social mammal species*[229]

Where information and communication technologies translate to the built environment seem to be in incoorporating the potential of exisiting systems, emphasizing its connections to the physical world, providing the physical interface for the communication, tying it to already existing infrastructure and making it attractive, visible and fun, and through this raise the awareness and use of the communication technology. If communicating through these means would result in visible changes in the built environment the linkages between the digital communication and changes in the built environment would be visibly appearent, presumably building trust between government and citizens, who would see direct effects of their engagement.

Communication in the last decade has developed the potentials of individuals to directly react to issues in their cities, reporting bad things, good things and propose better things. This participation seems to be beneficial to sustainability in that it enables quick reaction, awareness and response to sustainability issues. The built environment seems to have the power to support the efficiency of participatory processes by anchoring new information and communication technologies in the physical reality, incoorporating it in the city landscape, making it substantial and visible and thereby promote and raise awareness for an otherwise mostly invisible process.

POTENTIALS: WHAT CAN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT DO?

Support the concept of sustainability through more user friendly methods for public involvement on issues concerning them in the cities.

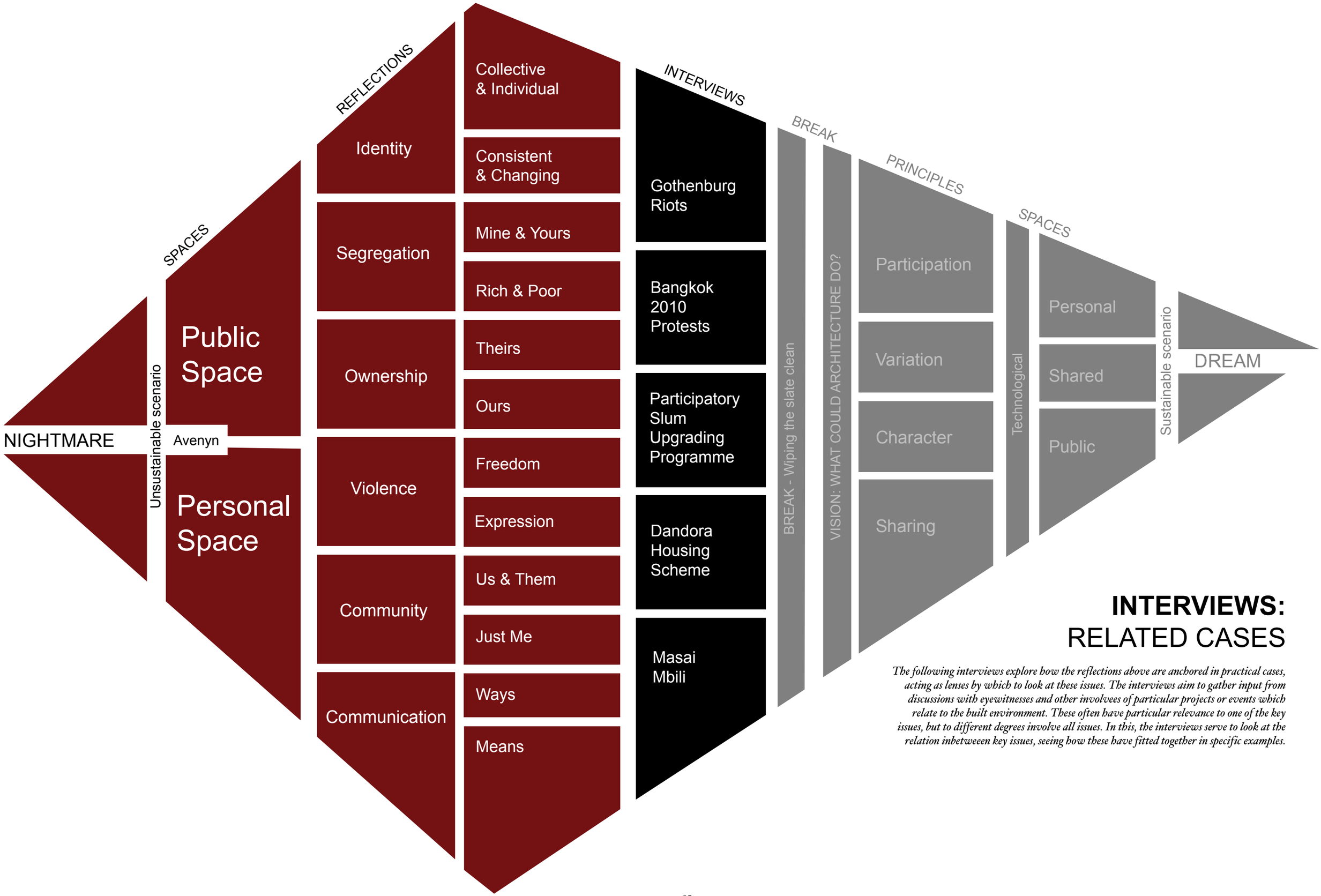
Utilize the potential of information and communication technologies, anchoring these in the built environment and make use of them to engage residents on matters relevant to them.

Make use of new methods for data gathering to better understand the needs of the residents, this provision of information to be voluntary and the results to be directly accessible to the residents.

Directly link personal involvement with your community to changes in the immediate built environment.

228 Laura Ball, *Experiences of the Occupy Movement*, www.pitzer.edu/offices/ontario/documents/Laura_Ball-Experiences_of_the_Occupy_Movement.pdf., p.8 (March 2, 2012)

229 Marcus J. Hamilton, Oskar Burger, John P. DeLong, Robert S. Walker, Melanie E. Moses, James H. Brown, *Population stability, cooperation, and the invasibility of the human species*, www.pnas.org/content/106/30/12255.full.pdf+html (March 8, 2012)



INTERVIEWS:
RELATED CASES

The following interviews explore how the reflections above are anchored in practical cases, acting as lenses by which to look at these issues. The interviews aim to gather input from discussions with eyewitnesses and other involvees of particular projects or events which relate to the built environment. These often have particular relevance to one of the key issues, but to different degrees involve all issues. In this, the interviews serve to look at the relation inbetweeen key issues, seeing how these have fitted together in specific examples.

QUESTION TEMPLATE

What, Where, Why?

What elements of the built environment were involved?

Main actors and roles?

How did the built environment play a role in terms of:

-Identity?

-Segregation?

-Ownership?

-Violence?

-Community?

-Density?

-Communication?

Perceived positive outcomes?

Perceived negative outcomes?

Extract from Radio Sweden, July 14, 2011:

"Ten years ago today marks the start of violent protests at a summit in Gothenburg, Sweden.

During the three day-meeting, which then-President George W. Bush attended, violence connected to political protests led to some 40 police and demonstrators being injured In the aftermath about 70 people were sentenced for participating in the riots, which were described as some of the worst ever in Sweden. The violence culminated when a 19-year-old demonstrator named Hannes Westberg was shot and seriously injured.

Gothenburg was described as a battlefield, a raped city, a place where terror had taken over. But at the same time police provoked the demonstrators. Fredrik Dahlgren, who works with the so-called Dialog Police in Västra Götaland, said the riots prompted police to introduce new methods for controlling crowds and demonstrations.

"We stood in a line fully equiped with helmets, shields and batons. With that kind of equipment it is not so easy to conduct a dialog, and you are perceived as confrontational," said Dahlgren.

He told Swedish Radio news that he can see why the police were seen as provocative.

"Yes, those were the tactics we used 10 years ago," he said. "With the knowledge we have gained, after what happened, I can understand that it was considered confrontational.""

GOTHENBURG RIOTS

The importance of ownership in terms of violence, the physical symbols for this.

Interviewee: Erik Berg
Relation to case: Eyewitness, architect, political activist
Date of interview: Jan 16, 2012

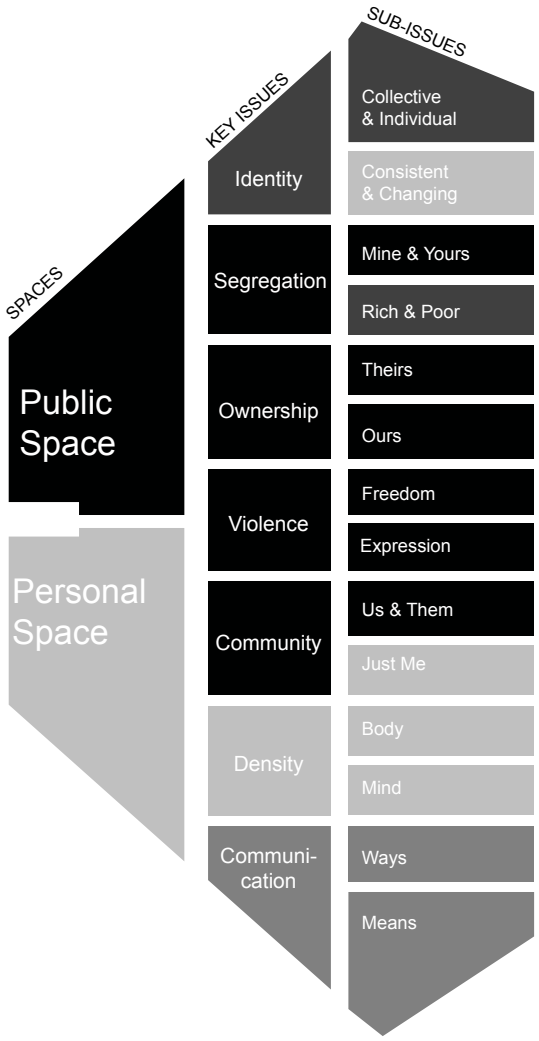
Full interview in Appendix A

Relations to issues as expressed in interview

The *public space* in the Gothenburg Riots served as an arena for the confrontations between police and demonstrators, and contained built elements which played a role in the riots.

The riots brought tensions to light inbetween different groups, both in terms of the demonstrators and the police but also in terms of those feeling they had been expelled from the city, manifesting in associated events such as a "reclaim the streets" party (shut down by the police). The *segregation* showed in the division of the *community* into denied vs allowed, demonstrators vs police, and via this clear division sympathies were formed between different demonstrator groups against the common enemy of the police. The segregation became symbolized through visual cues such as physically blocked access, threathening attire, and possession of the space. The conflict between the involved groups revolved around different perceptions of what constitutes a fair and rightous act in the face of *ownership*. The built elements involved in this were most notably the containers used by the police to block off streets for the protesters, thereby possessing the space and restricting the use of it, this was perceived as provocation by the protesters who were denied access to the space. The subsequent acts of *violence* involved using cobblestones as weapons against the police and reacting towards symbolic targets such as MacDonalds and banks. The police militarized the streets, creating traps by way of dead end streets and at one point sieging demonstrators on a bridge, this had threathening and undemocratic connotations. As the police rejected the demonstrators from the area these reacted against the built environment, venting their frustration by breaking barriers normally not broken, such as smashing windows, setting fires and throwing stones, described as being in a "game zone".

The confrontation illustrate how segregation in a community can be negatively aided by the built environment through denoting ownership of the space, visualized by the use of blocking elements by the police and violent reaction of the demonstrators against the built environment. Public use of the space was denied at the Gothenburg Riots, resulting in a tug of war over who had the right to it.



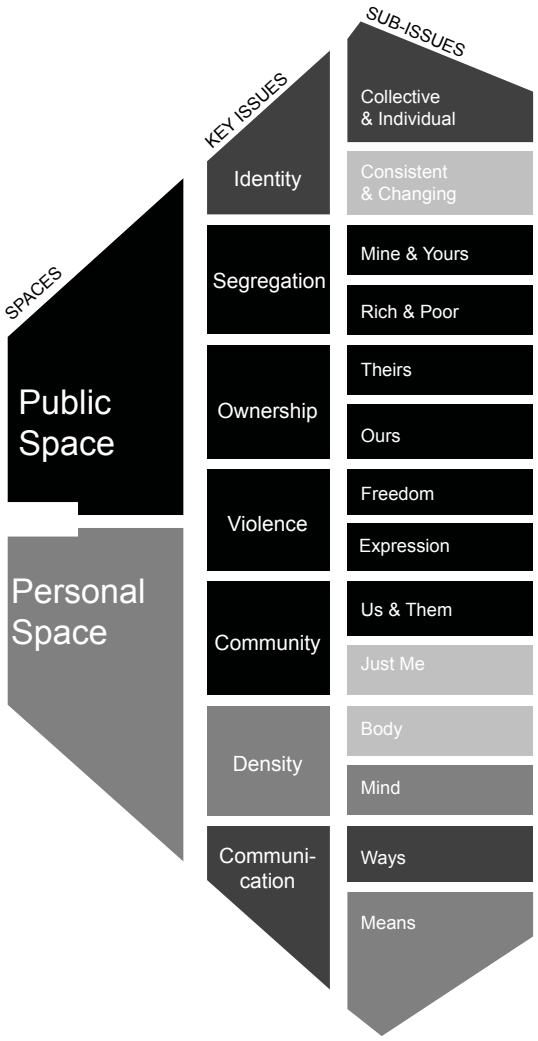
A prolonged series of political protests occurred in Bangkok, Thailand in 2010 from March to May against the Democrat Party-led government. The protests were organized by the National United Front of Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) (known as "Red-Shirts"). The UDD called for Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva to dissolve parliament and hold elections earlier than the end of term elections scheduled in 2012. The UDD demanded that the government stand down, and negotiations failed to set an election date. The protests escalated into prolonged violent confrontations between the protesters and the military, and attempts to negotiate a ceasefire failed. More than 80 civilians and 6 soldiers were killed, and more than 2,100 injured by the time the military successfully cracked down on the protesters on 19 May.

BANGKOK PROTEST 2010

Interviewee: Justine Davies
Relation to case: Eyewitness, fluent in Thai, documented the event in pictures
Date of interview: March 9, 2012

Full interview in Appendix B

The importance of location and symbols for ownership and sense of community, the potential in power by communication



Relations to issues as expressed in interview

In the Bangkok protests of 2010 the *public space* played a major role as this was occupied as a symbol of the protest, but a minor role was also played by the *personal space* as the protesters had to adapt the public space to their daily needs.

The occupied site seemed to have been selected due to it its *identity* as the economic heart of Bangkok, it was a symbol for the economically disenfranchised who acted out on elements representing wealth. The regular merchandise had been replaced with assorted "red" perifernalia, the use of which identified you as a protester, such as red shirts, red fans, dvd's of previous protests etc.
The physical barriers shutting of the streets *segregated* people who were involved in the protests and who were not, who were inside and who were outside, your affiliations seemed to be both determined by location (inside=protester) but also by which colour you wore, as this denoted political leaning. The choice of location was crucial to the impact of the protest, by occupying the economic heart of Bangkok, establishing *ownership* of the space and denying the usual "owners" use of it the protest changed the function of the place from an income generator to a statement of the cause. *Violence* from the protesters centered on symbolic targets representing wealth while violence from the soldiers targeted people, the blockade of the streets first prevented them access but later they used an overpass as a strategic post for shooting. There was a strong sense of *community*, strengthened by the fact that people supported the cause enough to come and live on the streets. The *density* of people, their unusual use of the streets and the location of being in this limited space made support for the protest visible, you could see how many people were involved. The well organized nature of the protests helped support its purpose, facilitating mobilization and *communication* between the protesters and inbetween them and the wider world. The organization seemed like a factor which enabled the protest to last for as long as it did and increase its impact. The physical evidence of the protests were swept under the extremely quickly.

PARTICIPATORY SLUM UPGRADING PROGRAMME

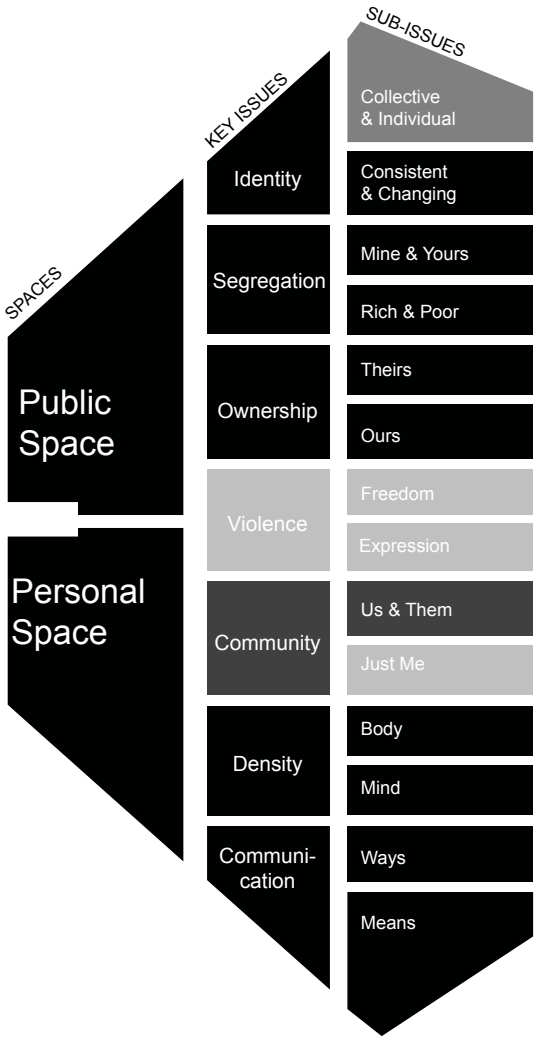
The importance of communication for sense of ownership and identity

Interviewee: Kerstin Sommers

Relation to case: Human Settlements Officer, UN-Habitat, regional office for Africa and the Arab States, Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme

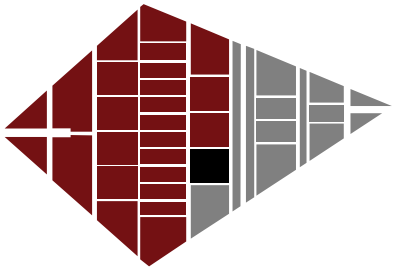
Date of interview: March 8, 2012

Full interview in Appendix C



Relations to issues as expressed in interview

The PSUP has changed focus from housing and land issues to *public space* and infrastructure, including shared functions as a way of supporting economic sustainability.
The Programme focus on community participation, connecting from government level to neighbourhood planning.
In terms of *identity* the PSUP has seen that residents in slums can have very strong identifications with the way of life and skills required to live there, a sense of pride. Esablishing clear roles for people has been seen as important in countering *segregation.* Via these roles coming together to do something common, get access to information and awareness of eachother's situations. The process for selection of proposals lays focus on participation and ownership by the producers of the proposal, not UN-Habitat. *Density* is seen as important in terms of being able to have access to the city, limiting personal and increasing public space to be able to financially make this access possible. The use of technology helps in *communication* between the different groups involved, aiding sense of *ownership* and *identity* and could in the future help make the programme more efficient.
As slum dwellers tend to not be seen as true citizens, their ownership of both space and right to affect the space, as wella s identity tied to a place, seems connected to effective communication inbetween stakeholders, upgrading cities towards a sustainability anchored within what people really want and need.



DANDORA HOUSING SCHEME

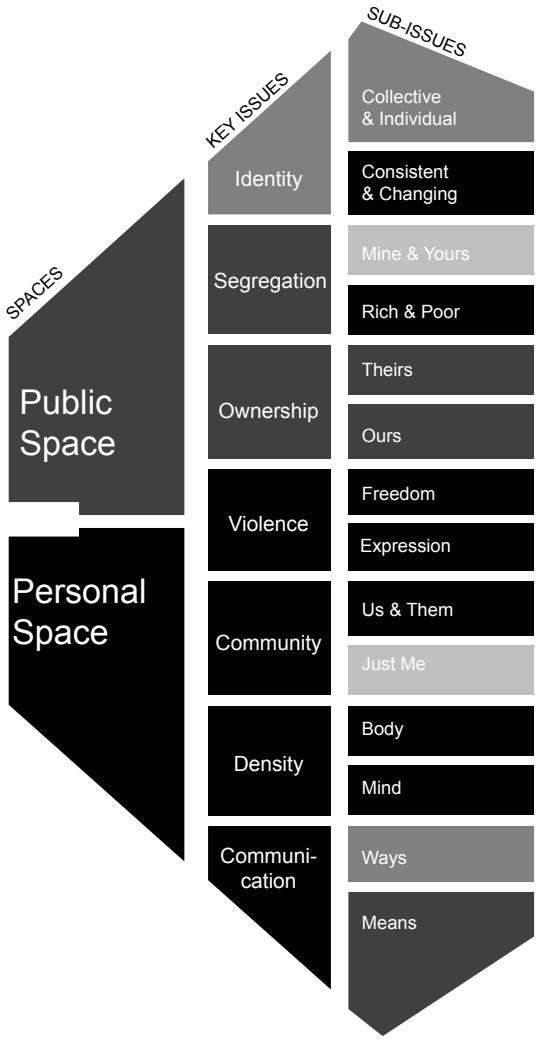
Interviewee: Tom Anyamba
Relation to case: Dean, School of the Built Environment, University of Nairobi, Kenya

Full interview in Appendix D

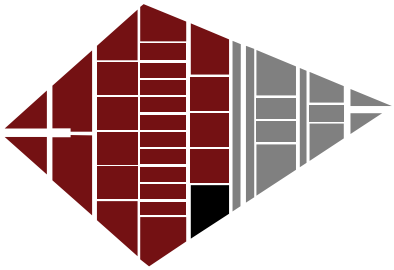
The significance of considering the bigger picture as well as people's needs in aiming to build sustainably. Lack of communication as a factor in the failure.

Relations to issues as expressed in interview
Dandora has no social or *public spaces*, life is situated mostly in 2.55x 3m rooms, used for sitting, cooking and sleeping in evening and night hours. Most don't have daylight. These rooms seem to serve not as homes but as temporary shelter, *personal spaces* with the bare minimum.

