

Urban Culture, Public Space and Housing

**Negotiating, Claiming and
Contesting Urban Space**

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LECTURE OUTLINE

STRATEGIES AND INTERVENTIONS OF THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Sabine Knierbein and TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo

This lecture revisited the division between public and private space in the city. This division has been one of the key issues when addressing the qualities of public life and the urban fabric in urban history. Public space has been conceived of as being limited through different shades of private borders, boundaries and property lines, whereas urban planners state that in order to build real cities and not just dwelling units, private space needs to be interwoven with the urban fabric through the connective tissue that is public space. This dialectical relation has also been expressed through the shifting balance between tenants and owners of a city. A manifest change in these patterns has been induced by financial and speculative modes of housing production in which through subprime lending an increasing number of tenant households have been offered loans,

in order to tempt them to become property owners and despite them being at high risk not to afford the loan. This, for instance, has been the case in Spain in recent years. It was the aim of this lecture to explore to what extent the relation between public space and housing schemes (and related policies, research and activism) has changed over the last decade, particularly as regards the new urban extension areas. How are these new dwelling areas conceived as built environments, and for whom? Another set of questions that lie behind this investigative lecture-approach was to find out to what extent traditional 'tenant cities' have been developing into 'cities of home owners', in which the manoeuvre particularly of cities as owners of public housing stocks for renting has been diminished? How have political and medial agendas been shaped in order to stimulate people to consider becoming property owners?

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THE MAKING OF URBAN PLACES

HOW, WHY AND FOR WHOM?

TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo and Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Sabine Knierbein

What does it mean and imply to focus on urban transformations and the making of urban places as a main focus of inquiry? In fact, this is the focus of the 2018 summer term teaching endeavors at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Urban Culture and Public Space at the Faculty of Architecture and Planning at Technische Universität Wien. This preliminary question needs to be dealt with, since the topic should be tackled from a range of different perspectives. Before getting deeper into the theme, we will explain that we understand urban transformations as the results, outcomes, and processes, which produce change in the urban environment. Two preliminary clarifications are necessary: 1. Although a very important part of that change can be immaterial, some material, physical outcomes are always produced and can be the key to access other dimensions of urban transformations; 2. Results and outcomes are the product of different, often contradictory, goals and objectives, and these different intentionalities often proceed along with unintentional choices and actions.

The city and also urbanization processes as frequently addressed objects of scientific exploration allow for many different points of view and approaches. Firstly, an essential difference between analytical and normative approaches is much often acknowledged by considering that indeed they address different realities. On this base, disciplines have been defined, as well as disciplinary boundaries. Traditionally, planners are said and expected to have a normative orientation. Having a normative stance means to have strong values underlying professional action towards which this action is ultimately geared. Following a norm thus means to having established a standard for evaluating a sort of praxis as good or bad. If planners analyze, their motivation and reason in understanding urbanization and the city is oftentimes not just analytical. How does that orientation affect our comprehension of urban realities? Moreover, planners are expected to contribute to have better cities: what do we mean by the good or better city? Are planners actually involved in a societal praxis to make cities and urbanization processes more inclusive, just and even democratic? How does the mentioned 'normative orientation' contribute to realizing those goals actually?

Our interest, thus our proposal, concerns the relationship between space and society, illuminated and also mediated by everyday life. Since our research repertoires mainly concern those of planning theory and urban studies, we propose to investigate that relationship keeping together the material features of urban space with how they become produced as social processes including aspects of signification, appropriation, spatial (re)distribution and the creation of value in, through and of space.

While planners usually concentrate on 'how' urban transformations happen, we assume here and propose to adopt a critical urban studies perspective, and to consider how urban transformations take form, examining also why they are realized: Whose demands, whose interests were met in the different planning phases? Why do urban transformations happen in certain particular ways? Which type of and whose rules, norms, procedures and processes were involved when urban transformations unfold and materialize as approaches that shape the urban space? This is achieved by (1) analyzing the interplay of public and private spheres and realms through the lens of everyday life and lived space and by (2) looking at urban transformations as they mirror the way in which public action takes form. This aspect is particularly significant since understanding (material outcomes of) urban transformations as public action might reveal power relationships at different scales, which of course are more often not blunt, but need to be explained.