Dandora never reached its target group of the bottom of the pyramid because these simply could not afford to stay there, they were *segregated* by being too poor. The older generation is retiring to the countryside, giving a changing *identity* to the area from the original residents to their kids. The typeplans used in the development were too rigid, focusing on access to services but with no respect to the *community*, when the houses developed and deviated from the original, going from one to six stories, the plan did not have any flexibility to respond to the increased *density*. Due to corruption of parties which should have taken care of the interests of the residents but instead grabbed the land the spaces which could have worked as shared without being stolen would have been the semi-public, as these would have been watched and owned by the residents themselves. Currently the space is anonymous and hard to feel *ownership* of. The roles in the project were not maintained, the residents did not act as planned and neither did the city. The lacks in places for the people to relax and socialize has bred a sense of edginess, relating to *violence*, and the precarious situation of people living there is contributing to an undemocratic process where loyalties can be bought. People have found alternate ways of coping, substitutes for public and open spaces are Uhuru Park on Sundays, and churches, which is one of the few places where the Dandora residents can come together and relax. Self-organization into smaller groups for social and financial support is highly common, having prominent places in life events such as weddings and funerals. Dandora appears to suffer from a lack of communication, understanding inbetween gorups and role responsibility, leading to a scheme which attempts to patch itself up through small scale fixes. In this we can see the potential for people being able to meet their own needs but also the need for the city to mantle its overarching responsibility to its citizens.



Coca-Cola
KASUKU
STOP
POLICE
CHECK

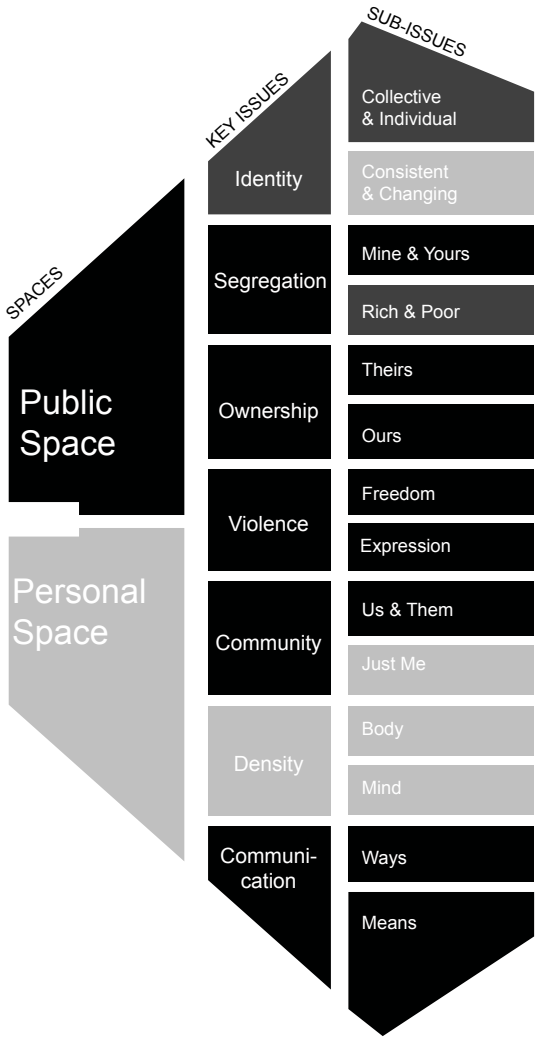


MASAI MBILI

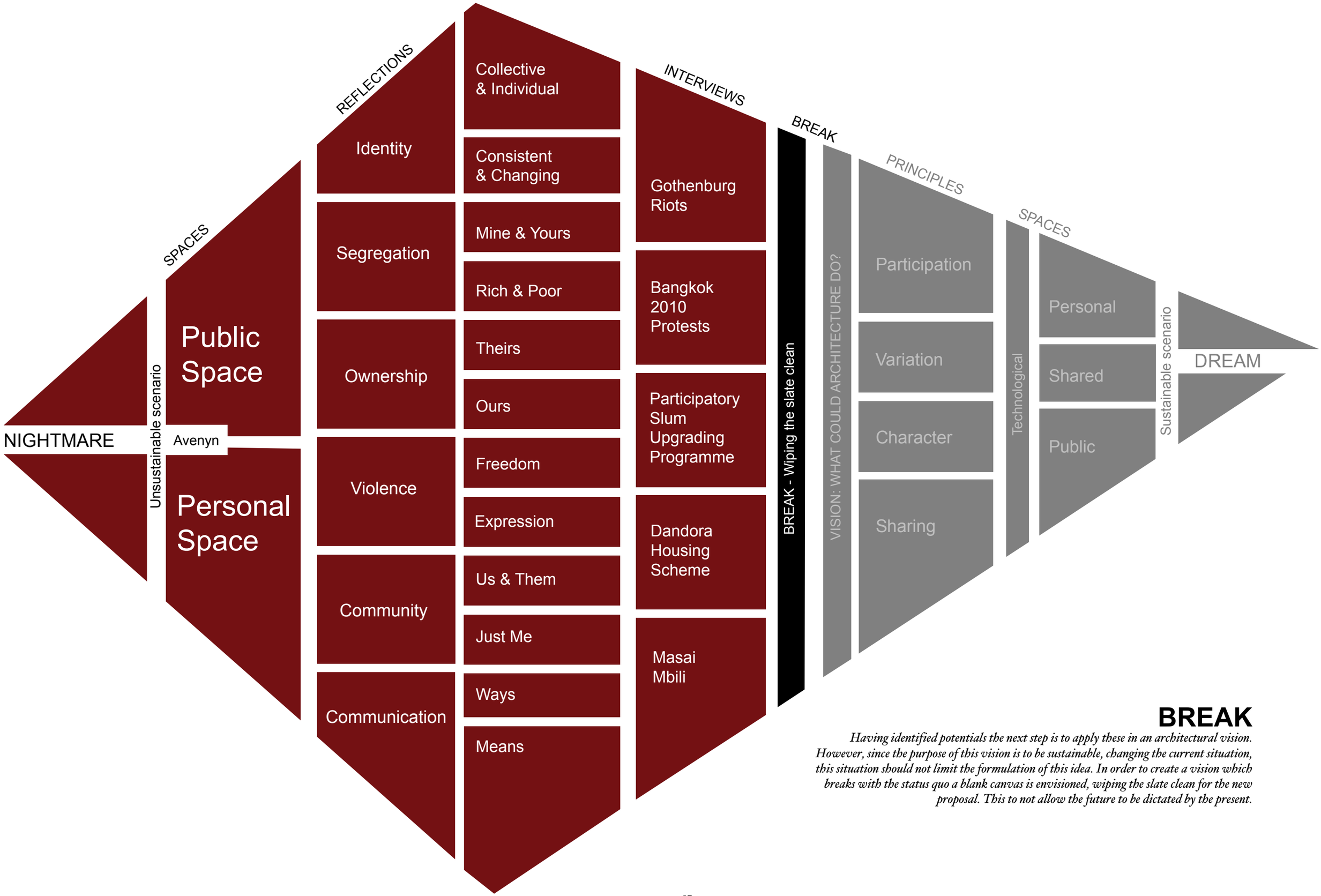
Interviewee: Gomba and Ashif
Relation to case: Founder and member of the MAsai Mbili art collective, Kibera, Nairobi

Full interview in Appendix E

The power of art as a symbol, promoting ownership, identity and communication in a community, channeling violence into constructive expression

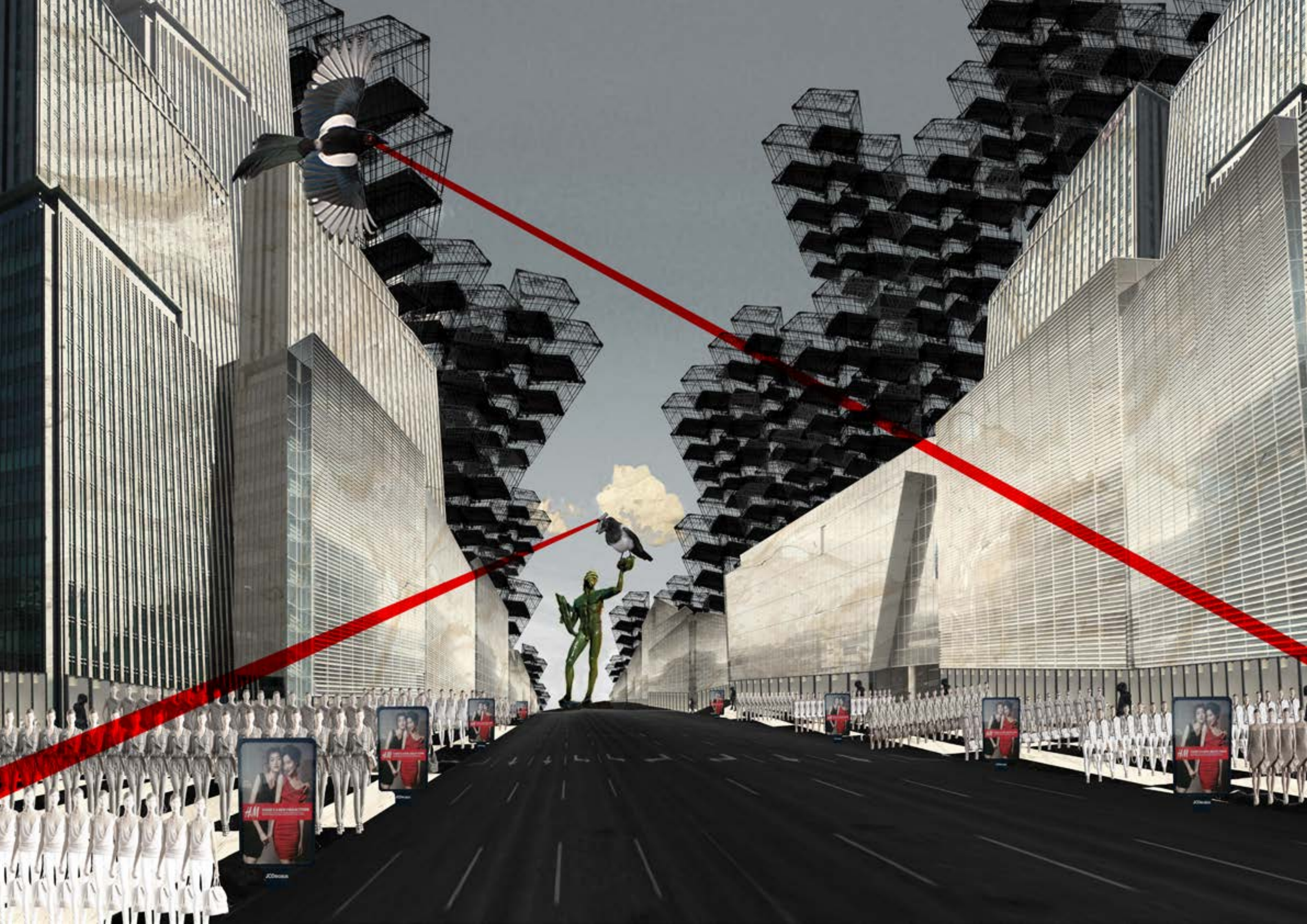


Relations to issues as expressed in interview
The art collective Masai Mbili started as sign writers, and still uses their art to steer people in the right direction.
The identity of the art of Masai Mbili is connected to the nature of Kibera, that everything is made according to necessity. The visibility and acceptance of art has led to a change in perception of identity in the areas youth, people previously identifying with gangstas are now calling themselves artists. Art is a tool to break segregation as it bridges places by the purpose of partaking in or seeing it. From being an almost no go zone the Masai Mbili studio has had visits from both the Swedish cultural attache and the American ambassador. Art gives an opportunity to communicate, interact and react together in groups not previosuly meeting. In terms of ownership their art is divided in two: the private art in galleries, reaching minimum people, and the communal art which reflects things that are happening within the communty and therefore needs to be in the public space, seen by and serving the public. Masai Mbili were using art to translate the emotions and experiences after the post-election violence, finding it an important tool for people to come back in harmony. They are using graffitti and street art like advertisements, branding their part of Kibera with messages like "Keep peace". In terms of community the art helps define what to strive for. The success of Masai Mbili has proven that something excellent can come out of Kibera. As an artist, it is your role to shout on behalf of your community. Art act as communication in that it communicates the essence of a place of emotion, but art can also act as landmarks in the area. Lastly, an important function of art is to add beauty.



BREAK

Having identified potentials the next step is to apply these in an architectural vision. However, since the purpose of this vision is to be sustainable, changing the current situation, this situation should not limit the formulation of this idea. In order to create a vision which breaks with the status quo a blank canvas is envisioned, wiping the slate clean for the new proposal. This to not allow the future to be dictated by the present.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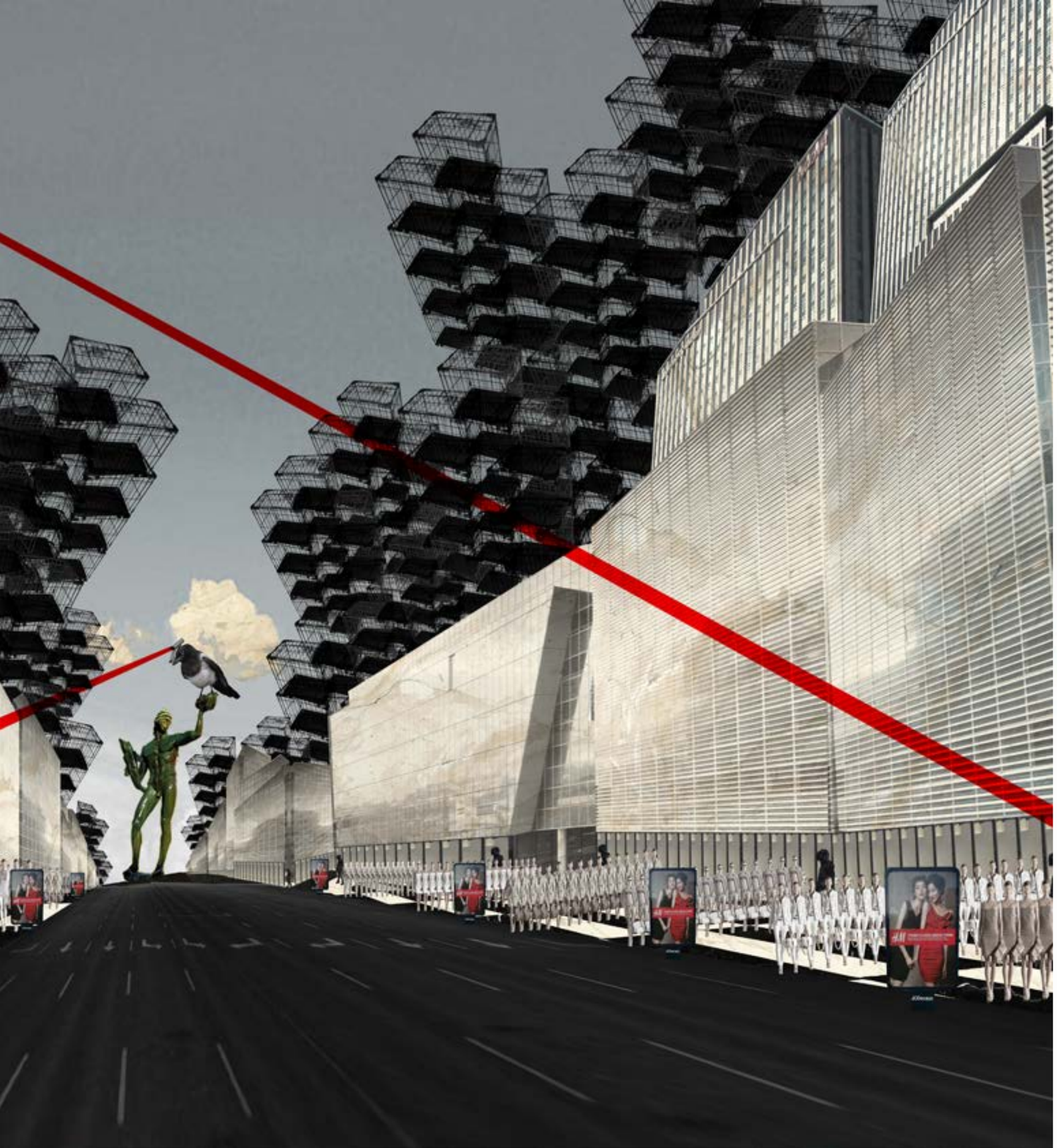


OTENTIAL

VISION: WHAT CAN ARCHITECTURE DO?

IDENTITY

Let people brand their own places. Strengthen the public space as the face of this place.
Allow people to visually affect their neighbourhoods. Let the outcome of participatory processes directly show in the buildings not only by their functions but also by their decoration.
Let the character of a place develop as a result of the inhabitants efforts to shape it as a reflection of themselves and their needs, making it easier to identify with.
Realize the importance of public and shared spaces for the definition of your role within a community, support the formation of these through shared functions which allows paths to cross naturally.
Create flexible spaces that do not dictate their use. Cater to the changing nature of modern identity by having spaces which more easily respond to it and reflects it.

POTENTIAL

Open up for prioritizing location over space, promote and redistribute the spaces towards less private space and more space in common.
Provide alternatives to living in the city.
Prevent exclusion and representations of lack of trust.
Create a place which allows people to meet based on common needs, not income.
Let people own and yours by focusing on what is ours through shared spaces.

Allow people to visually occupy the public space.
Strengthen the public spaces, supporting their nature as a democratic forum in the city,
Create a balance between urban spaces through reserving space for the public, shared
Let people have a role in the formation and use of all the spaces they live in.
Let people share spaces with others, increasing the feeling of ownership of not
only public spaces, making the whole city your extended home.

Create a place allows for public use and expression.
Let the environment encouraging public participation.
Let the environment could support the
constructive change.

Let people group by creat-
ing.
Let individuals and merge dif-
ferent individuals could be inte-
grated and grow.

Let people share in the
system.
Let people, this pro-
cesses.

VISION: WHAT CAN ARCHITECTURE DO?

From the reflections and interviews a series of potential regarding where the built environment could support a more sustainable scenario were gathered. These are the inspiration for the design proposal. Below is a summary of this potential.

IDENTITY

Let people brand their own places. Strengthen the public space as the face of this place.

Allow people to visually affect their neighbourhoods. Let the outcome of participatory processes directly show in the buildings not only by their functions but also by their decoration.

Let the character of a place develop as a result of the inhabitants efforts to shape it as a reflection of themselves and their needs, making it easier to identify with.

Realize the importance of public and shared spaces for the definition of your role within a community, support the formation of these through shared functions which allows paths to cross naturally.

Create flexible spaces that do not dictate their use. Cater to the changing nature of modern identity by providing spaces which more easily respond to it and reflects it.

SEGREGATION

Densify the city and redistribute the spaces towards less private space and more space in common.

Design options which open up for prioritizing location over space, providing cheaper alternatives to living in the city.

Avoid symbols of exclusion and representations of lack of trust.

Build inclusive places which allows people to meet based on common needs, not income.

Reduce the sense of mine and yours by focusing on what is ours through shared spaces.

OWNERSHIP

Increase opportunities for citizens to visually occupy the public space.

Prevent the commercialization of public spaces, supporting their nature as a democratic forum in the city, for use by all.

Densifying and managing the balance between urban spaces through reserving space for the public, shared and personal.

Allow the inhabitants to take a very active role in the formation and use of all the spaces they live in.

Provide opportunities for developing and sharing spaces with others, increasing the feeling of ownership of not only your personal space, but your shared and public spaces, making the whole city your extended home.

VIOLENCE

Provide doors instead of barriers, design spaces which allows for public use and expression.

Not limit the public use of spaces but instead actively encouraging public participation.

Employ user-friendly processes through which the built environment could support the democratic process, channeling dissatisfaction towards constructive change.

COMMUNITY

Build spaces for interaction. Aid in the feeling of belonging to a group by creating spaces for activities being common denominators for that group.

Create shared spaces for necessary everyday functions to include individuals and merge different groups, where meetings could happen in a natural manner, individuals could be integrated and develop their roles within the community and social capital could grow.

COMMUNICATION

Support the concept of sustainability through more user friendly methods for public involvement on issues concerning them in the cities.

Utilize the potential of information and communication technologies, anchoring these in the built environment and make use of them to engage residents on matters relevant to them.

Make use of new methods for data gathering to better understand the needs of the residents, this provision of information to be voluntary and the results to be directly accessible to the residents.

Directly link personal involvement with your community to changes in the immediate built environment.

TRANSLATION: VISION > PRINCIPLES > SPACES > DESIGN

IDENTITY *Let people brand their own places. Strengthen the public space as the face of this place. Allow people to visually affect their neighbourhoods. Let the outcome of participatory processes directly show in the buildings not only by their functions but also by their decoration. Let the character of a place develop as a result of the inhabitants efforts to shape it as a reflection of themselves and their needs, making it easier to identify with. Create flexible spaces that do not dictate their use. Realize the importance of public and shared spaces for the definition of your role within a community, support the formation of these through shared functions which daily allows paths to cross naturally. Cater to the changing nature of modern identity by providing spaces which more easily respond to it and reflects it.*

SEGREGATION *Design options which open up for prioritizing location over space, providing cheaper alternatives to living in the city. Avoid symbols of exclusion and representations of lack of trust, build inclusive places which allows people to meet based on shared needs, not income. Reduce the sense of mine and yours by focusing on what is ours through shared spaces. Densify the city and redistribute the spaces towards less private space and more space in common.*

OWNERSHIP *Increase opportunities for citizens to visually occupy the public space. Prevent the commercialization of public spaces, supporting their nature as a democratic forum in the city, for use by all. Densifying and managing the balance between urban spaces through reserving space for the public, shared and personal. Allow the inhabitants to take a very active role in the formation and use of all the spaces they live in. In developing and sharing spaces with others an extended home of shared spaces could be conceived, increasing the feeling of ownership of not only your personal space, but your shared and public spaces, making the whole city your home.*

VIOLENCE *Provide doors instead of barriers. Design spaces which allows for public expression. By not limiting public use of spaces actively encouraging public participation, employing user-friendly processes through which the built environment could support the democratic process, channeling dissatisfaction towards constructive change.*

COMMUNITY *Build spaces for interaction. Aid in the feeling of belonging to a group by creating spaces for activities being common denominators for that group. To include individuals and merge different groups shared spaces for necessary everyday functions could be created, where meetings could happen in a natural manner, individuals could be integrated and find purpose and social capital be developed.*

COMMUNICATION *The concept of sustainability is supported by a more effective public involvement on issues concerning them in the cities. This process would benefit from using the potential of information and communication technologies, anchroing the means for these in the physical environment, promoting and making them visible, user friendly, and directly linking communication to changes in the immediate built environment.*

PRINCIPLES

PARTICIPATION *Technological space supporting a system whereby public, shared and personal space ratios are regulated and through which the inhabitants may directly:*

-Shape their personal space together with a group of likeminded people and an architect

-Decide the functions of the shared and public spaces to reflect their needs

-Affect the visual appearance of the street

VARIATION *The above implies the power of appearance and functions has the possibility of being adapted to the opinions and needs of individuals. If Kungsportsavenyn through this process becomes financially open to a larger group of people, arriving with their own opinions and needs the built environment has to respond via the facilitation of the technological space. This process intends to cater to a variation in functions and appearance through reflecting the diversity in people.*

CHARACTER *Linked to the participatory process of deciding the functions of the shared and public spaces is the ability to decide on the appearance. In this proposal this includes a process where artists propose the appearance on the facades and where these proposals are decided by the inhabitants.*

SHARING *To enable access to more resources (both financial and physical) the spaces involves a redistribution of functions, making many currently duplicated in each personal space shared and accessible to all. There are two levels of sharing:*

-The public space: defined as the ground street and floors of the buildings, this space is reserved for public functions, including both free and commercial venues, and is open for all.

-The shared space: defined as the top floors and form an air street connecting the houses. The shared space us open for residents of the street and involve functions which are semi-public, most of these free.

SPACES

SYSTEM *Procedure for linking technological space with personal, shared and public space, managing the balance of these.*

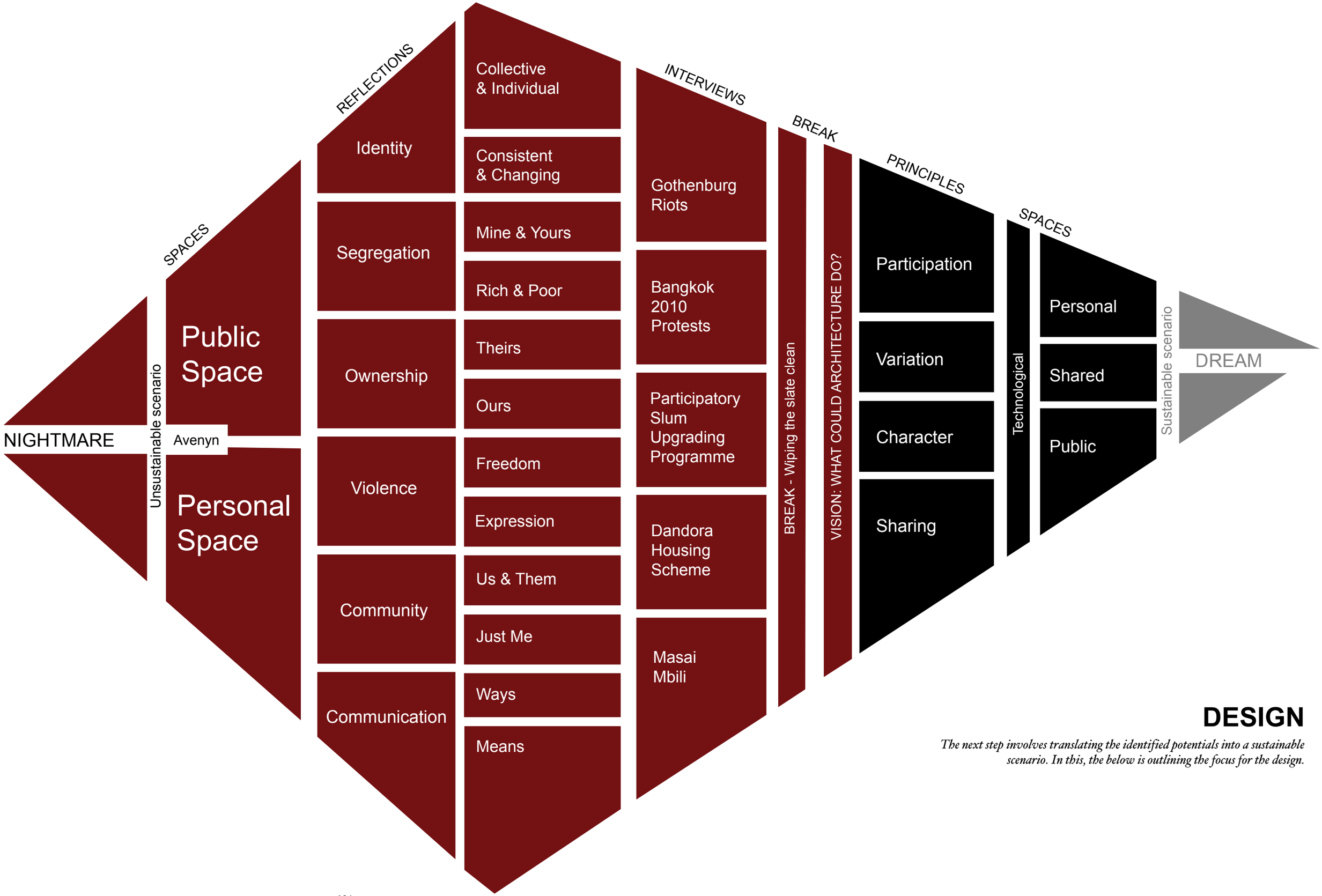
TECHNOLOGICAL SPACE *Showing how information and communication technologies could be physically incorporated as part of the built environment.*

PUBLIC SPACE *Illustrate how public spaces could develop to include more public functions and services supporting the personal and shared spaces, and be more responsive to the needs of citizens.*

SHARED SPACE *Illustrate how needs not met in the personal space could be incoorporated in the shared spaces*

PERSONAL SPACE *Illustrating how the available living space could be expanded by densifying personal space.*

DESIGN



DESIGN

The next step involves translating the identified potentials into a sustainable scenario. In this, the below is outlining the focus for the design.

In view of the above potential the design proposal aims at formulating a procedure for balancing personal space with public space without qualities being lost and through this in a step-by-step, participatory manner achieve high density tailored to the citizens, reflecting both their specific needs and character. The proposal is aiming for the opposite of a "one size fits all"-solution, instead focusing on the variety and potential inherent in letting civil needs guide actions. Allowing the spaces to evolve in a complex, symbiotic manner, responding and correcting themselves through participatory processes when the balance needs to be regulated. This procedure cannot be precisely illustrated as it depends on the interaction and participation of citizens within the specific environment and context, for the purposes of this thesis however, an end result has been envisioned based on the methods outlined in the system, illustrating the concept as it relates to participation, variation, character and sharing. The design proposal focuses on methods through which the personal, shared and public space complement each other. The proposal is centered around how the built environment through densification and redistribution of personal/ public functions paired with a participatory process could positively affect identity, segregation, ownership, violence, community and communication.

Inspired by the above the design is proposed to follow the below principles:

- *Public control and regulation of spaces: Participation*
- *Increased choices for habitation, functions and services: Variation*
- *Character through visible symbols associated with functions: Character*
- *Increased access to and use of the city: Sharing*

My street, your street, our street.

If cities keep on growing at this space it is more sustainable to increase the density, and through this reduce occupied land area, transport distances, energy usage and enable sharing of common resources. Drawing this to an extreme and exploring minimal personal space requirements, countering with a public space designed for an enhanced democratic function, working dynamically with the inhabitants in adapting to their needs of their city, specifically in relation to those not being met within their personal space. A very high degree of citizen involvement and civic power is included in the process of creating both the personal, shared and public spaces, enabled by architects.

Envisioned effects of the new setup of Avenyn are:

- *Increased affordability to live in the most central location*
- *Greatly increased residential population*
- *Reduced resource use (due to sharing spaces and associated resources)*
- *Reduced need for transport (due to proximity to work and leisure)*
- *Enhanced democratic function of the public space*
- *Enhanced visibility of citizen participation and power.*
- *Increased social interactions, stronger sense of community (due to new venues, lack of space to "just sit inside" and necessity to go to public spaces for practical needs (laundry, entertainment etc))*
- *Increased relevance of venues*
- *Reduced commercial venues and increased public venues: enhanced sense of feeling welcome and included, reduced dependency on money in order to enjoy the spaces of the city.*
- *Replacing the use of screens and ads for commercial advertisement with screens for public participation. (not only removing advertisements from the public space in order to reclaim it for the public, as in Sao Polo, but taking it a step further and enhancing the democratic use of public space by replacing them with the tool of public participatory screens)*

The design proposal poses the suggestion: what if the public space ensured all citizens a high quality of life by providing a luxurous balance to a sparse, but cheap, personal space? In a way, creating a testcase for a functional extremely dense urban living. In this it mainly illustrates how a change in attitude towards the personal/public/shared space could be reflected in the built environment.

SYSTEM:
PROCEDURE FOR LINKING TECHNOLOGICAL SPACE WITH PERSONAL, SHARED AND PUBLIC SPACE, MANAGING THE BALANCE OF THESE.

The dream attempts to balance contrasts: order and chaos, participation and regulation.
The system is fractal: each house functions as a separate unit but connects to the bigger context of the neighbourhood and the city.

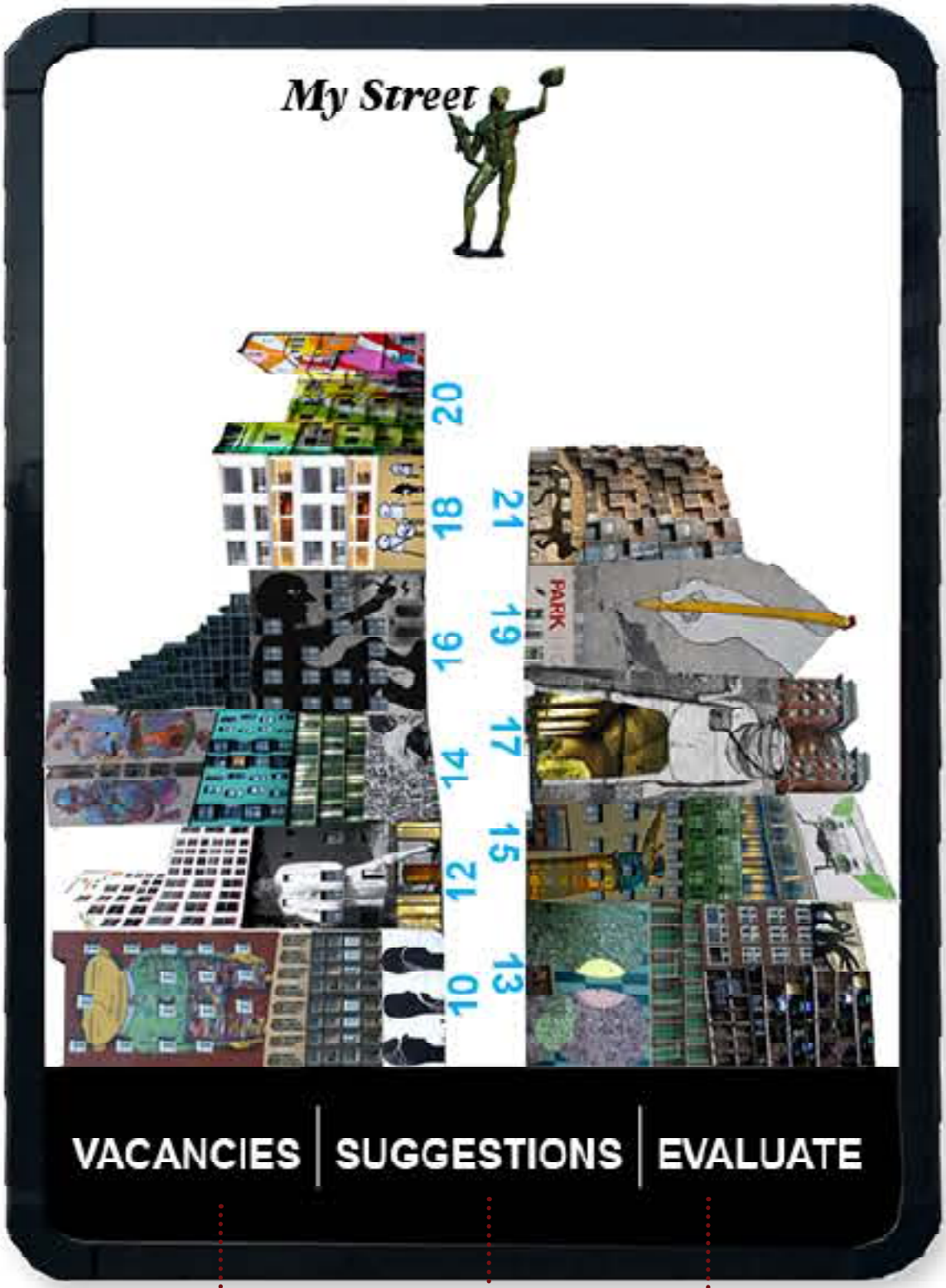
The approach applied is one of implying set of general rules, protecting the civil rights to space and choice.
These are:

- *All ground levels are reserved for public spaces, accessible to the public.*
- *The functions on the street should provide both commercial and free options, responding to the needs of the citizens.*
- *All top floors are reserved for shared spaces, accessible to all residents of the street.*
- *The functions of the shared spaces should provide primarily free options.*
- *The public and shared spaces should balance both commerical, free, and service functions, decided by a pedagogical participatory process.*
- *The functions should be symbolized by an appearance decided by the residents.*
- *The personal spaces should be developed in groups of approx 5-15 people, where the distribution of functions of the personal, shared and public space is facilitated by an architect.*
- *The architect working with the personal spaces should apply to minimum requirements regarding space, hygiene, air etc.*
- *The feedback from the redesigning of the personal spaces should be continously translated byt he architect into requirements for the new shared and public space.*
- *All development of spaces should be registered in the technological space and be accessible to and affectable by the public.*

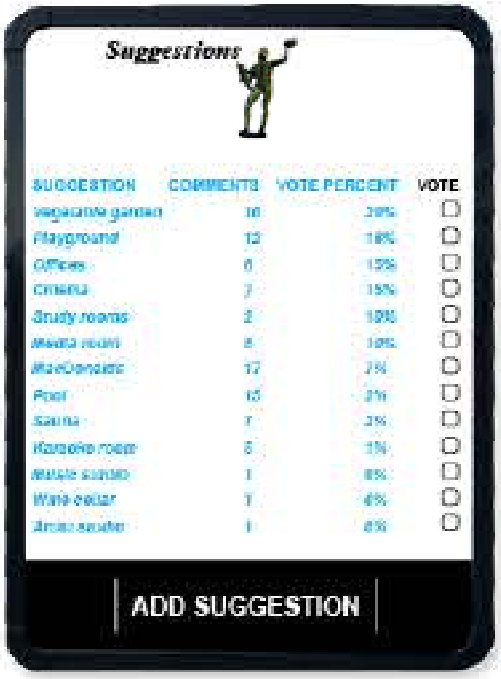
TECHNOLOGICAL SPACE

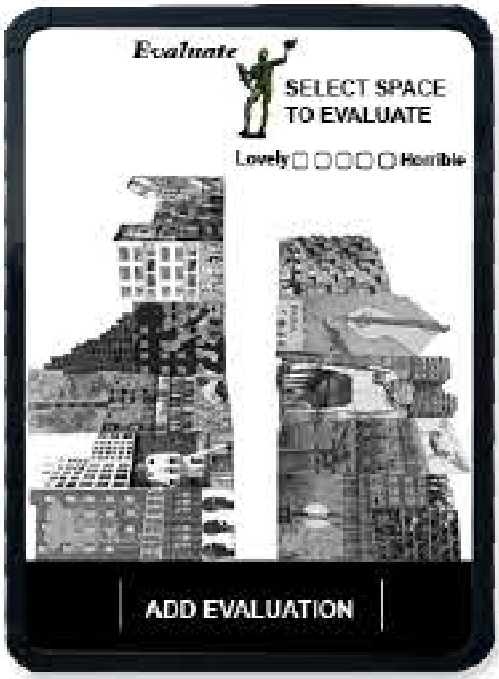
The previous billboards on the streets are replaced by touchscreens. These screens in an intuitive, fun and pedagocial way describe what is happening on Kungsportsavenyn. On these screens the public can see vacancies, meetings on developing homes, proposals for functions and services in the public and shared spaces etc. A voting process on the screens enables the user to cooperatively determine the functions and appearance of the street. The screens serve as promotion and visibility for the participatory approach on the street. It raises awareness for the system and introduces the concept to people. After this introduction those wanting to participate can also access the same system on their laptop or smartphone.

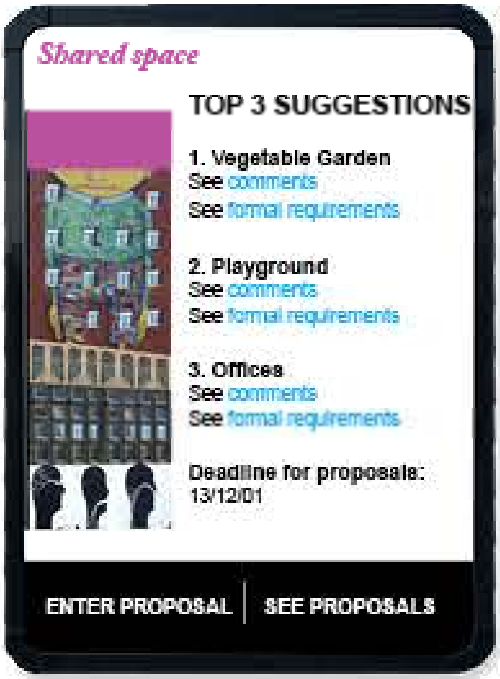
Kungsportsavenyn
LOG IN
NEWS!
PARK
DATA
COUNCIL
MY STREET
MY HOUSE


My Street
20
18
16
14
12
10
21
19
17
15
13
PARK
VACANCIES
SUGGESTIONS
EVALUATE

Vacancies
SHARED
PERSONAL
PUBLIC
SELECT SPACE
TO SEE DETAILS
ADD VACANCY

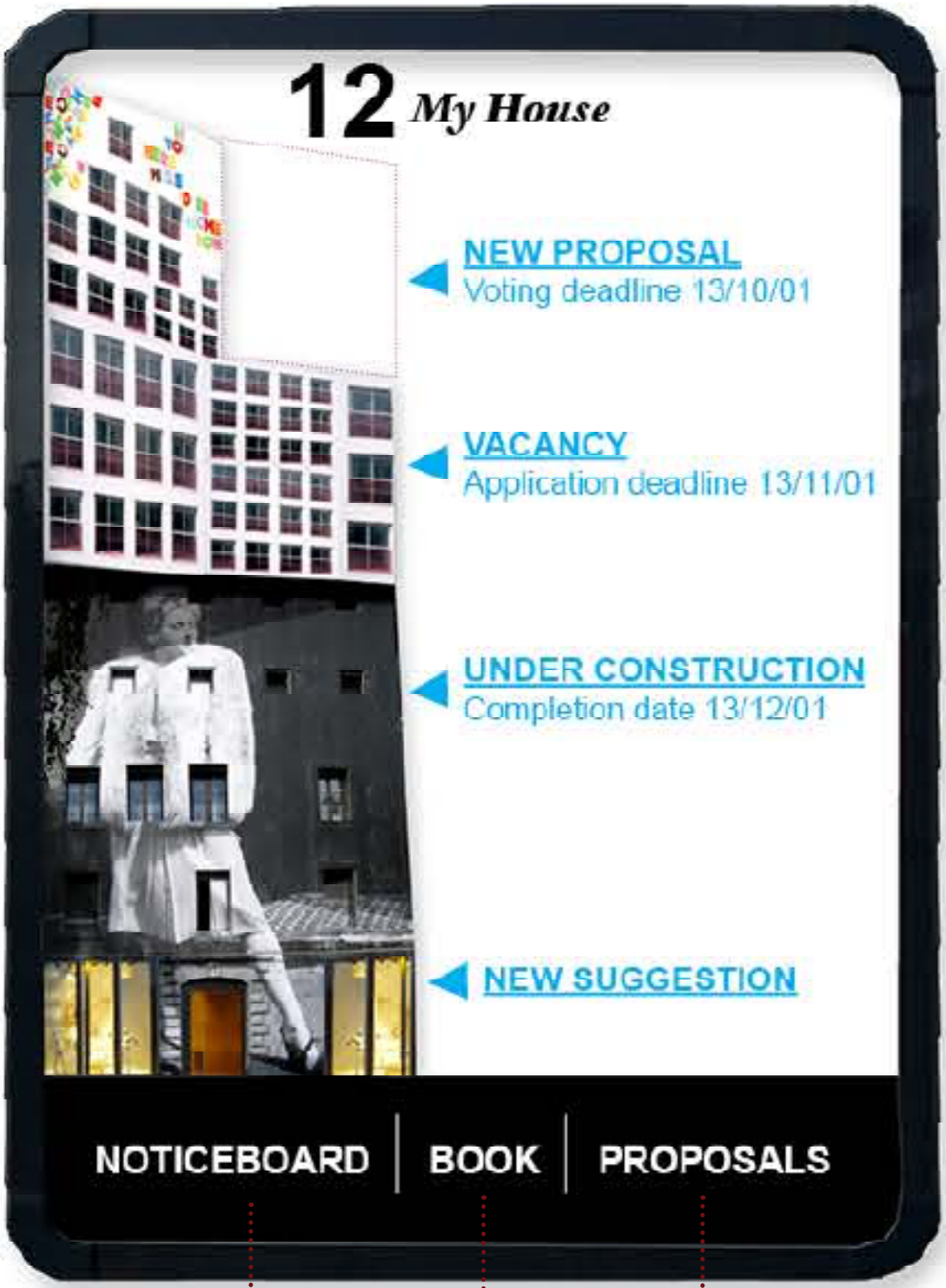

Suggestions
SUGGESTION
COMMENTS
VOTE PERCENT
VOTE
Vegetable garden 10 20%
Playground 12 18%
Offices 6 12%
Cinema 7 15%
Study rooms 2 10%
Media room 8 10%
Workbenches 17 2%
Pool 15 2%
Sauna 7 2%
Karaoke room 5 1%
Music studio 1 8%
Wine cellar 1 4%
Arcade studio 1 4%
ADD SUGGESTION