Critiques of Everyday Life and of Lived Space

Urban everyday life seems to be readily accessible but this does not mean that it is often well understood in all its ambivalent facets (Highmore 2002). Planning theory has for long refrained from searching an intensive dialogue with the study of everyday life (Friedman 2002 (1999)) which is very much needed in order to deal with planning's omnipresent situatedness in landscapes of power, and the discipline's tricky relation with those into whose life they spatially interfere. Further developing *Critiques of Everyday Life and of Lived Space* in Planning Theory and Urban Studies therefore is an approach that will help to address the *Who?* question in first instance, while dealing with the *Why?* and *How?* questions successively follows.

These combined critiques also help to disentangle normative from more descriptive-analytical dimensions of public and urban life. Finally, such an approach based on the study of lived space promotes intersectional urban research and thereby actively challenges the division between public and private space, public and private life and public and private political spheres through techniques of interweaving and bridging (Bargetz 2016).

Urban Transformation as Public Action

The concept of public action is very important since it implies to consider the different actors, representations, institutions, processes and results in their mutual and co-productive relationships. Basic and common features among many existing definitions of the concept of public action are: the multiplicity and variety of actors (public–state actors, private, civil society) and their interdependency, although situated at different scales (local, supra-local, global) (Comaille 2004, 413). This interdependence is often not balanced (depending on different knowledge, capacity and power), nevertheless it produces ‘regulative structures’ for collective and political actions (which mirror the above-mentioned power relations). Lascoumes and Le Galès (2012, 23), significantly synthesized what this concept allows to understand by saying: “The fundamental question has been formulated in 1936: Who gets what, when and how?”. Thus, public action emerges as a power practice (related to hegemony, legitimation of choices, forms of resistance (ibid. 42). See also: Lascoumes, Le Gales and de Singly 2007). Consequently, an in-depth analysis of the transformations of urban space, which considers the above-mentioned features, allows understanding urban dynamics in their social, cultural and political meaning together with the urban space as a context where those dynamics originate, while being shaped.

Combining the study of urban transformations through a focus on public action with critiques of lived space and everyday life implies to reflect on Who are the subjects of planning approaches to develop and shape the city. In brief, we will consider urban transformations in their material outcomes as the entry point of a theoretical reflection, which mobilizes concepts and theories related to urban studies, planning and policy analysis in particular (keeping together the How and the Why).

We will focus on urban transformations as they:

- impact on lived space and changing everyday life routines;
- mirror the way in which public action takes form;
- highlight power relations and inclusion/exclusion dynamics;
- show the way in which socio-spatial relations are conceived and materialize;
- put a particular attention for public/private relations and the ever-changing meaning of this fundamental yet disputed dyad;
- relate planning, design, and implementation processes to critiques of everyday life and lived space;
- relate planning, design, and implementation processes to theories of collective action and to political theory.

NEGOTIATING URBAN SPACE (1)

THE CAPITAL CAN BE PATIENT, WHAT ABOUT CITIES?

TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo

Planning has a fundamental role in determining values in urban space, or in defining the conditions for them to be produced, increased (or decreased), and distributed. Although we acknowledge a number of non-monetary values to be very important in influencing the formation and transformation of the urban space, we want to focus here on the strategies used to turn also those non-monetary values into monetary ones, because it is in these strategies where very often basic explanations of urban transformation reside. In so doing, we want to highlight also the importance of considering the (still significant) distinction between 'structural' and 'non-structural' factors.

Among its meanings and the questions it stimulates, which are increasing in the last decade or so, urban rent can be considered as an entry-point and as a measure for evaluating urban transformations; it can be explored at the interface between planning and political economy: its societal meaning should be deepened further, while it is currently underestimated (Pizzo 2019, forthcoming). Land, and the urban space broadly taken, is a basic precondition of any urban transformation, being it green-field, or brown-field, or the built urban environment to be redeveloped, renewed, or regenerated. However, land is a fundamental resource, and it is precisely through planning regulations that its availability (and its scarcity) can be (co-)determined. First of all, through its technical tools planning has the power to shape the land market while political economy at different scales shapes the conditions of action, defining the predominant economic paradigm, which means also framing the specific role that urban rent plays in capital formation and reproduction, among the other accumulation factors. Planning can sustain, accept, or contrast such role.