Evaluate
SELECT SPACE
TO EVALUATE
Lovely
Horrible
ADD EVALUATION


Shared space
TOP 3 SUGGESTIONS
1. Vegetable Garden
See comments
See formal requirements
2. Playground
See comments
See formal requirements
3. Offices
See comments
See formal requirements
Deadline for proposals:
13/12/01
ENTER PROPOSAL
SEE PROPOSALS

Personal space
Description of space:
Requirements:
See formal requirements
Meeting for applicants:
City hall, 13/09/12
Deadline for applications:
13/11/01
ENTER APPLICATION
SEE APPLICATIONS

Kungsportsavenyn
LOG IN
NEWS!
PARK
DATA
COUNCIL
MY STREET
MY HOUSE

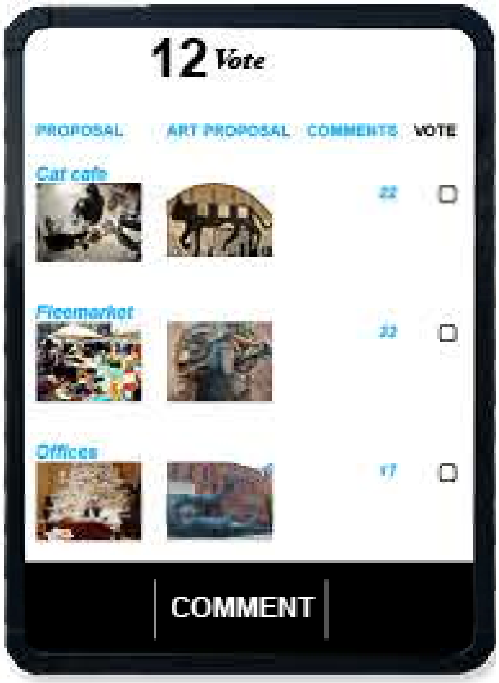

12 My House
NEW PROPOSAL
Voting deadline 13/10/01
VACANCY
Application deadline 13/11/01
UNDER CONSTRUCTION
Completion date 13/12/01
NEW SUGGESTION
NOTICEBOARD
BOOK
PROPOSALS

12 Noticeboard
HEADING POSTED BY CATEGORY
Parrot for sale Name Pets
Kitten found Name Lost & Found
Waiter wanted Name Jobs
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
Heading Name Category
ADD NOTE

12 Book
SELECT SPACE TO BOOK
SELECT TIME
8-10
10-12
12-14
14-16
16-18
18-20
20-22
ADD COMMENT
BOOK SERVICE

12 Proposals
TOP 3 PROPOSALS
1. Cat Cafe
See comments
See formal requirements
2. Offices
See comments
See formal requirements
3. Workshops
See comments
See formal requirements
Deadline for voting:
12/12/01
SUBMIT PROPOSAL
VOTE

12 Submit proposal
SELECT VACANT SPACE
TITLE
DESCRIPTION
Relating to comments and formal requirements
ART DESCRIPTION
UPLOAD ILLUSTRATIONS
SUBMIT


12 Vote
PROPOSAL
ART PROPOSAL
COMMENTS
VOTE
Cat cafe
22
Fleamarket
33
Offices
17
COMMENT

TECHNOLOGICAL

SHARED SPACE

As the personal space is reduced and stripped of non-essential functions the shared space serves the purpose of welcoming the functions which have been deemed possible to be shared instead of private. The shared space is semi-public and intends to be primarily free. The spaces reserved are the rooftops of the houses, connecting into an airstreet accessible to residents. Possible functions are places for study, resident libraries, gamerooms, workshops, but also services offering options of either self-service or full service, such as laundryservices, rooftop kitchens and community childcare. The same procedure for the appeareance as described above is also applied to the shared spaces, providing the houses with a visible and distinct ground and top floor character.

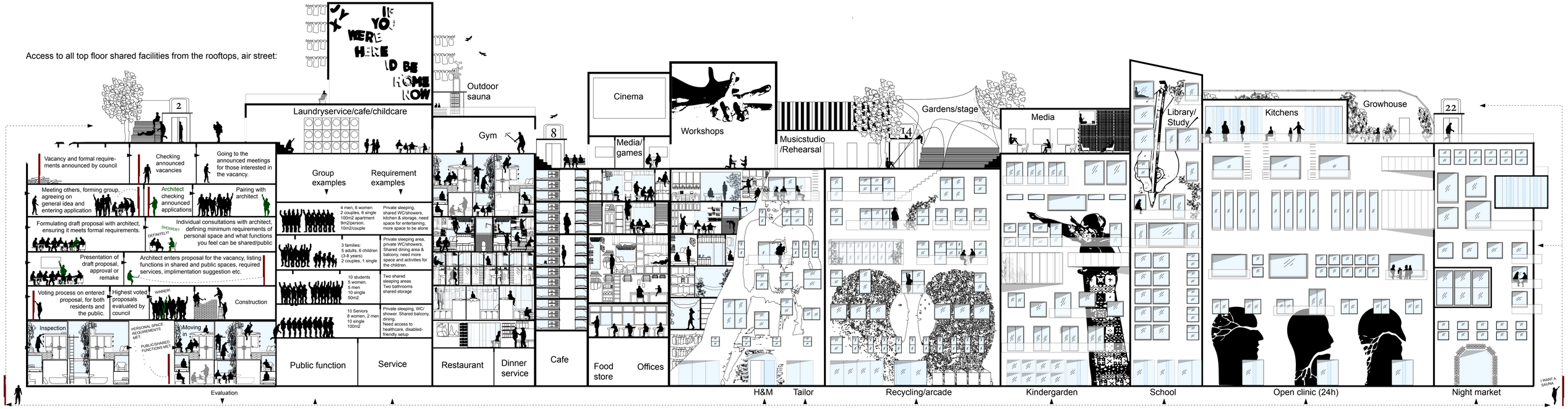
PERSONAL SPACE

The personal space is transformed via excluding all functions not deemed absolutely necessary to keep in the personal space. The procedure for this is done in collaboration with an architect, who tailors the preferences of the individuals to the personal space. For example: a group consisting of 7 adults and 3 children wants to develop their personal space. They have met and agreed on a general idea, which focuses on privacy in terms of sleep and hygiene but are willing to share a kitchen. The architect goes through with each individual of the group which preferences they have for their space; is sound a problem? Food smells? Would they need a shower or a bathtub? etc. After which the needs are compiled in a design and discussed with the group. The incentive for only including the minimum functions in the personal space is the economical: the less space occupied and the more functions moved to the shared or public space the cheaper rent. In the end of this process the architect have designed a densified space individually adapted to the individual and the group to which they belong, and has identified which functions can be moved to the shared or public space.

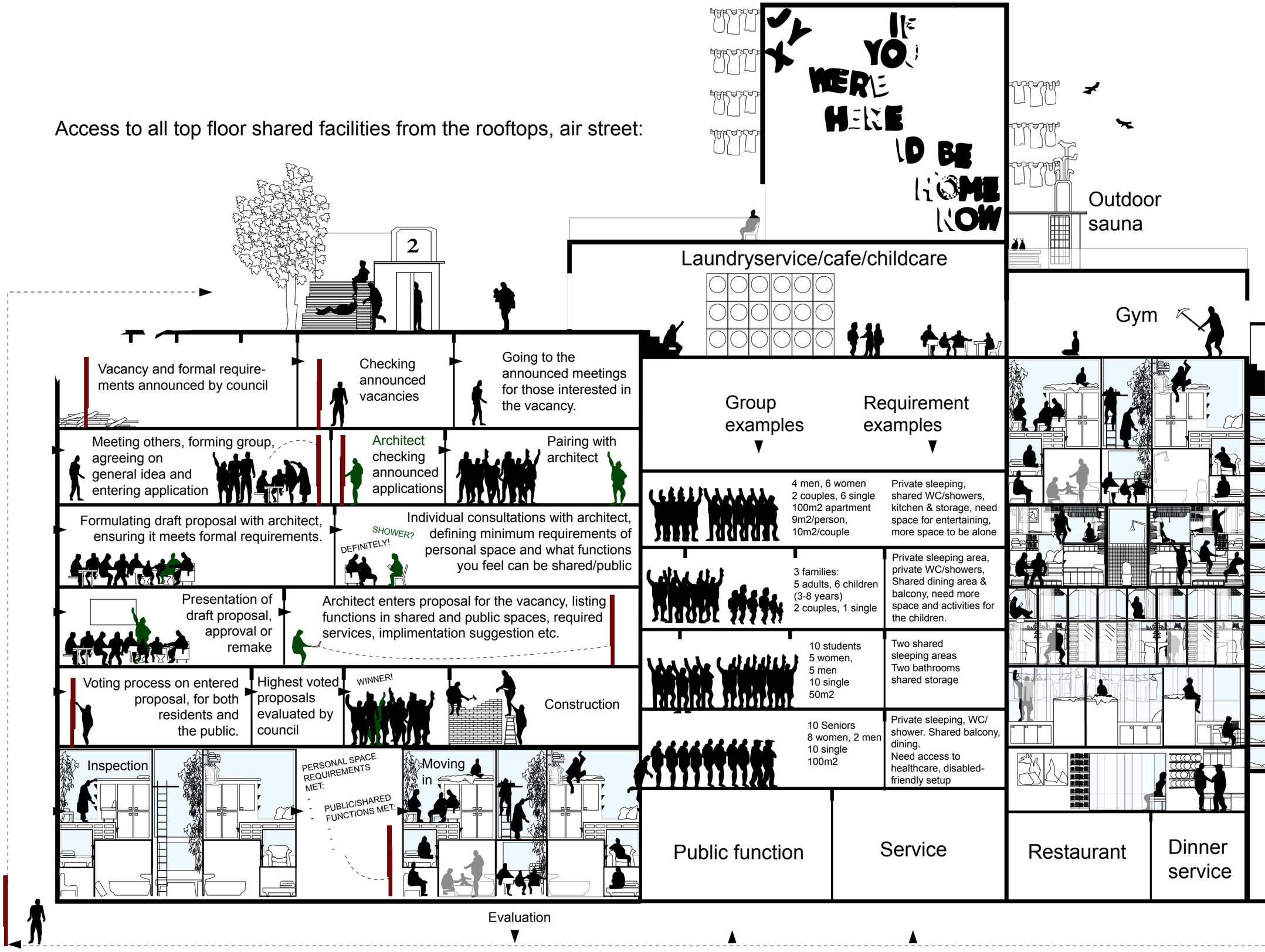
PUBLIC SPACE

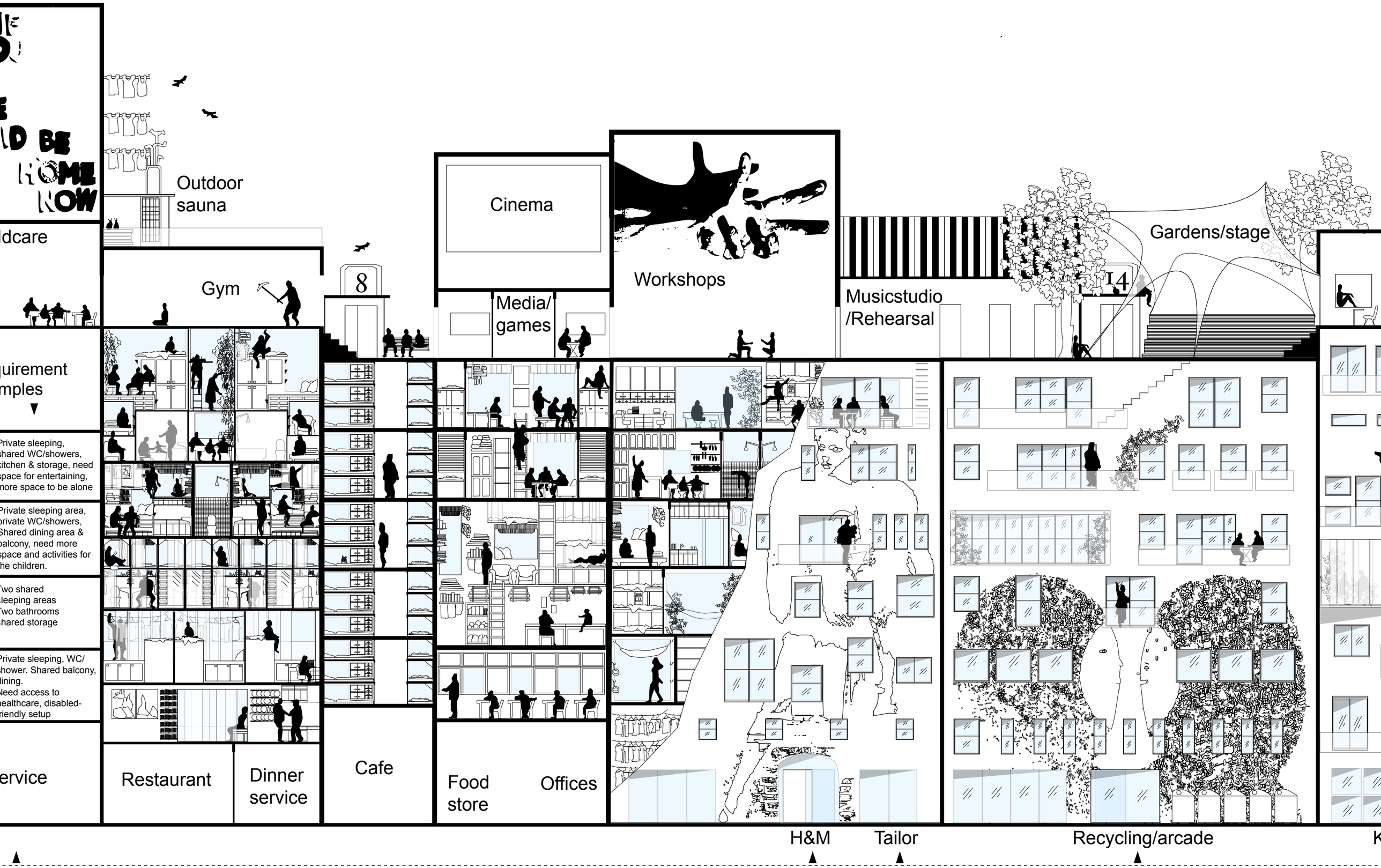
Kungsportsavenyns ground floors and street is reserved for public use, including both commercial and free functions. These are determined thorugh a proposal and voting procedure via the technological space, where the nature of the space is decided. Thereafter artists propose its appearance and the public again gets to choose which they prefer. This is intended to serve as promotion of the participatory process, making it visible and acting as advertisement and branding of Kungsportsavenyn not dependent on commercialism. Its also intended to reflect the variation of the functions and people of the street.

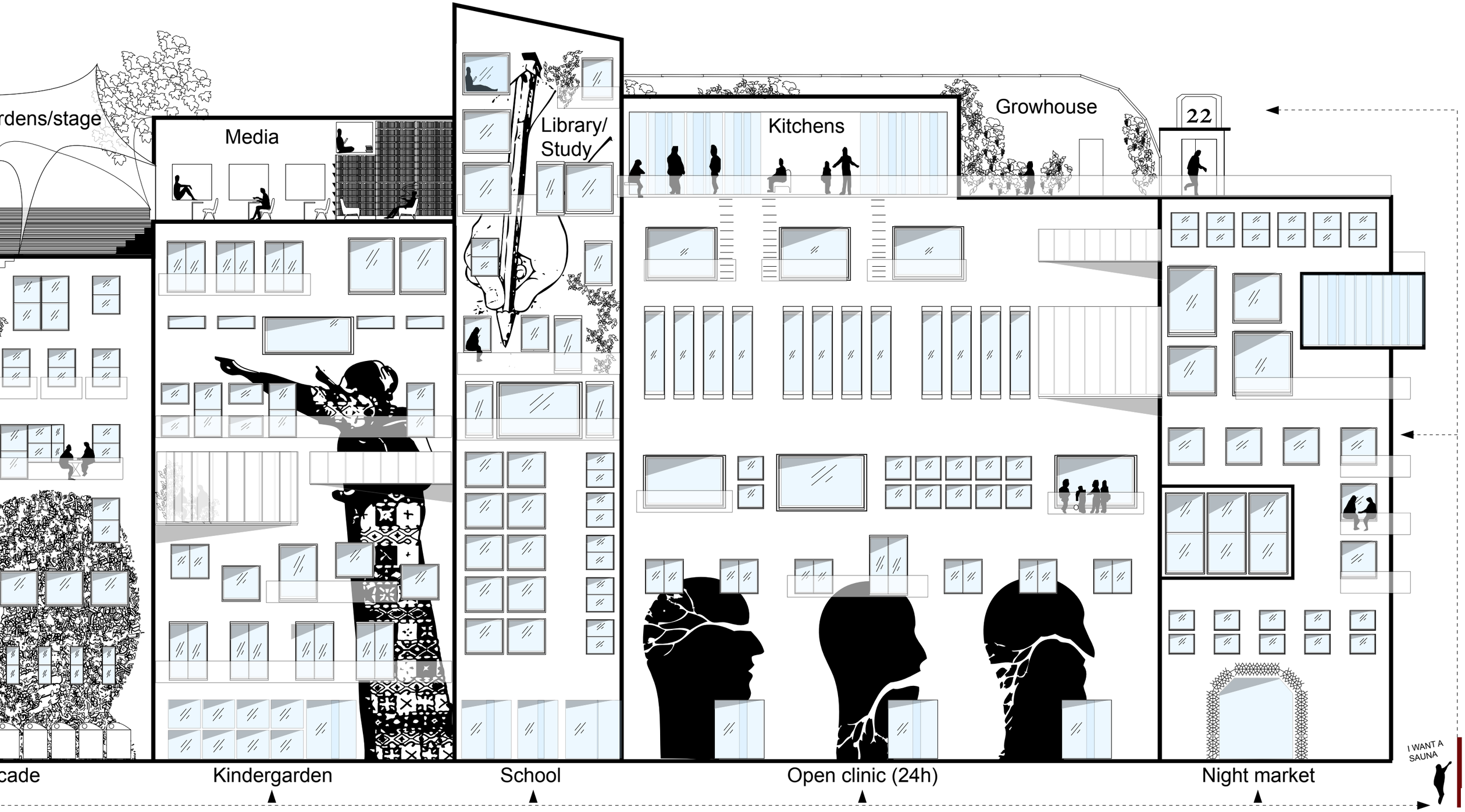
Access to all top floor shared facilities from the rooftops, air street:

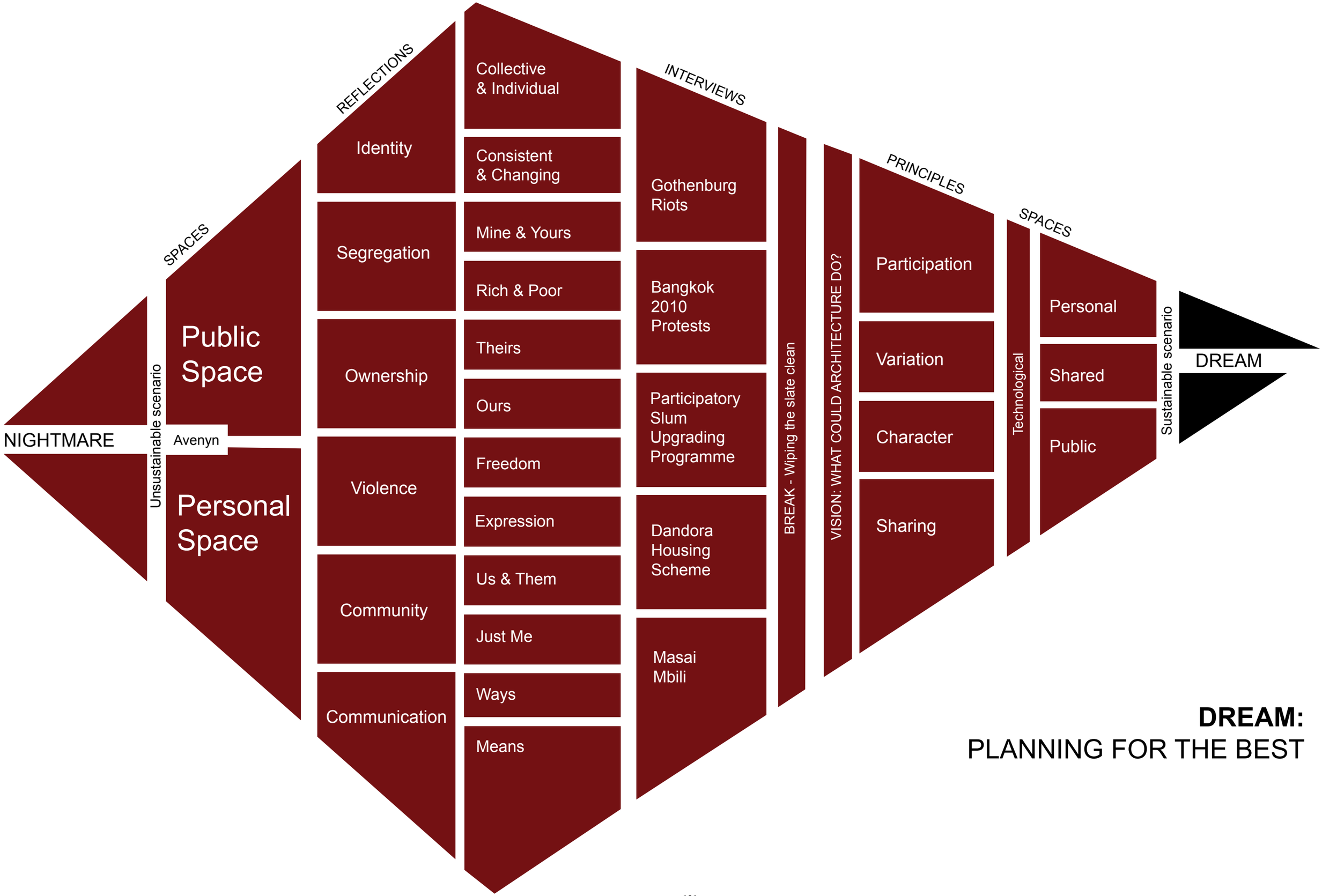


Access to all top floor shared facilities from the rooftops, air street:




Outdoor sauna
Cinema
Workshops
Gardens/stage
Gym
8
Media/ games
Musicstudio /Rehearsal
14
Private sleeping, shared WC/showers, kitchen & storage, need space for entertaining, more space to be alone
Private sleeping area, private WC/showers, Shared dining area & balcony, need more space and activities for the children.
Two shared sleeping areas Two bathrooms Shared storage
Private sleeping, WC/ shower. Shared balcony, dining. Need access to healthcare, disabled-friendly setup
Restaurant
Dinner service
Cafe
Food store
Offices
H&M
Tailor
Recycling/arcade


rdens/stage
Media
Library/
Study
Kitchens
Growhouse
22
I WANT A
SAUNA
cade
Kindergarden
School
Open clinic (24h)
Night market



DREAM:
PLANNING FOR THE BEST

DREAM

Avenyn is transformed to provide housing for a greatly increased number of people, resulting in the street becoming the densest part of Gothenburg. To balance an extremely minimal personal space as many functions as possible are moved to either the shared or public space. The transformation process is handled through direct engagement by the citizens, facilitated through communication tools in the tech space, where they decide which functions to keep, which to transfer and which further they require, This allows people to shape their own spaces to their liking. As the results of their engagement is immediately obvious in the built environment, people feel listened to and empowered to affect and use the city. The rebuilding of Avenyn shifts the power into the hands of the citizens, balancing chaos and order through the tech space, focusing on fun, variation, inclusion and using the potential of people to create a living, changing city.