Nonetheless, planning can conceive and shape the land market in different ways, depending on the specific conceptualization of planning we are using and on the planning system that regulates a locality; on the specific property regime and on planning capacity to impact on that property regime; as well as to the very meaning of land (Gribat and Pizzo 2020). Concerning this last point, in 2014, Li wrote that "Land is a strange object" (Li 2014, 589), because it can be treated both as a thing and/or as a commodity (Christophers 2016), which does not coincide but recalls the Marxian couple of 'use value' and 'exchange value'. "Nevertheless, its materiality, the form of the resource, matters" (Li 2014, 589). What does this actually mean?

It has been David Harvey who focused on the role of land and urban rent as major tools (and drivers) for capital accumulation (Harvey and Chatterjee 1974; Harvey 1978, 1985, 2001), also grounding on Lefebvre (1991 (1974)), while others concentrate on its coordinative role, also conceptualized differently from classical economists (Haila 1990, Pizzo forthcoming). Thus, urban rent started to be scrutinized as a main stake of urban transformations. The topic of urban rent was central in the scholarly production of the '70ies to the mid '80ies (Haila 1990), while it almost disappeared throughout the '90ies, and the first decade of the 2000 (Pizzo forthcoming).¹ In those same years, some mechanisms of global economy (also related with the still very differentiated local taxation systems and 'a new kind of spatial indifference' demonstrated by global financialized capital) produced one of the strongest competition among places ever experienced. Cities in particular started to be conceived as potential space for those capitals to land: among the features they have to provide in order to be attractive, there is a potentially rich and sparkling real estate market. In fact, e.g. the location or relocation of most global companies implies huge real estate operation, able to produce enormous rent gaps, if within the 'right conditions'. Most of cities made their best to provide those 'right conditions' and contributed at producing very important profits in terms of urban rent.

The lecture unit explores how those rent gaps are produced and captured, and by whom; how are they used, and who mostly benefitted from them. If and how the urban rent question does enter explicitly into the political negotiation and decision-making processes related to urban space. Although decisive, these questions have been explored much less than one could expect. In particular, most of the planning literature of those years was dedicated to urban renewal strategies, to strategic plans and urban projects able to make the city attractive and competitive. In debates, the urban rent question was considered often old and odd, or more simply not considered at all. It was after the economic crisis of 2008, that the issue of urban rent became crucial again, although with changed features: the more material among the economic resources (land, and the real estate market) has been turned into more immaterial ones and used within the stock exchange, eventually recognized as a fundamental component of (the new financial) capital accumulation and reproduction process (Christophers 2016, 2017; Halbert and Attuyer 2016; Aalbers 2012).

In brief: finance is increasingly intertwined with urban space and to city making. New actors emerge, which can be at first hand invisible to planners (e.g. global networked companies), but their action is spatially very visible – just think about the (sometimes almost unlimited or slightly regulated) power global investors can have in picking up the right spot for their investments, in Central Business Districts (CBDs) but also in commercial as well as in residential districts, luxury buildings which hardly meet the local housing needs, imposing their models, and affecting prices (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Capitals selectively land on land, choosing the more profitable city, or the more profitable site within one city. Capital can also ‘wait’, in order to get the most out of an investment (in this sense, ‘the capital can be patient’) which can be seen e.g. in dwellings that are bought as an asset but never getting inhabited. This strategy and the related behaviors can be supported, or constrained by urban planning and policies. It seems to fit rarely with city’s and inhabitants’ needs, so that a claim emerges to get a ‘city for people and not for profit’ (Brenner, Marcuse and Meyer 2012).

¹ A noticeable exception is the long-lasting production of Anne Haila (see, e.g. Haila 1988, 1990), which treated the topic of urban rent rather uninterruptedly representing a fundamental reference in that research field.

POST-POSITIVIST PLANNING THEORY

Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Sabine Knierbein

This section addresses different interpretations of recent and contemporary patterns of urban restructuring (e.g. neoliberal, post-Fordist) and offers a political science-inspired reading of Foucault's concept of governmentality as one possible set of explanations for framing an analysis of urban restructuring. This general frame is helpful to establish conceptual bridges between urban studies and planning theory, as the genealogical approach helps to decipher the rise of post-positivist planning theories over the last couple of decades as particular forms of governmentality in the context of urban restructuring. Light will be shed on conceptual distinctions between post-Fordism and actually existing neoliberalism.

The lecture offers insights how lived spaces are used and transformed into core catalysts of urban transformation and spatial capital accumulation through a process coined as urban restructuring. While starting with empirical observations of spatial transitions in places of everyday urban life in five categories (economic revival; social inclusion; cultural diversity; environmental care; urban governance), we pursue the goal to widen theorizations of changing spatial patterns of capitalist urbanization, with a particular focus on the aforementioned forms of urban restructuring, their overlaps and differentiation. Patterns of neoliberal or post-Fordist governmentality are traced as regards their genealogy, a term Foucault (1971, referring to Nietzsche) introduced to widen the analysis of power relations. For him, questioning the present in a philosophical way "begin[s] with the ability to self-reflexively trace the genealogy of these questions themselves" (Huxley 2002, 140, referring to Foucault 1986): How do certain modes of planning within neoliberal governmentality come into being, and why (Davoudi 2018)? In this sense, genealogy is a technique that can be used to analyze why and how certain philosophical topoi and social beliefs come into being, particularly those usually taken for granted (normalized). This often means to focus on the power relations involved in processes of knowledge production, and challenges the researcher to look beyond the discourse in question. "To use genealogy to question present forms of rationality" in planning and architecture "is not to descend into relativism or nihilism, nor to deny the grounds for political action. (...) such questions are "the very precondition of a politically engaged critique" (Huxley 2002, 147, quoting Butler 1992, 6-7).

The post-Fordist debate "concerns the nature

and direction of such epoch-making change. It is a debate about the putative transition from one dominant phase of capitalist development in the post-war period to another thirty to fifty-year cycle of development based upon very different economic, societal and political norms" (Amin 2000 (1994), 2f). Post-Fordism characterizes a set of transitions away from the structures and modes of production and reproduction known as Fordist, and the related social conditions (Ludwig 2006, 50, referring to Pühl 2003, 113). Contemporary neoliberalism, instead, can be understood as a "not yet finalised transition phase from fordism to post-fordism" (Ludwig 2006, 50). Thomas Lemke (2002, 58) adds that "neoliberalism is not the end but a transformation of politics that restructures the power relations in society". In this sense, neoliberalism can be understood as a current practice of governing. In terms of theorization, the neoliberal project suggested "that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005, 2). While neoliberal policies have been introduced, a certain type of "populist culture of differentiated consumerism and individual libertarianism" (ibid., 42) was nurtured (Tauss 2012). At the same time, neoliberalism is not only conceived of as an ideological rhetoric or as a political-economic reality, but as a political project, that aims at establishing a social reality, which it simultaneously presupposes to exist (cf. Lemke et al. 2000, 9). The associated negative social, cultural and political impacts of the practice of neoliberal governmentality in processes of urbanization, particularly in relation to the increase of uneven spatial development, urban inequality and urban poverty, have been widely discussed under the banner of actually existing neoliberalism (Davoudi 2018, Brenner and Theodore 2002, Peck and Tickell 2002).