Although personal space is extremely limited, the number of functions you have access to are greatly increased as these are now in the shared space. In this manner Avenyn now serves as an example of how extreme density in cities could be achieved without impairing quality of life, as costs are reduced and shared people previously shut out from the city center now can afford to stay, work and have a life here.

The shared space, on the top floors, are where functions previously only accessible to the rich are situated, the residents of the house share free access to these facilities.

The new public spaces, bottom floors and street, provide facilities for both entertainment, practical and commercial functions, determined by an open process where people are able to propose and vote for what they like, responding to needs, facilitating starting up businesses and providing work opportunities.

The communication tools incoorporated in the public space enable quick sharing of information relevant to the area, hightening sense of community, identification with and ownership of the place.

As a result of sharing spaces and amenities previously duplicated in each home the area drastically reduce its energy and resource consumption while increasing its social interaction. A new sense of community emerges. People are less likely to stay at home and more likely to use the options available on the street. By necessity people's paths cross more often, enabling a clearer idea of who your neighbours are and what your role is in the community. Variation in "things to do" increases drastically, as does participation in city life.

Due to its inclusive and bustling nature, Avenyn is more than ever the heart of Gothenburg, serving as a center for all citizens to join in city life and without demands to consume enjoy the benefits of living in the city. Each individual feel part of a common shared home, feeling a part of and at peace with their city.

PART FOUR:

EPILOGUE

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DISCUSSIONS:
WORLD URBAN FORUM 6

Having visualized the reflections and inspiration from the interviews into a design proposal aiming to be sustainable, the next step is to use this proposal as a tool for discussion on the issues it addresses. For this, it will be presented on the World Urban Forum 6, where a test audience representing stakeholders from a variety of disciplines and nationalities can be reached.

DISCUSSIONS

This thesis was presented at the World Urban Forum 6 in Naples, Italy, 2012, as part of UN-Habitat's Habitat Partner University Initiative exhibition.

The design proposal will here be used to initiate a discussion on the issues and principles it involves, aiming to gather international input from various stakeholders. The proposal in this plays the role of conversation starter on the issues, and in a manner aims to provoke towards constructive criticism on how it is sustainable and how it could be made more so. The presentation aims to see whether these kinds of proposals could spark of a debate by translating issues into the built environment, thereby visualizing abstract concepts and bringing problems and potentials to light.

The intention is to focus the sustainability discussion on concrete suggestions having to do with the built environment and its connection to potentials within other disciplines, bringing it closer to the ground and formulating suggestions into a common format which can be trans-disciplinary understood.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The process of writing this thesis has at times been excruciatingly frustrating. The main cause of this has been the floating boundary of whether it depicts design proposals or a method. Starting out as a method for emphasizing visionary thinking, progressing to explore this method, testing and changing it along the way to dynamically respond to how the goal of developing an inspiring vision was best met, it has along the way had a series of updates. However frustrating, this is the fate of an intention which implies testing the feasibility of a method, although this was not the main purpose of the thesis. The idea of this thesis included a series of tricky contradictions: How to play the role of an architect while aiming to change the role of an architect? How to do a design proposal while aiming to put the power behind the design in other people's hands? How to change the present while ignoring the present? How to translate something abstract into something physical? How to maintain creative freedom and forego the status quo while getting inspiration from the current? Most of all, the issue of balancing the concrete representation of an idea and the feeling of the idea. As a main purpose of this thesis was communication, this last issue was especially important, not to communicate only to architects but visualize the concept in a way which could translate the gist to other disciplines as well. In the end, these issues led to a method which focused on being inspired by the present but not be limited by it, and expressing the idea as a detailed conceptual illustration of the idea rather than detailed building, which worked well in fulfilling the main goal of opening up for visionary thinking, defining a concept for a sustainable variant of that particular space and place, corresponding to the issues focused on. Resulting in a design proposal ready for a backcasting process, investigating how it could further approach reality.

Personally, the most interesting aspect of this work has been to imagine the power of the built environment if it was paired with a technological system. If this system would work, then responsibility for sustainable urbanization could be partly shifted from the "city" to the citizens. If each building in a way would function as a separate state, where the residents had the power to vote on the changes of it and immediately see the results of their choices, then the building would reflect the residents strive towards sustainability. The power to implement sustainable solutions would be in the hands of the people themselves. It is tempting to imagine buildings functioning as separate units but connected to the larger context of a street, streets connected to neighbourhoods, neighbourhood uniting to a city, where the power of information and action always comes down to the individual, and where people's actions towards sustainability are physically reflected through their homes.

The work process of this thesis has helped me visualize my dream, where I can see potential for using the power of the urban population itself as a force for change, not a source of trouble.

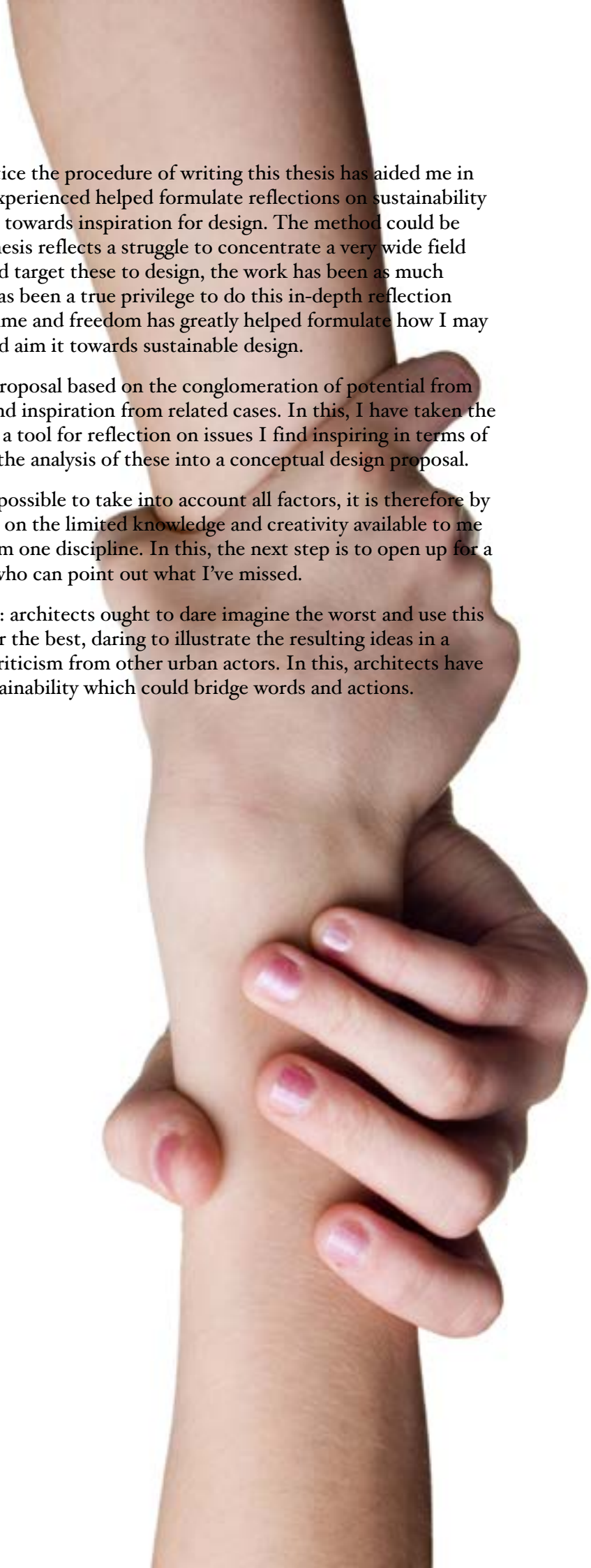
TO BRAVELY GO

In moving from academia to practice the procedure of writing this thesis has aided me in developing a method which I've experienced helped formulate reflections on sustainability into a format which could be used towards inspiration for design. The method could be simplified in further use, as this thesis reflects a struggle to concentrate a very wide field into the issues of most interest and target these to design, the work has been as much defining a method as using it. It has been a true privilege to do this in-depth reflection within an academic context, the time and freedom has greatly helped formulate how I may gather a wide set of inspiration and aim it towards sustainable design.

A result of this thesis is a design proposal based on the conglomeration of potential from reflections on certain key issues and inspiration from related cases. In this, I have taken the opportunity of using this thesis as a tool for reflection on issues I find inspiring in terms of sustainability, aiming to translate the analysis of these into a conceptual design proposal.

However, as an architect it is not possible to take into account all factors, it is therefore by its essence a naive proposal, based on the limited knowledge and creativity available to me as an individual representative from one discipline. In this, the next step is to open up for a discussion with other disciplines who can point out what I've missed.

This is the key point of this thesis: architects ought to dare imagine the worst and use this to identify how they could plan for the best, daring to illustrate the resulting ideas in a manner that allows constructive criticism from other urban actors. In this, architects have the power to paint a vision of sustainability which could bridge words and actions.



PART FIVE:

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A: GOTHENBURG RIOTS

Case study conducted via interview, transcript viewed and corrected by interviewee over e-mail.

Name

Erik Berg

Relation to case

Architect, politician, writer, activist, witness to the Gothenburg riots of 2001.

Case

Gothenburg riots of 2001, in association with the EU political event. Exploring the role of the public space and specifically how the built environment interacted with this event.

What, Where, Why?

"The Gothenburg riots occured at the time when Sweden held the chairman position in the EU for the first time. This meant the city became a political battlefield where the European Union and the Swedish government where supposed to show off their ability to organize a political event, supposed to be a big propaganda event, to enhance the standing of the EU in Sweden. It was both for the Swedish government to show the EU their ability to organize a wellfunctioning top meeting and also supposed to make the Swedish public more friendly to the EU, showing the Union in a good light. So there was a lot at stake from the government's side. At the same time the highly unpopular president George W. Bush was the major top guest from outside the EU. From the other side, so to speak, there were a lot of groups in Sweden that wanted for various reasons to show their discontent with the way the Swedish gov managed things and the EU as such, and of course most of all show their discontent with George W. Bush. At the time there had also been a rather big discussion on a new Swedish movement called "ATTAC" (note: according to their homepage focusing on "tax-justice, debt-justice, trade-justice and wellfare-justice"[1]) which often in Swedish newspapers was misspelled "ATTACK", having more aggressive connotations. There was a lot of misunderstandings around this organization and its goal and purpose. The basic, underlaying situation thus made the EU political event in Gothenburg 2001 ripe for misunderstandings and developments which eventually would lead to some kind of confrontation. This was also the goal of the protesters; you have to remember this was in the beginning of 2001, there were a lot of public movements making big demonstrations, and a surge in political activity in places such as Prague , Seattle and Washington DC. One of the groups that came to Gothenburg where the Italian group "Ya Basta!", although non-violent their strategy is to make non-violent interventions, meaning they by the mass of their numbers and padded in maddresses try to force their way over barricades. That was the setting."

What elements of the built environment were involved?

Containers: "In my opinion, part of what happened was that the police got a "great" offer from an entrepreneur on lending containers to the police forces (this is in a part of Sweden where they look at how much things cost and say "oh, look this is a good offer, we have to take it!"). So the police had borrowed all these containers and they wanted to fit them in

1 http://attac.se/

their strategy, in hindsight a big mistake. They basically rebuild the city by putting these abnormal things that would not normally be in the streets, blocking off and sort of creating "traps", also they created the feelings of part of the city being militarized in an abnormal way. That was something that sort of raised the psychological level on all sides. it was like saying "we expect the worst". I think that created a setting that was not in favor of peaceful activities or a peaceful outcome of the top meating. I think the police used the wrong strategy, psychologically. Because one of the most fundamental things that happen when you seal of entire parts of the city in that way is that you say to the people that "we regard you as a threat, you are not allowed to come close to the political process", and that undermined the whole purpose of the protest because the purpose was to actually make the politicians in the congress hall aware of this public outcry. On a psychological level its a contra-productive strategy if you want to keep it peaceful to "rebuild the city" in such a way. To many people protesting this was the ultimate provocation."

Cobblestones: "The most physical attribute that later sort of became the symbol for the whole things where the cobblestones. The streets themselves became a weapon. (kan du kortfattat forklara hur/nar det har hande?) Actually there was a discussion after this in many cities where municipalities where worried of how cobblestones could be used as weapons. If we lived in a more militarized society maybe this would have triggered the removal of cobblestones from the streets, in basically the same way that the fear of terrorists have initiated physical restructuring of parts of cities, (for example you may look at the newly built regional parliament in Edinborough, Scotland. The building, designed by Mirales and Owen, was to express openness but the result, because of fear of terrorist attacks - in Scotland! - was the opposite. Following the 9/11 attacks, in the last phase of design the bottom floor was reinforced with a concrete wall that totally changed the architectural expression of the building.)"

Damaged elements of the environment: Naturally, the "anarchists" or what you want to call them, went for the easy targets as well, meaning big shop windows and outdoor patios that would make the greatest visual effect. In this way they were in a symbiotic relationship with the press. You know, in situations like this nowadays the police often puts...stuff... such as an old police car in front of the demonstrators as a kind of a honey trap becasue they want a certain element of the protesters to start breaking and hitting the car to make it look like the demonstrators are the ones initiating violence. I think there is an aspect to this... I mean if you count the number of the physical injuries of the demonstrators in the Gothenburg riots you could count them in thousands, but they are not as visible and dont make as good images in the press as the damages done to property such as a broken window or a burnt-out car. so there is an imbalance in how the images to each side (so to speak) are reported that played in favor of the police in this particular case because the people in Gothenburg became very aware of the damage done to their environment but were not equally aware of the violence done to many a innocent and defenceless protester."

Symbolic targets: "During the riots, I would say the demonstrators did not go about looting things and destroying things in a completely random manner, but rather focusing on symbolic targets, meaning they went for things like Macdonalds and banks."

Main actors and roles?

Police: (Role?)

Peaceful protesters: (Role?)

Reacting protesters: (Role?)

Participants of the meeting: (Role?)

Bystanders: (Role?)

Press: (Role?)

(More?)

How did the built environment play a role in terms of:

-Identity

-

-Segregation

The city as a geographical place is a battle ground for economical interests and with the rising rents and prices for land in central locations the struggle for being part of the city hardens. Sweden has come quite a long way in doing physical deportation of its working classes from central districts to high-rise suburbs. This is what is often referred to as segregation, but it is also an act of expulsion. In everyway that you are reminded that you have been expelled, that you are unwelcome in the heart of a city you would like to call yours, you are naturally filled with frustration and a growing need for revenge. This always happens when you go from being part of something to being outside of something. Being told straight in your face that you are not worthy to be part of something. What happens is you get mad and you want to break stuff.

This is all built into the economic forces. The city becomes a battleground because of the way the economy works, because of the way the economy as a social mechanism disintigrates society and segregates people into different sub-groups and economically defined classes. And all of this, in Swedish cities, is expressed in very subtle ways. There are not many walls or gates or guards saying "you cannot go here" or "you are not welcome here" or saying "you are supposed to go over there", there are not many signs saying "this is a private area", but it is even worse than that, because there are a lot of invisible hints built into the social fabric even on the architectural level, to a large extent following ethnical lines that makes it obvious to everyone when you are in the wrong place, if you have a lower income you basically do not live in a house in the stone city, you are a stranger there. In Swedish cities there are, at least in Stockholm and Gothenburg, a very clear social division between the actual physical blocks of the stone city characterized by the age of the houses, the material of the houses as well as the spacial structure of city blocks on the one hand and the public housing in four to nine stories, its a physically initiated and architecturally replicated segregation. Its like saying "all men are created equal, but some ar more equal than others"

-Ownership

"Another movement that was strong at this time was the "Reclaim the Streets" movement. a movement which basically disolved following the riots. What they did prior to the confrontations was to hold a couple of open party events in Vasaparken (I think, among perhaps other places) without permission. These parties included a sound system, putting up leaflets and inviting people to come and dance, drink and enjoy themselves. A big party, but without permission. The underlying idea is to reclaim the city from cars and commercial ventures, so it is a way of expressing a political opinion by having fun, but certainly it involves not obeying the rules. This is interesting because they did not alter the environment in doing this, but they used it in a way that was not allowed. For the police this happy and innocent act of civil disobedience was considered a major provocation and a breach of civil order."

""Reclaim the streets" tried to redefine ownership of the streets, temporarily. The policy of actually physically redefining the ownership of the streets, implied trying to uphold one interpretation of accessibilty of ownership to the public space. And the rioters at "Avenyn" considered the physical things they destroyed as a minor act of violence compared to the violence against people such as when the police shot Hannes Westberg, one of the demonstrators. But here they had another perception than the major public who clearly considered the destruction of private property (as some people said when interviewed in the press) a "rape of their city". So the whole situation basically was a conflict recolving around the concept of ownership, and the different perceptions of what consitutes a fair and righteous acts in the face of ownership."

-Violence

"In Gothenburg 2001 the police basically rebuilt parts of the city, making some streets into dead ends. At one point they trapped a bunch of demonstrators on the bridge that goes from "Kungsportsplatsen" to "Avenyn", which was clearly something they had thought of. The police had obviously looked at the city map and pointed out the places where they could siege people, "this is beneficial to us", and "this is a threat" and so on. Basically they had been looking at the map in a similar way a General would prepare for a battle. Naturally, that is also something that does something to the psyche of the people involved, it puts them in the mode of conflict.

Firstly, we had the basic re-building of the city in a militarized way in a limited period of time, this many demonstrators recognized as threathening, undemocratic and a provocation. Secondly, in the way that all this came to a showdown at the major main street of Gothenburg, "Avenyn". What happen there was that during one of the demonstrations (there was a number of them) one of these tried to make their way down to the congress hall called "Svenska Massan" with I think about around 2000-3000 participants. It came a couple of a hundred meters down the side road from the public library, then the police had blocked of the street and somehow there was a tense situation. There was a shockwave with policehorses and dogs, saying "go back, go back" people were forced back (because this was an illegal protest) and then the demonstration dissolved. People went back to "Avenyn" with the feeling of having been defeated, sort of. They went down "Avenyn" being chased by the police in a slow manner, moving block by block, in their progress some of them made attacks on shops and banks and outdoor patios. This was the most militant element of the protest, being chased by the police, flanked by photographers. Related to the looters in London, there is something that occurs when the looting begins in the mind of people, peoples mind change, It is like something switches in the normality, things that are normaly not allowed become allowed by breaking the barrier of what's allowed by breaking the barrier into state of emergency. Normal people suddenly give up their usual boundaries (this was what happened in London) and may suddenly participate in looting. The situation as such initiated this psychological switch. "Avenyn" is a 1.5 km long street, if you where standing in the middle of that street in this situation you were suddenly not in Gothenburg anymore, you were in a game zone, if you were looking down the street you could clearly see things where not normal, so the normal rules did no longer apply. Everyone was running on adrenaline, so there you have the basic setting of the anomaly in the social behaviour. It is sort of as when the Hausmann boulevard as a place where the military could dissove protests in the rational manner is defeated by the social dynamics of the protest itself.

The discontent is built into the built environment by the way segregation create frustration and in the way division and expulsion caters to conflict. So in a way a confrontation was bound to happen, the question was: could the confrontation be canalized into constructive and spontaneous parties and protest such as the current occupy wall street movement that we see right now or "reclaim the streets" at the time of the top meeting in Gothenburg, or will it result in violence, repression and riots such as the London lootings and the Gothenburg riots. Its all a question of giving space to public expression of discontent. If this is not allowed, then violence is the unavoidable outcome in the end. This is sort of like a pressure

boiler where you can build up a huge pressure by not letting the steam out and if the pressure boiler is a society that will be catastrophic. The public space is like the outlet for the steam, and of course for radical movements you can use the public space to build a steam engine for revolution. Or reform. If that is what you prefer."

-Community

In Gothenburg quite a lot of the demonstrators that joined the "Reclaim the streets" party and the following demonstration were not very politically aware, they were kids from the suburbs, the children of the expulsed classes, and these joined these events basically looking for some fun. The situation would perhaps not have developed in this way if you did not have the big segregation to begin with. But also you had this whole setting, socially speaking, of two blocks, two armies facing eachother: the police and the demonstrators. This was the wrong tactic to begin with from the police, if they would have wanted to preserve peace. This basically created solidarity between different groups of demonstrators against the police. At the same time, strategically at the side of the demonstrators their major problems was to underestimate the necessity for an integration with the common man and the greater public, that meant they became regarded as troublemakers from outside the city. You have to gain public support for your cause, even if it is pacifist, if you want to be successful.

-Density

-

-Communication

-

Perceived positive outcomes

Awareness: You could say there had been a rise in popular awareness regarding the way cities were transforming in the years prior to the Gothenburg events, (kan du forklara mer vad denna "awereness" rorde?) this awareness was reflected in movements such as "reclaim the streets" and I think not only politically was that (at least to me) very hopeful. But I think it was also good for the cities themselves, because these movements both canalized a lot of frustration that always seeks an outlet but in this case the frustration did not become random looting but a political movement. It also raised the awareness among planners and decisionmakers on the political side that perhaps there were actually threats to the public space that had to be considered and responded to.

Perceived negative outcomes

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APPENDIX B: BANGKOK 2010 PROTESTS

March 9, 2012

Name

Justine Davies

Relation to case

Eyewitness at the scene of the Bangkok/May protests of 2010, fluent in Thai, documented the situation in pictures.

Case

Bangkok/May political protests of 2010, organized by the National United Front of Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD), also known as "Red Shirts". Exploring the role of the built environment in this event, especially focusing on how personal/private spaces transferred to the public space

What, Where, Why?

A prolonged series of political protests occurred in Bangkok, Thailand in 2010 from March to May against the Democrat Party-led government. The protests were organized by the National United Front of Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) (known as "Red-Shirts"). The UDD called for Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva to dissolve parliament and hold elections earlier than the end of term elections scheduled in 2012. The UDD demanded that the government stand down, and negotiations failed to set an election date. The protests escalated into prolonged violent confrontations between the protesters and the military, and attempts to negotiate a ceasefire failed. More than 80 civilians and 6 soldiers were killed, and more than 2,100 injured by the time the military successfully cracked down on the protesters on 19 May.

What elements of the built environment were involved?

Bridge had been cut off and we couldn't... I mean there were road blocks, it made the hotel unaccessable so we had to change hotels. The roadblocks at the bridge prevented us from going in and then we had to find alternative routes and it wasn't through main roads it was through, you know, people's backyards and these sort of things. More those backroutes that you imagine in Asia, and so we did that until we came out to the main road close to the national stadium again. The shopping centers, the hotel, the hotels that was shut, the shopping centre that was burnt. The theatre, the cinema that was burnt...

The overpass, below or just above the BTS trackline, was very important because that was where some of the soldiers were firing into the temple.

Tires: In my view the tires prevented the government coming in, or whomever coming in, or the army coming in to remove the protesters and they prevented... not so much people from leaving but I guess they were just monitoring who was coming in. And they did let the general public in. But it was a barrier.

It was a feeling of "oh my god what is this, what is going on", I didnt know if i'd be allowed to pass. I'd never been in that situation before and I'd never seen Bangkok like that before. But then I noticed that some young women you know, normal looking people... there were less people on the streets but some women were walking through so I just followed them through. And it was fine. Some of the black shirt guys were as friendly as normal, once you passed the barrier it was fine. It definitely affected the mood, it was a tiny thrill to go past and not have something happen or somebody questioning me. It is not something that you expect to see.The road blocks, all those elements changed the way Bangkok usually worked, normally there is a free flow of traffic and now there wasn't and that is what made it so unusual. It affected the businesses for all the people involved. It was intimidating "Oh my god I've never seen Bangkok like this before, this is a city I've known very very well"

Shutters: There were shutters that people put down on their shops. People did not have their shop doors open, they were pulled down.

Major shopping street: occupied and became a site for the protest. The main intersection was the place for the stage. The steps and the footpath that wasn't the main walking footpath but the foyer (the outdoor foyer of the shopping center) was where the protesters could lounge about during the day or where some of the police where kicking back on the side of the street. One of the few things that remained open was 7/11...

Street stalls: Inside the protest zone people had set up their own economies, there were little stalls and... it just had the red theme, it had not actually changed all that much. These stalls were selling food and water and red merchandise, they merchants just adjusted the contents of the stalls to fit the protest.

Hotels: The hotels that were shut down, I mean they were major, major hotels. Inside the protest zone there were hotels like Intercontinental, I mean they were humongous hotels and the fact that you didn't have the business and the tourists coming in and... and... it was affected because they could not operate normally.

Transport: I can not remember exactly but I think the BTS train for the most part was mostly running, except they did shut it down, but initially it was running from Chitlong station to Siam to National Stadium. The transport... I mean it was different in the sense that there were no cars and motorcycles able to pass through the protest zone though there were some private motorcycles and tuk tuks were let through but you know, there were checks. Otherwise traffic was shut down, people where walking. They had originally been in a different area of town and then moved. Transport was still going on in small scale but generally you could not pass beyond a certain point because people were occupying the area.

Stages: There was a platform for people to listen to the protest leaders. There were also some second stages in different areas that didn't have video but I think they had speakers so people could hear the leaders from the main stage.

Mall and shops: Most shops were closed but some were still open. I was still able to go in there and I actually got a discount because they had no customers. Some of the places behind the theatre were burnt, they were away from the main street. There were 7/11 open outside of the protest zone but it was shut down from the inside. The space outside the shops was used for other commercial activity, such as resting, socializing or living. The whole layer of shops was shut down and pushed inwards. Initially it was pushed back away from the protest zone. I guess initally it was pushed back away from the protest zone because people started occupying the zone and the streets and started living there and you didn't know what was going to happen afterwards... because the area behind the cinema was burnt, some places had to be shut down and then afterwards they were pushed back to the street level again because, you now, when things got back to normal. I noticed people could not use the shops so they were taking over the sidewalks with more clothes or... that you would not normally find. These were the sort of commercial activities which normally took place but now they had a red theme.

New living spaces: They had moved to the center of the street and created their own roped off areas. They were the new living areas. It was hard to say what kind of functions was going on

there because I really just walked by but from the things left behind it seemed to be eating and cooking, definitely sleeping, general camping out. They had lived there for a number of days. I could remember seeing flipflops, toys, mats people slept on, reminence of food, a first aid section I remember, a new table for people to sell dvd:s of the easter april 12-13 protest which had been in a different part of town. Before they moved to the centre of town. general living. It is hard to tell because I am not Thai but my approximation is that people had congregated and lived in units, not family, more based on where you come from, area.

Temple: Some people had taken refuge in the temple. Shot from above. It was quite sad. I don't know how people justify that because these people had obviously taken refuge there and I could only imagine they were regular people. I found some photographs online on that. Because the Thais don't have those... it is one of those countries where you have dead people on the front of newspapers and stuff so I did see the photographs of the guys who had been shot on the day and... but by the time that I got there it was obviously just some bloodstains and things on the ground. The protesters did not touch the temple, it was the soldiers. Almost opposite the road the protesters had touched the shopping mall. There were definetely commercial targets... the protesters got pissed off and... it was a busstop, it was a shopping mall, zen central world, the cinema, the backstreets of siam square shopping mall. Like 17 buildings or something.

Theatre/cinema: Burnt.

Impromptu shrines: some candles and writing in thai, one inside the protest zone (second day, a soldier looking at a shrine by a temple)

Stickers and posters: (propaganda) lots of them, someone was obviously organized enough to do printing. I can not remember what it was because many were burnt.

Streets: Key part. They occupied the center, as it is such an urban place. shut off the streets. shut of the very centre (mark of where it is marked off)

Central junction: Focal point for attention. Speeches and Skytrainsystem.

Shrines: There were impromptu shrines developed by people. There were some candles and some writing in Thai.

Main actors and roles?

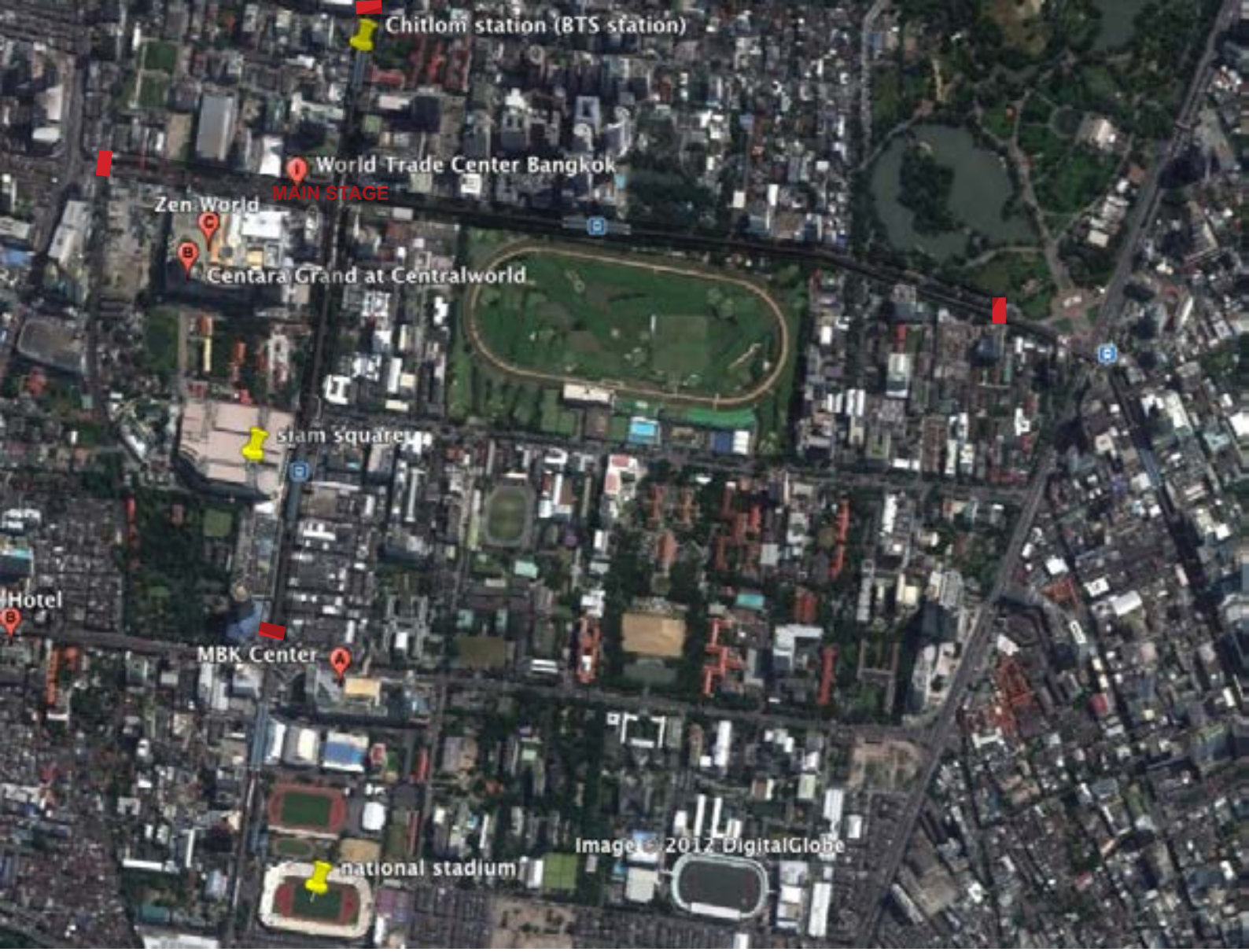
Red shirts: They were the protesters, they were the people who were behind...I couldn't distinguish between the yellow shirts and the red shirts. The yellow shirts weren't here but they had been the ones who had occupied the airport, shut down the airport, and then the red shirts came on...so the red shirts they were protesters for the red shirt cause. My general impression was that if you were protesting you could be classified as a red shirt, otherwise why would you be there. But this is a limited opinion.

Black shirts: Part of protest movement but I suppose they were more the... I wouldn't say militia, but more guards and people on the perimeter. They had a black shirt tent. They were the people in a more military garb.

Protest leaders: You recognized the protest leaders because they were on stage. Actually there might have been photographs of people's faces. And they occupied a tent behind the stage. They were well known by the protesters and sort of revered, there were maybe 12 or 15 of them. They did not hide their faces and they were being broadcasted every night, making speeches. Both internally and externally.

Men/women/children: To me they were the protesters. I didnt see any particular... I mean I did not notice any lack of children through I did found childrens toys and things afterwards. It was mainly adults, I suppose, and as far as I could notice there was an equal representation between the sexes.

Police: I didn't notice that the police existed until I came back to Bangkok and I was shut out from my hotel and had to find a second hotel, because... I mean I had heard that there were



police and soldiers around but...because I was there in two stages, broken up by two or three days or something, maybe Friday and I came back on a Tuesday. First time I was like "where are all the police?" because I had heard there was police around, I drove down to cialong road, where I first saw police. That was pretty much it for a while. But when I came back on the Tuesday they were everywhere. They were just hanging around, mostly. There were lots of guns. I saw some soldiers aiming a gun but I never a police aiming a gun. For the most part they were chatting with me "can I take a photo of you, can we take a photo together, what is your name, what are you doing in Bangkok". They were just hanging around, and the guys that were not close to the intersection, where I suppose most of the action happened, people were just hanging around, sitting around, lazing about, not doing anything. Waiting for orders I think. It is quite interesting. According to the media they were there protecting...I mean they would have scared people, you know, it would have been crazy for normal people to see so many police around. It would have given the impression that there was definitely an emergency. That something was not the usual state of affairs.

Soldiers: The soldiers were different, the soldiers were shipped in from different parts of the country. I have never seen so many soldiers in my life in one place. Police is one level but having soldiers around is completely different and I think that really hightened the sense of emergency, that something very serious is going on that needs to be contained and you know, perhaps it is something bad and they need... soldiers is... there is this impression that they are there to protect the people, at least from the western perspective, but then in thailand... there was a bloodless coup in 2006 I think. I think in Thailand there is like...sometimes the soldiers acts against the people who are protesting. And the king intervenes to stop them you know... taking over. So it is probably a different relationship than I have withsoldiers, if I saw soldiers in the streets in Australia I would expect them to be at my side but I think if

youre thai you can not necessarily expect that but I mean they were all very young and well behaved and they were all very polite and they weren't agressive. They were all very mild, they werent tough, it was the guns that were tough but the people did not give the impression, even though they were in uniform, that they were that tough. Maybe they were only smiling because I was a foreigner and I was usual, I don't know hoe they relate to thai people but... from what I observed they were friendly.

Passer-bys: The passers-by emphasized the laid back nature. You didn't really see that many people walking about who were not protesters, just normal Thai people, they were sort of indoors. I followed these two girls in and that was how I knew that I could go through, but you really did not see that many people who were there out of curiosity and not part of the protest. They were staying indoors. It was unusual to go out on the streets unless you were some crazy journalist. I met a lady who owned an antique store, and she just sort of stayed inside becaue she did not want to get involved or get in harm's way. She wanted to stay out of the way. Residents were staying out of the way. When I talked to the reception staff of my hotel, they said "don't go, don't go, its dangerous". Depending on who they were they did not want to go near. Most were staying away from any trouble sites because it was an extremely unusual... like Thailand had never seen anything like that before.

Journalists: There were professional journalists and a few people who like me were just curious, I think all of us had cameras. There were Thais and there were foreginers. There were foreign journalists who were killed.

How did the built environment play a role in terms of:

-Identity

In a macro sense you are in a part of town that is the economic heart of Bangkok, so occupying that space was extremely significant and I did get the impression that it is poor people from out of town, the economically disenfranchised who were acting out against those elements that represented wealth. I picked that up because I was told that people had been bust in, that people had been occupying that site. If they were from Bangkok, why would they be living there as opposed to just be coming in and out each day. In that sense, occupying the heart of Bangkok, stopping the economy to that effect it was extremely...symbolic. The things like... tires and red perifernalia and sticking up photographs, like propaganda photographs and putting up shrines to people who had been killed, setting up stalls to sell the... promote what had gone on before in protest were people had died, in April 13, that... those elements of the built envisonment identified you, as the individual, as a protester. So I think that those things jump out at me. The dvd's, the red fans, the red clackers all of those would identify you as being part of the protest and behind whatever cause they were pushing.

-Segregation

The barriers shut off...distinguished people who were involved in the protest and who were not, who were inside and outside. If you were inside then you were definitely for the cause if you were outside then it was ambigous. If you were walking through then either you were living in the area, or you needed to use it as a shortcut. But otherwise people who were afraid or maybe didn't agree would have stayed away. Otherwise, the uniforms were important, because they identified you as a civilian, not police or army. Or as someone who was wearing a red shirt or not. But not everybody sitting down listening to the speeches were wearing a red shirt either, not in the least. Most of those who were living there were earing normal clothes but it is the location that made me think they were part of the protest. Thai;s they... yellow used to be the color of the king, you used to wear it on a special day of the week an it used to mean "I love the king", the other colour that signifies that you love the king, which is extremely, extremely revered in Thailand is pink. I once bought a yellow shirt. But after the initial protests in 2008 I was like "gosh, I can never wear this shirt without marking myself

as being for one side politically and against the other side" so I stopped wearing that shirt in Thailand. And then when I went back I was like "gosh, now I can never wear a red shirt again without...". You never know what people are going to think so on Thursday's now I've noticed people are just wearing pink and it is not a yellow shirt anymore. And I probably, casually, though I didn't stay for long after that, din't notice people wearing red shirts. I think maybe people would be more conscious of wearing those colours, using them less. People could possibly think it denoted political leaning.

-Ownership

They definitely took it over. For months, three months or something it was definitely their area of town. They set up places, they lived there, they were conducting informal economies by selling whatever they were selling, food or some merchandise. They earned it. And the power they had by occupying it they... I mean they brough Bangkok to a halt, people stayed away and... I mean if you look at the hotels that were in that zone, if you look at the turnover of the shopping centres like in Siam square, Siam paragon, Siam centre and central world, the intercontinental hotel and I mean... if you were to look up how long the protests were and how much money were lost...? It is *staggering*. I was so surprised that the government did not intervene sooner because they must have lost a *bomb*. They really had an impact. They really knew how to pick their targets, and I don't know how to calculate it but when they shut down the airport for a few days in 2008 that had a huge impact too. They were peaceful protests but it wasn't like it didn't have an impact. I wonder about occupy wall street, had they shut things down or occupying a park or something, you know, did they have the kind of impact by their choice of location like the guys in Bangkok did? I don't know. If they occupied times square that sounds like somtehing Thai people would do. But I don't think they dif. Maybe they just annoyed a few bankers or something, I'm not sure of what they did on wall street. but it might be an interesting comparison...

-Violence

There wasn't violence between protesters. And I don't think there were violence from protesters to the representations of authority; the police or the soldiers. But there were violence during the days that they stormed the site. I rember people saying therw were a some assassinations of protest leaders during the days leading up to that. I don't know the figures, the only reason I know is because of the evidence; that blood on the ground and bullets that i piccked up. There were guns that were fired and there were bulletholes and shattered glass and you could see that people had been hurt or killed. And there were those signs, fear from the protesters "please do not kill us", "please protect us". And in the original protests in the backpacker area, those protests there had been people killed then too. I did not witness anybody being shot. For all intents and purposes they were pretty patient, I mean they had been occupying the area for months and I am surprised it didn't happen before...For a while the built environment provented violence because the protests were in an intersection and by cuting off access to this then the people for a long time were protected. Because nobody could enter. People couldn't enter the area. It could have been worse, I don't know because I wasn't inside on that day, for all I know they could have been spraying bullets everywhere and certainly it looked like that in some sections by the glass. I don't know at what point the protesters scattered or if they were given a chance to leave before shootings happened. But inside the temple...that made it worse, because they were taking refuge in a closed off area. Because of the overpass of the BTS line they were in a vulnerable position and the soldiers were able to shoot into that area very clearly. They took out cars and people and...you can see the evidence in the photographs. And in that way it exasperated the violence. So this is from the overpass. Underneath the skytrain line there is another walkway. And the road is under that, three levels.