To understand the linkages between neoliberal governmentality as a facet of contemporary urbanization, another finding is of key importance: As Aaron Tauss (2012, 61) has stated, while the political project of neoliberalism employed "neoclassical notions of self-regulating markets and rational expectations in individual decision-making, neoliberalism presented itself as a 'neutral,' positivist science, 'dominated by largely meaningless abstractions, mechanical models, formal methodologies, and mathematical language, divorced from historical developments'"

(*ibid.*, referring to Foster and Magdoff 2009, 136, Schui and Blankenburg 2002, 7-9, Ptak 2007, 27-29; Palley 2005, 20). Thus, the critique of neoliberal governmentality stressed the tension between positivist and post-positivist thought, and thereby a debate which has been characterizing planning theory initially since the 1970s, and has gained access to mainstream debates particularly in planning roughly since the turn of the millennium (see Allmendinger 2002, 9f, Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002, Heynen and Wright 2012, 42).

Philipp Allmendinger (2002) points to the fact that in the social sciences, there was a changing understanding of the social world in the 1960s and 1970s, as the steady belief in naturalism dominating the social sciences and planning for most of the 19th century began to diminish at that time. What was called into question was "the positivist understandings of the universalisation of conditions of knowledge, the neutrality of observation, the givenness of experience and the independence of data from theoretical interpretation" (positivism) (*ibid.*, 5). Now data, theories and disciplines themselves began to be interpreted as part of larger social and historical contexts in which they were used while social reality came to be understood as a social construction (post-positivism) (cf. *ibid.*). What happened was that "[a]ttention both in the social sciences and planning began to turn to context, practices and histories to explain what counts as knowledge, thereby questioning universalising assumptions, naïve realism and the correspondence theory of truth" (*ibid.*, 5f, own insertion, referring to Hesse 1980, vii). Particularly for the work with everyday life routines and lived spaces, this turn has been meaningful, as positivism was giving authority primarily to technically informed expert knowledge, whereas post-positivist thought opened towards different expertise to partake in shaping places of public life collaboratively. In this respect, Leonie Sandercock (1998, 59) has emphasized that positivist thought and its epistemology privileged scientific and technical knowledge over an array of other equally important alternatives – experiential, intuitive, local knowledges; knowledges based on practices of talking, listening, seeing, contemplating, sharing; knowledge expressed in visual and other symbolic, ritual and artistic ways rather than in quantitative or analytical modes based on technical jargons that by definition exclude those without professional training (*ibid.*, 5).

One way of post-positivist planning which has been well-distributed and widely discussed in planning is communicative planning. In Germany, Klaus Selle (1991) has introduced this approach as pragmatic communicative planning whereas in the UK, Patsy Healey's (1993, 1997) work on communicative or collaborative planning has been numerously referenced, while in the US particularly John Forester's (1999) approach to deliberative planning bears key similarities. Yet "the critical theory of the Frankfurt School", with which many communicative planning proponents have aligned their work, "is (...) distinguished from historical materialism by 'its complete lack of interest in revolutionary practice'" (Harris 2002, 28, referring to Friedmann 1987, 265). "This is particularly so in the case of Habermas, who displays tendencies to be led 'into rarified regions of abstract thought, far removed from the pressing concerns of everyday life'" (*ibid.*, referring to Friedmann 1987, 267). Coined by some as "the paradigm that dominates urban planning" (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002, 206), communicative planning theory based on Habermas' approach to communicative rationality has been also criticized by planning theorists working at the interface of political theory and democracy theory, among others (Huxley and Yiftachel 2000, Hillier 2003, Purcell 2009, Gabauer 2018a, 2018b). The key point of critique is the basic assumption that an ideal speech situation which is free of power relations – as these would distort communication – can be established in concrete planning praxis. In the Foucauldian sense, however, power cannot be factored out in communicative planning situations, as power is inherent to all social relations. Power is ubiquitous.

NEGOTIATING URBAN SPACE (PART 2)

NEGOTIATED, ENTREPRENEURIAL, FINANCIALIZED: WHICH CITY IS THIS?

TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo

Cities¹ and the economy² are constitutively interwoven. In a very broad sense, cities are the representation of a certain society and culture, and/thus of a certain economy. In Lefebvre's view, the city is the temporary result of certain socio-economic relations or, better, the specific form that "the urban" as a broader and long-lasting phenomenon assumes under specific geo-historical conditions (Lefebvre 1972 [1968]). The primacy of the economy over space, which has been recognized and variously updated (e.g., as the primacy of fluxes over places, as in Castells 2012, 1996), has been also variously contested (e.g., Jacobs 1970). For instance, in 'The economy of cities', Jane Jacobs problematizes assertions such as: 'When man learned to cultivate plants and to domesticate animals,' it says, 'society for the first time was able to plan ahead and organize itself through the division of labor' – criticizing what she called the 'dogma of agricultural primacy' (Jacobs 1970, quoting Rockefeller Foundation 1964).³

In fact, we are much used to think that to any main economic change there is a corresponding main spatial change, both in terms of conceptualizations, and in the material forms it assumes; much less to consider that different spatial organizations can affect society and the economy. Jacobs' critique sounds like a claim to try to change perspective and to consider economy, society, and space as co-produced. Nonetheless, the urban space has been considered as the material configuration of locational choice, as the space where economic activities should find their optimal location (this optimality being referred to various features through time – e. g. vicinity to water and/or other to other primary resources; the concentration of labor force; accessibility and infrastructure at different scales and interpreted differently in the different historical and geographical contexts). More recently urban space, which is always contended and negotiated, has been addressed as increasingly financialized and entrepreneurial, meaning that some specific actors and some behaviors and powers are increasingly dominant. What do these terms actually mean for cities?

Regarding particularly the role of urban rent in shaping cities and territories, it changed through time and had different phases from the pre-capitalist to the post-industrial and the more recent shift towards the financialization of economy. In order to understand the new role of urban rent we propose to consider the shift towards the so-called 'entrepreneurial city'.⁴ David Harvey highlighted

that while 'managerial cities' were concerned with local provision of services, facilities and benefits to urban populations, "in recent years, urban governance has become increasingly preoccupied with the exploration of new ways in which to foster and encourage local development and employment growth" (Harvey 1989, 3). In Jessop's words, the distinctive feature of 'entrepreneurial cities' is "their self-image as being proactive in promoting the competitiveness of their respective economic spaces in the face of intensified international (and also, for regions and cities, inter-and intra-regional) competition" (Jessop 1997a, 28, see also Jessop 1997b). In such definition we can recognize that same call at being self-entrepreneurs that the neoliberal ideology applies to individuals.

How does the shift towards the entrepreneurial city model happen? And what are its main implications? The interpretation that we want to discuss is that it happens also (or primarily) through the creation of conditions for urban rent to be produced and extracted (see also Mac Leod 2011, Krätke 2014, Halbert and Attuyer 2016, Catney and Henneberry 2016). And, when talking about the 'entrepreneurial city', a city which is able to produce and to capture rent gaps is often what is meant. Thus, in this way we can also understand how the 'production of space' (Lefebvre 1974) actually materializes. Recalling also the Lecture Unit 1, we can say that: urban economy and space are deeply intertwined. The role that lands and the urban rent question had in the different phases of capitalist development is a key political economy topic with fundamental socio-spatial meanings and impacts, that we can explore starting from looking at urban transformations. In fact, urban transformations mirror how land is actually assumed and treated, and the role it plays in city making as well as for societies. This means that we can understand (e.g.):

- If land is assumed (and treated) as a scarce resource (and how 'scarcity' is produced, governed, and used to legitimize basic planning choices such as concentration vs. sprawl; high vs. low density; urban renewal vs. construction of new neighborhoods) and the ambivalences which these tension fields imply;
- The meaning and the interplay between 'exchange value' and 'use value' applied to the urban space (and also if the two categories are so clearly distinct, or more often blurred - in particular, we refer to the strategies used to turn non-monetary values into monetary ones - in this regard, see Harvey 1978, 2012);

- If land (urban) rent is explicitly taken and presented as part of the negotiation over the urban space, and which kind of tools, and in whose hands, are rent gaps and the related value capture mechanisms (Pizzo 2020, forthcoming).

- How land and the urban space and place actually enter as a component in the 'entrepreneurial city'.