There was violence towards the built environment from the protesters, they took it out on,

from I can tell, things that represented wealth, huge wealth and economic powerhouse. I don't know why they targeted the inema but I guess in some cases it was just indiscriminate and a firebug sort of syndrome. But definetely Zen central world, that's extremely symbolic. I did feel sorry when `i saw people getting arrested, out of all these nice soldiers and police obviously there was some people... I don't know if there was an elite unit and I sort of get the impression that it was organized on some level because the shooting seemed to have somehow been directed to kill some people. I did not get the impression that it was just the regular soldiers or police.

-Community

The protesters themselves...it was really amazing, there was a sense of hope and people power and bravery ewen...before things went wrong in the very end. You know, you felt like giving a fistpump to the sky! Good on them, this is fantastic, you bloody shut down Bangkok, this is incredible! How did you do this? How did you pull this off? It was really incredible, and that people were turning upp every night from out of town I was told. They were so dedicated to the cause that they were living in that area. People were supporting it enough so that there were still people occupying it, selling food and... The Thai's that were walking past were not scared as such, they were just cautious because you didnt know when things would be put to an end. It had everything to do with community in that sense and everything to do with community in the wider sense in that there is this gap between rich and poor, that there is this much discontent in society that this was able to happen. And that they were enough people to bond together and organize this. Actually for the lack of community, if the rich had bonded together or done what the protesters wanted them to do this might not have happened.

-Density

It was in a very small area, they were occupying the streets. The weren't occupying the buildings they were occupying the streets. The steps outside made it very concentrated. There were a lot of people involved. It was a large area when you walk it, maybee it was half an hour for me to walk from my hotel to the stage area down to MBK mall. So it does take a while. Usually there are cars but now there were more people there because people were living in the streets, occupying the footpaths and the road. On a normal day you would have people walking on the footpaths but you had additional people living in the streets. there were more functions on the streets that usual, usually people don't live there, people don't sell protest propaganda, putting up stickers or signs, or using grafitti. People were using it an area to sit in and listen to the protests, there was a stage there and operational camp tents. The density played a role in creating a sense of community, if it had been in a park such as that opposite the police quarters, it would not have felt the same because it was a big open space it was a totally different feeling than when you had skyscrapers or big buildings on either side of the road. Because it was not so wide an area you could see how many people were involved, it made the support more visible. It gave the impression that there were more people there than there was, perhaps? If there had been wide spaces between you it might not have seem like there were so many people.

-Communication

You should have access to a protest leader. But from what I witnesses, there must have been some organization in order for them tohave people coming in and out to listen every night, it was quite sophisticated. There was a stage and their communication in setting up speakers in order to reach the people who could not reach the stage because it was to far away. The fact that they had their stickers and their propaganda they would have had to have printing presses, and equipment to be able to make a dvd. Other people would have had to be involved, on

some levels... I mean it was informal but quite sophisticated. I mean how does a protest elect its protest leaders? I don't know how that happens or how they become that but these were some indications of democracy or autonomy within a movement.

From the stage the protest leaders held their speeches, the protest leaders seemed to take turns between themselves. There wre hundreds and maybe thousands of people sitting on the streets and listening every evening at least, maybe in the day too I'm not sure. It was a monologue, it was empassioned but not crazy, people were hilled out, listening. They had their red clacker things, clapping. There was that big sign in English "peaceful protesters not terrorists" so they were definetely trying to communicate some things in English that were important, like: we son't want to be misunderstood as radicals, we want peace, we want certain things to happen with parliament, we are worried what will happen to us, we want protection, don't kill us. Those things I could understand from the English signs I saw. People had clackers that sounded like applause. It was quite orderly actually, quite calm. I never felt in danger, in fact I felt safe apart from the anxiety of not knowing when this would come to an end. You did not know if you at the perimeter would have the time to get out of harms way. Or that was what I would have assumed if I was in the middle of that intersection, and I would have heard that on some end somebody was trying to break in. I would have had time to get out of the way I hope.

Perceived positive outcomes

It was incredible to see what could be organized, it was an amazing protest, it would have required an amazing amount of organization to see that the community and people getting behind a cause that they belived in... that it could have had such an impact on the city and the economy, I never would have expected it to have lasted for as long as it did, months. Because, like I mentioned befor, the negative effect it would have had on businesses and tourism and normal people trying to do things. So from that people power perspective, people fighting back... that was... refreshing to see, from that standpoint. You know "screw the man" kind of thing. Thailand is quite a... keeping surface harmony is quite important, and to see something coming up to the surface that was so dramatic and big was really amazing. People fighting for their rights and what they believed in.

Perceived negative outcomes

The damage to the property, the economic impact on those areas within the site but also around the site and in a wider sense..the media was protesting, making it seem like all of Bangkok was burning, it would have kept away tourists for a while. It would have had quite a significant impact in that sense. The tuk tuk drivers said they didnt have customers because people were staying away. The small business owners wouldn't have been able to sell...I mean when you see it getting back to life it is increadible to think that eanything would have happened there, I remember it striking me afterwards... I mean they had these campaigns afterwards like "together we can". They put up some signs and sold some t-shirts "together we can" t-shirts, I bought one. Instead of the red things. But apart from the evidence, especially in zen central world, it was back to normal so fast, and it was such a dramatic thing that happen but it was almost like "did it actually happen?". It was *sad* to ponder it sometimes that it had been cleaned up so fast. Which is a good thing and a bad thing. Within a couple of days they had put a wall up, and corrugated iron and blocked up...it was like gosh, as if it had never happened. It is sad that there was such a huge thing, there was such a sense of hope of maybe something can change, maybe they will get what they want but it happened and but now the only evidence is the rebuilding which is mostly hidden. It was covered up and dealt with and swept under the rug extremely quickly.

Redefining space

Redefining uses

New commercial space

Living space

Occupying old commercial space

Occupying old commercial places

Occupying visual space

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPATORY SLUM UPGRADING PROGRAMME

Name

Kerstin Sommer

Relation to case

Human Settlements Officer, Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme, UN-Habitat, Regional Office for Africa and the Arab States.

Case

UN-Habitat's Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme, interesting in terms of methods used and lessons learnt concerning participation and collaboration in relation to the built environment.

March 8, 2012

What, Where, Why?

"PSUP stands for the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme, and is a programme tailored for the ACP region (Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries). It is consisting of three different phases:

1 is assessment at city wide level, what are the major issues and reasons for that, the causes.

2 zooms into slums, starting with the slum upgrading part and tries to identify with the community what could be done to improve immediate living conditions.

But then also at city wide level, like the overaching goal is to reduce urban poverty by 50%, so to work on a strategy on how to achieve reduction of slum dweller by 50 % and then at national level how to improve policies and well...also at city level with regularizations, to actually improve living conditions in the long term and automatically also prevent... the same happening again.

3 is actually implementing these activites at the community level. So the third phase is implementing.

I should say that the program has not had a very smooth tradition. It started with the urban profiling, this city wide assessment, then with the funding opportunity with the european commision and that advocacy for urban poverty reduction it got the second phase but we still did not know if we were going to get long term funding from the European Commisson, and also have a long time partnership with the ACP secretariat. Which now turned out to be the case so now we can say that we have worked together for about 8 years I would say, some would say 10 because that was really the beginning. But so now we for the first time we have funding for all three stages and also... for the 34 countries. So for now for us it is also a moment to reflect on the methodology, and now we know it is one logical chain of activities, one programme not incremental pieces that build up on eachother."

What elements of the built environment were involved?

Housing and land: In the past it has been a strong focus within UN-Habitat on housing and land issues. Also a strong input from the shelter branch so it used to have a very strong housing approach.

Public space: We are changing at the moment to actually create public spaces and access to

basic services. We already had the public spaces as par of the methodology now but we never really engaged very much. We forced the housing component in but now...technically countries are free to identify what they want, we give the tools for all thematic areas, but automatically it has been by our input strongly focused on housing but their feedback actually focused on... drainage, access roads and basic urban services and water sanitation. That was really what the communities reported back to us. In all the countries that we are working on. So there was no housing programs that were suggested to us. It was more infrastucture. In the discussions public space came up, they did not call it public space, let's say they would call it to have a... to have an area where you could cook together as a community or... they would more give it functions, they wouldn't call it public space. They would say 'we want an area for our kids to play football" or "we want an area to sell ou products, like marketspace", "we want an area to cook" yes like I said, on shared resources because cooking is expensive in slums. So things like that came up, but they wouldn't call it public space. They would not call it community space either, it was just *functional* space. Kitchen and children related. Sharing resources.

We are working with community organizations who have shared interests, and these are aware of that they need spaces for their functions, to develop whatever they are doing: sport associations etc. Supporting their empowerment.

Main actors and roles?

Government: Accepts the program, putting it as national priority. Anchoring the program, as we start with the urban profiling which is as a soft introduction to poverty reduction. So they can accept this and make their own benchmarks, what they want to achieve, what they are doing already, what are the gaps.

Ministries and local authorities

Country teams: So we build these country teams that work throughout the programme. And they consist of NGO's and CBO's but also the ministries and local authorities and always chaired by the key ministyr which is often the ministry of local government. So with that, it is a strong stakeholder.

Neighbourhood: In phase two and phase three it is more commuity based, but we have this body in place that listen to the community. They build their assessment, you have the community mapping and all that, and then they bring their assessment and some workshops and... and then you put these against what has been identified at the detailed level. Now we also wanted some urban plans on the neighbourhood level, where they design their own area. I mean like really, physically design where they live, and then hopefully mobilize resources to implement it.

How did the built environment play a role in terms of:

-Identity

I think it is in two parts the most interesting, because the built environment that we want to deal with in many ways are these informal settlements, slums, so it has in the beginning this very much aspect of hiding it, being ashamed of it, not accepting it is there. Really wanting to hide the slum reality. So that is actually... I think people are really ashamed in these workshops, if you are talking about it you really get often an emotional component to it, what it means for residents to live in such a city...and the government is supposed to serve. And it is not happening. And they don't have any mechanisms of integrating the people who are living in these areas so... they would probably if they could. But... yes, so that is the first, government part. But the second part is that the residents are quite proud of it, because they feel it is their *own*. So their environment has a very strong identifica-

tion, almost like this is what they are about, and also the experience that we've had in the programme is that they feel also that they have the skills to live in the informal parts of the city. So it is a very strong identifications. And I also think that this is an important aspect of slum upgrading, when you don't have the support from the community in doing the upgrading, I think that people are underestimating that aspects, that they really are identifying themselves with their environment and life, and that they are very afraid of changes as well. That is why it is also so important I think in the design of the programme to have a very strong focus on the community in the so called second phase and third phase. Because otherwise you lose the beneficiaries in that group.

-Segregation

Segregation is pretty much... that is why we can talk about slums. For sure, it is a very big thing, segregation in everything; in the decision making process, in design questions, in the physical location. What helps is to identify, on a stakeholder level, roles for people. Clear definitions of roles. Within the programme but also after, beyond that I hope. That you give different society groups different roles. To come together to do something. To give access to information and to participate in decision making and also be more aware of eachother. very often we had programs were people like government officials or even some NGO's I must say, have never been in these informal settlements before, so it is as if they are not even fully aware of the concerns and the other way around too, slumdwellers that have never seen a ministry before, discussing certain things. This is in a way, the easy way of dealing with segregation, then in a physical sense to look at...we enforce integrated planing but very often it is a given, you have the intention of mixing space more but it is very limited physical design on it for now. We are planning on having a fourth phase which is upscaling the idea and also doing the city wide planning review, but for now we are still negotiating with the EU. The countries will only now start with the third phase but we are negotiating with the EU to continue on that fourth step. But it will be hard to get that through I guess. We need to lobby for it.

-Ownership

Probably the biggest point of our program. Which is also a strength of it. A very strong ownership. Which has good and bad points at the same time but is very important. Ownership is built by the institutions but also by the residents, for sure it is a very demanding thing but also a very needed thing. For a few ones to replicate the processes and create an understanding for the processes, problems and the programme. Options of owercoming the problem. But also it can maybe exclude people because some may have a very strong ownership of the program because it comes with a visibility and it comes with... we don't want too strong ownership but we want ownership so...I don;t know but it is a very interesting part.

With the community it has a... it will be very interesting to see in phase three, but it has also quite an ownership of the program, which hopefully will be smooth and not create conflicts. The basic principle is that before we start with the action we have this workshop where we bring everyone together, we do a terms of reference together, outlining who will do what, and a memorandum of understanding. The afterwards when we get the result, let's say the reports acounting what they were doing, we don't change these, we leave the products unedited. We give a lot of input on the way, a lot of support bu we make sure that once we have the last output, we rather try to get this as late as possible in the process, we try to avoid taking possession of the final product, it is their product.

The final document that they produce with what they want to do, with all the processes in it, it is then the selection criteria for being part of the programme. Not all get the funding, only the best. The report is supposed to outline who is doing what, committing to what, financially but also in time, staff time... Based on that we then select those who can proceed and get investment. The selection criteria is more the consistency of the product. And

then we have a very nice checking mechanism by this. And we have an evaluation team that looks at commitment and participation etc. Checking also for things like how much the environment supports it, looking at integrative planning, democratic processes etc.

-Violence

We have the sSafer Cities programme as a component. So the urban profiling have a chapter on safety issues. But then we also have for the community to assess their feeling of security...and risk is in there too. But just as one of the guides of methodology. So it comes out particularly strong when talking about gender, we try to have all this methodology for gender meainstreaming.

-Community

Community is a big thing. Even bigger in the future. I don't have that many experiences yet because we are just starting with the implementations. Sure the community will be bigger than before, because now it will be more about them changing the environment and also them being part if the action.

-Density

Nobody really touched the housing aspect of it, but I am very much pro-density as an individual. I think it is important to use space efficiently., especially expensive urban space. if you want poor to have access to housing in cities I think it is the only way of providing it.

In the regional office we were saying that it is against the culture and people are not used to living in different levels. But the worst is actually the segregation aspects, that you are keeping people out of the city, you provide the people with land where they can have a house, three room house whatever, but they are then 50 kilometres outside the city where they are excluded from all parts of city life so... It has shown in many African cities. In Kenya people say that density is not accepted but it is not true, you have Eastley etc, you have areas which are very economically active and there are waiting lists for the apartments to rent in these multi-story buildings so it is not... I think it is not true that density is not accepted. And people are also young in cities, at least in the developing world, I think it is suited for the users.

I see very much that there is a possibility of balancing the lacks in personal space with qualities in the public space. From a lot of points; overall it is superimportant to build additional skills and empower people who are living there and... maybe I am too biased by a developing context but...also in the western world it is important. In terms of information flow people are telling eachother about jobs or how they were defending themselves when things happened or... so it is also... I think the access to information is till a very privileged thing. It is better than in the rural areas but still, we should very much make use of that tool and empower people through it. And then, plus all the political decision making, having power in voting and I think by creating more public space I think you are also enabling people to get access to more information. Plus you create space that you share so that you integrate people with eachother because they share space with eachother, and this has a lot of other positive impacts such as social exchange with the neighbours and so on. But you also give a lot of opportunities for small businesses, you can more easily engage them and increase exposure for them. An then from a city planner perspective it is much cheaper for me to provide a bit of shared space and integrate it than have a low density where I waste a lot of space. And then having high rents, meaning it being very exclusive, this is not good for the overall city development.

-Communication

Technology plays a role in the programme. it is a bit individual by country how they deal with it but overall we have... facebook, it is not really done by facebook but it is done through a site called PSUP.com. Where actually people sign up to the roles, the responsibilities. In my role I have the chance to talk to someone with the same role, same responsibility. They get in a workshop, get the work done, we take a picture and get the email addresses and have these tasks within the programme, committing to a role. As a community member I have the role to inform to inform my community on the programme and what rights we have in the built environment. So then you sign up and you exchange with other people and in every country somebody *had* to commit to that. So that is on a regional and global level. But then we had the same at country level. It is very often through mobile that we have some sort of fast way of getting information from communities but also giving the information back to the planners. But we were thinking of increasing that in phase three, and we were actually thinking of working with a sort of company in Holland and they are thinking of better ways of communication, building a website and exchange the others. But also a more efficient way of roling the profile out through mobile. So we are looking into that. But it is not there yet. We need more efficient tools that helps us to be faster and access only the necessary information to roll it out faster and have a faster impact. The use of technology has so far had very positive effects especially in terms of ownership and identity.

Perceived positive outcomes

The positive outcomes is that there is an infrastructure in place for slumupgrading that I can now use, having a mobilising team that I can contact, there is an ad hoc base for slum upgrading. Not only slum upgrading but let's say imporvements in the city. I have a mobilized team that is trusting us. That is one of the biggest achievements. The knowledge we built on it, we have seen what is really the concerns within the communities in different context. It is also a bit of a surprise how similar it is in the end, even though they have totally different countries. It is a very diverse country collection. They still deal with the main major issues. Segregation is one of the major parts, people dont know what the needs are of a certain population group. Even if they want to change they don't have the knowledge or the skills to change it. Mauritius is having a big scale slum upgrading project, but to a certain extent they don't even consider the lower income group as full citizens, it is almost like we cater for them, we allow them to be there, but they are not being seen as a real part of the society. For example it was very it clear to see that they have this social housing programme in place at a government level so when I am a low income family I have the right to 39m2 house, somewhere outside, I get a bus so I will get picked up and brought to work, go somewhere in the in the industrial area. I will have an income and I will have to prove for a while that I can do that. And if I get for ten years an injection as a woman I get a 45m2 house and I own it faster... So that is what I mean, they see it as somebody who is there but they don't see them as the same... as the not low income families. So they are spacewise segregated they are segregated in that they are not seen to have the same value as others and are not integrated in the planning. Still in a highly developed context you can see this...racism almost.

Perceived negative outcomes

There are lot of what we call "challenges". Expectations... for sure some countries say "we did all this, and what do we really get" and we on our part are negatively surprised that for them it is about big money at the end of the process. Also sometimes insitutions want to sell their own agenda. We pay them to do some work, and some do little and gain a lot so... we have that tendency a lot. The institutional behaviour can be a bit negative. These are things we need to still improve, to get them aboard. But real big negative outcomes not. Because we have the selection mechanisms. We only work with the best. A negative outcome

APPENDIX D: DANDORA HOUSING SCHEME

Name

Tom Anyamba

Relation to case

Dean, School of the Built Environment, University of Nairobi

Case

Affordble housing scheme in Dandora, Nairobi, Kenya.

February 22, 2012

What, Where, Why?

"The site and service scheme was a project roled out in the early 1970s, the Kenyan government got a loan from the World Bank. The idea was that the urbanization rate was very high, and there was no way they were able to cope with the demand for housing. Perticularly in the bottom of the pyramid, the very low income, and the idea was to target that very low income group and to give them serviced plots. So the idea was to give them "site" and "services". So they gave a site and service, the site was meauring on average 6m to the road frontage and to the back meaured about 18-30m. This was based on students of graduate students at MIT and Harvard, and that course had been running by some Professor called Caminos (who is still there, currently working on incremental housing, which is ongoing). So these studies had been carried out at MIT from about 1967 to about 1970-71. And one of the Professors who taught here, Professor Bruce Kreger, he was on that program. They were now trying to implement those studies on site and service through the Dandora project."

What elements of the built environment were involved?

"Dandora was an open field, prime land. Now it has gone from green field to brown field. It is very dense, going from 30-40 units per hectar to 6 floors now. It is very dense.

So what was happening at the MIT studio, what they were saying was that if you had a particular space, you have a particular parcel of land, you can use it optimally through a certain technical method of providing services. And their findings were that you must have a very short frontage for efficiency, the frontage of the space must be short and the depth must be reasonable. And they came out with that the ratio should be 1.25 to 4. Because if the plot is squarish you are given services and they are not efficient. They were focusing on access to services.

When they have a frontage like this you can run sewer here (frontage), you can run water here (frontage), you can run power under the road and everything, services, so you serve more plots efficiently than if you have a squarish plot. And again, if it is too deep then it also...the efficency breaks down. So if you have a plot size of 6 at the front, then the depth should be 15 to 24. That gives you kind of optimum. In Dandora they had 6 times 18-20, but in a planning situation you cannot have it perfect, you give and take.

In Dandora they now built 6000 serviced plots between 1975 and 1978, in five phases, phase one to phase five. And whatever lessons they learned from phase one they tried to improve

in phase two, and so on. So each phase was about 1200 plots. And they also had light in the streets.

The idea was to really target the low-income group so they also gave them a type plan. And that is where incremental housing comes in. They give them a type plan and basically they were very simple. They gave very simple units that you could build a house that could grow, and you have some kind of foreyard and backyard. These are very simple units about 3x3 or about 3x2.6, 2.7 and that you build one room and as you move in (on the plot) you can add more rooms. And you can add other rooms. And they would also build at the back the wet-core. The wetcore is a toilet and a shower. And then they could maybe have a kitchen also, attached to it. The most prioritized rooms were the toilet, the shower and the kitchen. Then you could build one room. And the rest you build yourself, ant that's why it was incremental. And the idea of this was that you can sub-let these rooms. So that on the plot you may have multiple families.

They were giving them a loan which was supposed to be repayable, and this is the paradigm of the 1970's which was promoted by the worldbank and briton institutions where they were talking about site and services, and the issue that you had to have cost recovery. And then replicability. That the project should be able to finance itself. So whatever money you put in you should recover. The idea of subletting is so however is the owner can generate some more money. They are able then to service their loans., otherwise they may not be able to service their loans. That was the way that they could repay their loans, there was no other mechanism. Ok, they also gave provisions for markets, market stalls and lights in the streets. With the view that some of these people could get employment in those areas and generate some income.

The failure of Dandora, which is very interesting, is that they never really got to the target group, that bottom of the pyramid, they couldn't actually get it. The main reason for that is that even just to get the basic... to build one room, these people can not afford it. Even if you give them the loan. They may not be able to repay. So what happened, the majority of those who got in the process were not able to continue. And even did not sell directly because there were some issues with ownership, they could agree informally and somebody takes it. And they would go on and live in some other informal settlement. So you find that now, instead of this group it is actually this other group that came in. So what has happened over time is because Dandora is about 8km from the CBD, which is very close to the city centre and to the industrial area it is also not very far, so it is very prime land. So what has happened... the initial plan was to built bungalows, these single stories, what has happened over time is that people have demolished these buildings and have now built flats. Actually, not really flats but what you would call "tenaments".

They have demolished the buildings in phases, starting by demolishing the front, and then you build here. They are still hooking up to the same services as intended in the original plan, they start by demolishing the front, leaving a small corridor of maybe 900mm, building new tenaments. The majority of those plots now have this arrangement, with a small corridor, maybe a little space in the back. This is now completely built because it is prime land, frontage to the street. At the ground you may even have shops or some other outlet, then you have rooms. And then they do communal...where the toilet was at the bottom there they will do maybe communal bathrooms. Sharing the services. The rooms are about 2.55 x 3 meters. People who are staying there are sometimes families, sometimes occupying one room. It gets very dark, only artificial lighting. The blocks are mostly closed, the majority don't get any daylight.

Each plot had a meter for water and power meter. There is one owner of the plot: he is the landlord. Once they developed it into flats they have a landlord. So the water and electricity is payed by the landlord. If there is any sub-letting then the rent includes waterr and electricity because it would be too expensive to meter all the water and power. There are garbage points, each plot was supposed to have a garbage bin befor, it has not happened. The city was supposed to be collecting. Nowadays they don't even collect. A lot of people have organized themselves into groups, they have their own private garbage collectors who they pay by month, handled by the landlord and included in the rent."

Main actors and roles?

World bank: Gave the finance for the project.

Nairobi city council: Gave the land and loans, the money came to the council and then the council gave the loans.

Consultants: A big name was Mutiso Menezes, these were the consultants and architects who did the design and layouts, the masterplan. I.B. Patel Mangat did the services: water, drainage, roads, power.

Contractors: There were contractors who were building this and sometimes people would build by their own labour.

Landlord: Collecting rent may be difficult, so he may have to hire some agents to get the rent.

How did the built environment play a role in terms of:

-Identity

The space is anonymous, it doesn't belong to anybody. You come, there is no gate. There is no definition. Even in terms of identifying with a space it is difficult. It is very anonymous. You know people would say "when you get to that tree...". Landmarks are trees or kiosks or shops or pubs. People would know their neighbours but in some places you may found that the turnover is high, somebody comes, stays two months and move on.

-Segregation

The initial owners where middle aged, people in their 40's or early 50's, people who had some means. They have aged now. What has happened now is that you have much younger inhabitants who have been born and bred in Dandora. Some where born there in the 1980's, some have never moved. Maybe their father has now retired and gone to the countryside. A lot of Kenyans still live two lives, what we call *straddling*: they are in town and they are in the village. So on retirement the majority would retire to the rural area and leave their living unit to their offspring who would continue the family. So now you got the 30 somethings which have taken over, raising their families. So now the population has also increased.

-Ownership

Economically the setup is very profitable for the landlords, who are the owners. Very...expensive to the city. in the sense that it is too much pressure on the services, so you get power outages, shortage of water, and then you get sewer burst. The problem with this city is that once they have built something they think it is done, so whatever they have put there they don't even maintain. In rodeer to have gone six floors the original services needed to have been upgraded. So sevice upgrade has not happened. Because there is no incentive, there is no political will there. And you now if they upgrade it they could charge more. The city is now getting land rents and land rates but that is so low. And they could have been raised if they upgraded the services. One of these rooms would cost about 2000 bob, and to live in the informal settlemetns such as Kibera for a similar space you would pay 500-1000 bob. Once you start charging beyond that, you can not get to that group. It is the financial that is the main reason for Dandora not reaching the intended group. You lose them and they go to another... they create a new slum wherever they will.

-Violence

The initial people who settled in Dandora where going from informal settlements. So initiatlly it was a better environment that were they had been. But now it has been informalised, it is not a very exiting place to live. All the social spaces have been taken up. There are no social spaces. Dandora people get very edgy. Very easily. The police are not readily available. they will lynch you. it is a very tough environment, very hostile. If you are a stranger, you will be noticed and you will be marked. You have to be very... when you live in this kind of constrained situation, you want to get out and get relieved because you are like a prisoner really. That freedom you don't have. And that is why you find them on Sundays, the day when you can not go to work because most places are closed, that's when they come and relax in Uhuru Park. because other days they are bury looking for survival. And then they are very easy to manipulate, this this kind of group. They are vulnerable in the sense that they can be swayed by money, you can bribe them easily, you can buy them as voters. it is not very democratic. You give them a 100 bob and they vote for you. You don't give them and they say "why should I vote for you? Somebody will give me 100 bob". In terms of politics they can be manipulated. Loyalties rests with who can give them what they need.

Because of the ethnic composition, you find ethnic enclaves in Dandora, you will find an area for Kikuyu, an area for the Luo etc. Then what this does is they begin to form vigilante groups. These can be... quite negative. Because the police are not able to provide adequate security the people do it themselves. Providing security but you also create tensions "you are in our area...". Public spaces could possible have helped with helped with that.

Public spaces needed could have been somewhere for sports like a football pitch, in the shopping area you would need some open area, some square, and in fact with the public area comes also political space. There is were people can come and express themselves, have a political rally and put the council to their task.

If these group of people could have well done public kitchens than people would cook there and bring the food home. Men like to have their beer so a local pub would be a strong social point. In fact many of the ground floor rooms became a pub. becoming a social space. For the kids they need some play area with minimum equipment, slides, sand. What ends up is you find people playing on the roads because this is the only public space. The needs come out event though there is no space for it. There is almost no sidewalks, just a small one.

-Community

The way social things work is that they have what you call *chama*. Chama are like... self-help groups who come together and within this you would find a lot of people getting together for what you might call social support. And financial support. Some do merry-go-rounds, the generate money and give it to you and then after maybe a week and maybe a month...depending on how they have organized themselves, they support eachother. Then some belong to some religious groups so the church becomes a major...it is a new social space. Because it is the only space where they can go and vent. And meet in a bigger space. And particularly womens group. I think men don't tend to cooperate very much, it is just like a...maybe it is a cultural trait, I don't know. The thing about women in Kenya, or I would say in Africa in general, is that women are the ones who take care of the household. They ahve to make sure that the meal is ready and all this. Keys and all that. So they need that support. The men occassionally would give financial support but the women are the ones that really... so that is why they need that support. They are the core of the family. And then of course these groups work for various other things, like if there is a marriage... these groups come in play, if there is a funeral, these groups come in play.

-Density

There are no social spaces. Maybe a little in the backyard if it still is there. The people on the

ground floor would be using that space for washing and sitting and sometimes cooking. The services are all shared, if you cook within the rooms you are using the jiko, resulting in really bad air. The purpose of the rooms is sleeping, sitting, cooking. People may buy some cardboard for storage and some stools, maybe get some hooks on the walls. And now when there is a water shortage...you know these services were intended for single storry, now they are doing six floors, they are very strained. So the pressure cannot push water to the upper level, so a lot of watervendors now come around with pushcarts selling water in cans. In terms of social space these guys don't have any. So that is why on Sundays Uhuru Park is *jammed*. The come and relax in the park because they have nowhere to relax in Dandora. And within the estate, within the bigger Dandora, whatever was open space has been what you call "grabbed" landgrabbing. By the powers that be or the councilors and all that. So there are no open spaces. A regular day in Dandora would be that you wake up, you go looking for work, whatever work, in the industrial area or in a construction site, or like... most ladies these days they would go to the slightly upper income areas like Buruburu and go there to do domestic work, they would go there and wash clothes or... it is day to day work and they would be away the whole day and they would come back in the evening say around 6-7 in the evening and then maybe just make a meal and sleep. And then it continues the following day.

-Communication

When people where building by themselves they had to follow the type plan they were given. And the city council inspectors would come to inspect from time to time, because they had a building sector where they had inspectors in charge of this project. In fact they had what they called the HDD (housing development department) which set their offices in Dandora, they still are there today. This was to monitor the development of Dandora. Ensure that they are building as per specifications. The people building received the plans which was package specifying how it should be built, and then there were the building inspectors checking it. Building themselves meant that now they buy their own materials, whom they would negotiate the rates with. that was the freedom they had, but they had to do it according to the typeplans. The quality was different. You found people who wanted to stretch a bag of cement... use more sand. the quality of self-built was not quite good. And because it was only single story they could survive. But if you go up, they would crumble... I would not say the self-build was successful, and in any case with the self-built you lost on the economies of scale because if you have a contractor he will pull out many units and the quality is ensured.

Personal expression comes about if you don't have a type plan, if you were to get a plot and just say build what you want, then you would get personal expression. But then you also need to see what kind of character you are going to have, so you need some controls. So personal expression versus group expression, you have to negotiate. And that's why the type plan... comes like the compromise. But this typeplan did not provide any flexibility at all really, it could have if they had though about it a little bit but it was just that this was too...stuck. There could have been places you know where instead of having this maybe if you though about combining the units, having a different typology. Creating social spaces etc. It required a different typology, and the typeplan did not allow for this.

The studies done at MIT gave the impression that they had found a solution to the housing problem, but they were basing it all on the services and the services alone does not create communities. You see once you do this you cannot optimize on services, it won't be efficient but it begins to create a community. The problem with the spaces was that the plan worked initially but over time people would encroach on the space because you cannot be policing people daily and the pressure of economics and income was too heavy. So they would encroach on available space.

Redistributions between personal and public space could work as long as the city council could enforce it. The problem was that the city council did not enforce it, and the council were interested parties. they wanted to take that land and they actually took it. But if you had public space built so that there were eyes on it, so that everyone was watching that space then

you can not try to mess it up. Semi-public would be the way to go. You would not even have to enforce it, it would enforce itself. "This guy can not start building here!", they would not need it, it would have been self enforcing.

Perceived positive outcomes

People moving there initially were able to access services.That was a positive. they were able to access water... they were able to access roads and electricity. But eventually, the current inhabitants are not getting good services beacuse of the increased density. And then of course the initial development added to the housing stock of the city.

Perceived negative outcomes

The site and service efforts were positive but they were stopped due to a paradigm shift. You see there were the issues of cost recovery and replicability set out by World Bank. That the costs of the project must be recovered, and then that money must be used to replicate another. But because they couldn't recover the costs the process stopped and the paradigm shifted. The reason why they could not recover the cost was that the loan system didn't work. Some had borrowed, sold and left. People were not following the pattern expected they would follow. This was set out very clean: people would borrow and repay monthly but it did not work. There was some percentage of recovery but it was not 100%.

The whole issue of site and service is very good but it must be upscaled. If you do site and service in the whole Nairobi then you don't have to do anything, people would do it themselves. I believe in the idea. You can do the densities the way you want if you plan it properly, Ruonda is a site and service scheme with a different outcome, and site and service would to me still work. It has to be the city to do it, and they would still make money because they could charge. The city would make the money from the services, land rents and land rates and the landlords would make the money from the site. but the city messed up in Dandora, without buying what is called land banks. You buy land in large quantities and store it. It is a land bank. And then you service it and then you release it. What happened was that all the land around Nairobi got privatized, even what was city council before got privatized. Railway land, which was a lot, also got privatized. So now it is in private hands it is very difficult to get it. So now if the city has to grow they have to do what we call compulsory aquisition. For the city to work you cannot leave it in private hands. Cities are supposed to cater for not the individual but for *citizens*.

APPENDIX E: MASAI MBILI

Name

Georges "Ashif " Malamba

Otieno Gomba

Relation to case

Artists in the artist collective Masai Mbili, Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya

Case

Masai Mbili artist collective, connections between art and community

May 9, 2012

What, Where, Why?

Gomba: Masai Mbili started back in 2001, then we were signwriters. It was two of us, it was me (Gomba) and Kota. Kota came from upcountry. The development of the collective came with us getting this place (the studio, situated by olympic in Kibera) then from that we got accomplishments to the museums so we could take our paintings there. And that is how it changed from the streetsigns to contemporary art.

Main actors and roles?

8 people.
Otieno Gomba
Georges "Ashif " Malamba
Edcard Muteshi
Wyclef Opondo
Christine Otula
Kevin Irungo
Charles Ogola
Kennedy Rabala

How did the built environment play a role in terms of:

-Identity?

Gomba: Maybe it comes from the environment, the structure itself, the way Kibera itself is structured. For that...everything is made for necessity, and for the use at that particular moment. So precisely that brought forth the cards and the place itself. That connects to signs as well. The purpose of the art could be... it's varying purpose. The purpose could be for human formations, informative art. sometimes it is humor, involving politics and the social world in this place. And... it even goes as far as being therapeutic. I mean... at times we have used art in cases where... like trauma. In examples like the post-election violence. Where we went aound and did things such as workshops with the kids.

Ashif: Initially, by that time...Gomba started an initiative "art for peace", it is emminent even now. An art project. Some of the pictures that were in here were from that project. Sometimes we have kids projects. Not necessarily "art for peace" at that time, but certain kids...

(break for someone coming to visit)

Gomba: If you go back to that question again...the way art has affected this area in general is that before masai mbili was really something, before it became household name it was... art was really something that was just underground in Kibera, not many people appreciated art, not many people wanted to associate with that. And that is like... only crazy people doing their own stuff. But since we have done a lot of things in the community, and people want to brand themselves as artists, people call themselves like "we are artists" while initially it was that people were more identifying with...people wanted to be more of a gangster. Now it is lke, more of the youths wants to...

Ashif: The want to identify themselves as artists. Meaning that we have had a really positive output in the whole community. Maybe talking about some years back, maybe seven, maybe ten years back, I gusss art was something not really known around. But now it is just like he said, something like a household name. Something like a household profession. Everybody knows art around now. Nobody is... Everybody identifies with art. Respects it. You know. We have done so much with the community. Even changed the over all attitude. Behavioural change too. We were talking about gangsters being around, and then they humble up. They feel now it is not so positive what they are doing. It is better they... if at all... it is kind of a struggle, we are all in one way or another unemployed... it is poverty around and we are trying to make ends meet. They feel it's a... kind of a good approach, which shames the negative attitude of the gangsters. "Why should we do this, look at them, they look like madmen and they're doing something".

-Segregation?

Gomba: All the time, all the places, art has been a tool to break this segregation. Because you see, a lot of things are happening...in areas where art is involved this seems to get noticed much quicker, much more... the most seen. And the fact that we are in Kibera... that is segregation itself. Because you tell somebody from uptown that "you can visit us at Kibera" and this person feels like "No, no no, then...". So.. it is something we have to believe in, and it is something we have to fight over because... in due time, I mean everybody gets to know that there is something happening here, and it is because of this art that makes this place that is almost a no go zone to become a place that is a...

Ashif: ...go zone

Gomba: When it's about the rich and poor... as an artist you are working inbetween the borders. You are working with the rich and you are working with the poor. And for the poor, they also have what they appreciate in art. They would not pay you to do a portrait maybe, but they will tell you maybe "do me a sign here' "write me a cross for somebody is dead". So in one way or another you involve both the classes.

Ashif: And what you think of the community too. Just as an example, we have you Muzungus (white people) around everytime, you know. It is kind of an integration. It is a community in the house. It happens like, now we can communicate, now we can interact, now we can react, simply because we had clients coming to the place, coming to the place. So it is kind of an interaction in the community, within the community and the outside world. I think so...physically.

It is really interesting, we have even hosted the Swedish cultural attache, the American ambassador was like three times. The American ambassador has a lot of impact. At that time he had a lot of impact in the Kenyan politics so everybody new him around. Him coming around, the security and everything you know... it was a big deal. In fact for the community, not really us but for the community, it is about visibility as well.

-Ownership?

Ashif: Ownership I can speak of in two different ways, as per my perspective. There is a personal ownership, whereby any artist can do their own piece of work, hidden, that is in your own studio, so that is like a personal ownership. Then there is like the communal ownership where we just go randomly and work on walls and do a bit and, you know... don't even care if kids come and destroy. It is like an artist travelling. You do your stuff and leave it there and... forget about it. Maybe next time you just come and add another thing or erase everything and do a different thing all together. So I'm just saying we have some communal ownership and some personal ownership.

Gomba: The more things become communally owned, that come from the artist, those involving things that are reallly...up to social issues and things that are affecting that community at that particular time and for that this serves the community to own it. And when it comes to... my private art, what I do in the studio, that is something that ends up maybe in the gallery and people can buy it and things like that. So it reaches a minimum people at the end of the day. But my interest would be if it is something social or political or... something that is really happening in the community, then it need to be *owned* by the community. And I rather do it out there where it will involve everybody and it will trigger something.

Ashif: In the public space.

Gomba: When we do art in public space then there is only one purpose: it has to serve the community, and it has to send some message to somebody there. And at the end of the day the community owns it and they brag about it and they claim it as theirs and... you know.

Ashif: And even get some criticism too. It depends upon your theme, it depends upon everything. You know, art is just speaking.

-Violence?

Gomba: Ok, then we come back to the question of ownership. Because one of the reasons why we are doing this after the trauma and all that was that even for me... you felt like you come into the studio and you look at the painting and you look back at what you have seen outside there, and you discover that there are two different kinds of world. This painting is only... is only nice to me. And the real picture is out there. Not nice to everyone. So that was one of the reasons why we...opted for that. And then art is, like I sai, a tool for many many many cases. So one of the areas when art is most needed is when there is lack of peace. Then... then we come up with ways of getting people together, making them come back in harmony.

Ashif: You find yourself being like an ambassador. Everybody is maybe afraid to talk about something. But then you come up with grafittis and... everything. And everybody can relate to that. And then everybody can be openminded like... everywhere we have this "keep peace" "keep peace" maybe like.. for example. We have everywhere graffittis of "keep peace"

"keep peace" "keep peace". It's like using advertisement, were branding our part of Kibera.

Gomba: And this is what we need.

Ashif: Virtues, not vices. We are talking about the positive part of life, not the negative.

-Community?

Ashif: When we are talking about giving the kids lessons, we have problems with the system of education in this country. Like art is not considered as a subject. So this is just like kind of a parallell education. We are trying to give them something different which they are not getting in school. It is equally important as being in school. Art is being neglected in one way or another, we are giving this impact to all these people. Supposing you put the paints out there (indicating to the alley) *every* little kids want to touch the paint, want to do something with it, I think it is much more interesting that doing geography or history or something. At the end of the day, looking at the system of education, most having an education still end up jobless. Like they've got nowhere to go, event though they have their documents and everything.

(Ashif has to run out and to the kids who have taking over painting on his sign out in the alley)

Gomba: For me the community is what makes it become whole. So you get that, as an artist you realize the gaps in the community. And you know that you don't have to lay back and start blaming them on the politics and all that. And you realize that we want this kind of community and the kind of community we want is this one. So that is what we tend to... not fight for but *live up* to. When we were still starting Masai Mbili our question was why there were so many artist from Eastlands, we hear of them, from here and here , but from Kibera it was just silent. So the question was: can something good come out of Kibera? Because everybody was saying Kibera is dumb...sleeping...toilets...wo wo wo. So that was a question we posed to ourselves "can something good come out of Kibera. So of course it could, it was is up to us to show it, prove it... that we really...can. Nobody will speak on your behalf for your community. If you are there as a speaker, then it is you role to shout for that.

-Density?

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-Communication?

Gomba: First and foremost for us we developed our street art. It is a form of fusing our contemporary art and signs we used to do. For me signs are very strong in that everywhere you go, you are just led by the signs. So you want to go to the pub, you have to look for a sign for the pub, you have to go to the loo, then you have to look for the sign for the loo. So it is more like a symbol...

(Ashif comes back)

Gomba: It really... it's really like. It becomes like a living thing. The sign doesn't serve for only one time, it is there and many people see it and many people use it. And even places get their names from the signs you know. Like... if you come here they will tell you "you

drop off at Bombolulu", Bombolulu is a pub there. So there is a pub there called Bombolulu. So Because of the pub being there the place is known as Bombolulu now.

Ashif: At least the signs identify the place. Communication could be as cheap as... you have to know that this is a butcher, it communicates with you: this is a butchery, this is a barbershop, this is a hotel, the signs show you exactly. it is a kind of communication. You don't need a haircut and then go to a butchery.

Gomba: If you look back back back in time, even the traditional huts that africans used to make, they where not finished until the women had done some paintings on them, just for decoration purposes. So there is always this add of "I want mine to look the best".

Ashif: Beauty.

Perceived positive outcomes?

Ashif: The positive should be on the social side, like we said before, like community response. And income earner. And we are nurturing talents.

Gomba: Identitywise. Having some form of identity throughout. It brings forth some...it is a culture that breeds out of that.

Ashif: Respect, dignity, integrity. In a way or another, being a dreadlock like I am or he is sometimes can be so negative in the hood. People mistake you, think you are bad guy or something but art restores everything somehow. *Everbody* now pictures you in a different way all together... you're doing something worthy, your dreads don't really matter to them. It brings a different perspective all together. If Gomba wasn't an artist his shoes would not be accepted (Gomba's shoes started as boots but are pretty much sandals) If he was not an artist it would mean something realy really different.

Gomba: I chose those shoes because they're the only ones I have...

Perceived negative outcomes?

Gomba: At times you feel like you're almost like a policeman. because you are like a watchdog, looking over all issues.

Ashif: Informative. There is so much informative that you feel like CIA sometimes. Like for example I do these collages of the prime minister. It could be that I'm doing it out there (indicates alley) and then we ahve all these tensions with ethnicity, so you find like luso passing around they feel like "yeah, that's our man, what are you doing with him" and then kikuyus feel like "what's up with this man, what's up with this artist, like, are you supportie of the prime minister or...?". It creates some... reaction. And it happens with anything you do. You could do something with free drinks and then a pastor is passing. We are kind of like journalists.

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