¹ Handout 1_What is a city: Lewis Mumford, *City in History* (1961, 5)

We beg the whole question of the nature of the city if we look only for permanent structures huddled together behind a wall. To come close to the origins of the city we must, I submit, supplement the work of the archaeologist who seeks to find the deepest layer in which he can recognize a shadowy ground plan that indicates urban order. If we are to identify the city, we must follow the trail backward, from the fullest known urban structures and functions to their original components, however remote in time and space and culture from the first 'tells' that have been opened up. Before the city there was the hamlet and the shrine and the village: before the village, the camp, the cache, the cave, the cairn; and before all these there was a disposition to social life that man plainly shares with many other animal species. Human life swings between two poles: movement and settlement.

² Handout 2_What is Economy: Max Weber, *Objectivity and Understanding in Economics* (1949)

(from: Hausman D. M., 20083. *The philosophy of Economy. An Anthology.* Cambridge University Press, pp. 68-69).

All serious reflection about the ultimate elements of meaningful human conduct is oriented primarily in terms of the categories "end" and "means." We desire something concretely either "for its own sake" or as a means of achieving something else which is more highly desired. The question of the appropriateness of the means for achieving a given end is undoubtedly accessible to scientific analysis. Inasmuch as we are able to determine (within the present limits of our knowledge) which means for the achievement of a proposed end are appropriate or inappropriate, we can in this way estimate the chances of attaining a certain end by certain available means. In this way we can indirectly criticize the setting of the end itself as practically meaningful (on the basis of the existing historical situation) or as meaningless with reference to existing conditions. Furthermore, when the possibility of attaining a proposed end appears to exist, we can determine (naturally within the limits of our existing knowledge) the consequences which the application of the means to be used will produce in addition to the eventual attainment of the proposed end, as a result of the interdependence of all events. We can then provide the acting person with the ability to weigh and compare the undesirable as over against the desirable

consequences of his action. Thus, we can answer the question: what will the attainment of a desired end "cost" in terms of the predictable loss of other values?

³ Handout 3_The City and the Economy: Jane Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities* (1970, 76-77)

Our remote ancestors did not expand their economics much by simply doing more of what they had already been doing: piling up more wild seeds and nuts, slaughtering more wild cattle and geese, making more spearheads, necklaces, burins and fires. They expanded their economies by adding new kinds of work. So do we. Innovating economies expand and develop. Economies that do not add new kinds of goods and services, but continue only to repeat old work, do not expand much nor do they, by definition, develop.

(...) This process is of the essence in understanding cities because cities are places where adding new work to older work proceeds vigorously. Indeed, any settlement where this happens becomes a city. Because of this process city economies are more complicated and diverse than the economies of villages, towns and farms, as well as being larger. This is why I have also argued that cities are the primary necessity for economic development and expansion, including rural development.

⁴ Handout 4_The City and the Economy: Harvey, D. *From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism* (1989, 3)

Enquiry into the role of urbanisation in social dynamics is, of course, nothing new. From time to time the issue flourishes as a focus of major debates, though more often than not with regard to particular historical-geographical circumstances in which, for some reason or other, the role of urbanisation and of cities appears particularly salient. The part that city formation played in the rise of civilization has long been discussed, as has the role of the city in classical Greece and Rome. The significance of cities to the transition from feudalism to capitalism is an arena of continuing controversy, having sparked a remarkable and revealing literature over the years. A vast array of evidence can now likewise be brought to bear on the significance of urbanization to nineteenth century industrial, cultural and political development as well as to the subsequent spread of capitalist social relations to lesser developed countries (which now support some of the most dramatically growing cities in the world). *All too frequently, however, the study of urbanization becomes separated from that of social change and economic development, as if it can somehow be regarded either as a side-show or as a passive side-product to more important and fundamental social changes.* The successive revolutions in technology, space relations, social relations, consumer habits, lifestyles, and the like that have so characterised capitalist history can, it

is sometimes suggested, be understood without any deep enquiry into the roots and nature of urban processes. True, this judgement is by and large made tacitly, by virtue of sins of omission rather than commission. But the antiurban bias in studies of macro-economic and macro-social change is rather too persistent for comfort. It is for this reason that *it seems worthwhile to enquire what role the urban process might be playing in the quite radical restructuring going on in geographical distributions of human activity and in the political-economic dynamics of uneven geographical development in most recent times.*

**text in italic has been added by Barbara Pizzo*

RELATIONAL AND FEMINIST THEORIES OF SPACE AND CITIES

Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Sabine Knierbein

Feminist critique of positivist and hegemonic planning practice has a long tradition. This lecture unit offers a way to understand the causes, reasons, motivations and mobilizations that feminist theory has evoked in planning theory. As regards the urban fabric, feminist planning theorists and architectural critiques have raised concerns that a peculiar binary relation between public and private realms is reproduced in planning theory. In this reproduction of the conceptual division between the private and public spaces of a city (Madanipour 2003) has been very often coined as male, heroic and rational whereas the private aspects have been ascribed to female, intimate and affective social ties (Schor 1992, Ruddick 2004). Such a banalization and misreading of the hybridity and mixture of facets of public and private life in the city (and their translation into urban design and planning schemes) have been recently challenged on the ground by housing activist groups (Viderman and Knierbein 2019). These groups have actively addressed and questioned social hardship faced by both home buyers and by tenants in coping with gentrification, foreclosure and eviction, and have brought this matter considered as private into the public domain. By bringing a seemingly private issue to be debated in public space, the activists shifted the perception of the problem seeming a problem of individual households, related to feelings like shame and guilt, to being understood as a structural problem of a failing political economic model of urban housing production and financialized land policy and planning (Garcia Lamarca 2017a, 2017b). For planners it is therefore essential to both understand the intricate relations between public and private spaces and private and public life, on the one hand, and the wider theorization of materialized space as socially produced through changing everyday life routines, that is, a relational conception of space.

More general relational conceptions of space have been provided by Lefebvre (1991 (1974)), Harvey (1985), Soja (1996), Shields (1999), by Löw (2011), and by Massey (2005), among others: These approaches have been widely discussed in the fields of urban geography, urban sociology, planning and architecture since the 1990s (see Tornaghi (2015), Jacobs (2012), Hamedinger (2013)). In general, interpretations of relational space can be found that rest on different types of epistemologies and ontologies (e.g. neo-Marxist, poststructuralist, postfoundational or post-colonial, practice-theory based, etc.) for most of the aforementioned approaches (compare e.g. Graham and Healey 1999, Murdoch 2006, Jacobs

2012, Tornaghi and Knierbein 2015, Schäfer 2016, Davoudi 2018, among others). This sheds a light on the finding that there is not just one conception of relational space, but many (Hamedinger 2013). What most of these conceptions often implicitly introduce is the link between the built urban fabric and the changing social life of cities.

The ideal-type public space is undoubtedly a place for all (Madanipour 2003, 2010). Similarly, it is considered as an equalitarian urban setting par excellence, or at least, it should serve as such (Delgado 2005, 4-5). Yet research has also brought forward the insight that city publics are tricky clients for planners, as they are internally heterogeneous social groups with messy group dynamics, and therefore it is not a straightforward task to work with them (Tornaghi and Knierbein 2015). In the spatial arts, working with city publics has been often referenced under the banner of participatory planning. Yet “[d]espite a plurality of participatory methodologies developed within the fields of planning and design to gain knowledge of people’s struggles, needs and desires, they hardly ever reach members of publics who have very little power or capital” (Viderman and Knierbein 2018, 276, own insertion). Participatory planning approaches may result ineffective not for the reason that planning professionals lack commitment, but rather because they built their argument on an entrepreneurial conception of public space (Madanipour 2019) rather than on the critical concept of lived space which entails both a research tradition of emancipatory and socially engaged research and planning praxis, as well as a more grounded idea of critical theories supporting professional self-reflexivity and self-criticality in planning. Yet why is there a scholarly need felt to differentiate between public space and lived space? Where post-political accounts of public space have merely conceptualized public space as a container, the resurgence of lived space analysis focuses on a relational conception of space imbued with both power relations and moments of opportunity for escaping structural constraints: alter politics (Knierbein and Viderman 2018). Lived space and everyday life have been scrutinized especially by feminist scholars as sets of politically charged and ‘likely conflicting and unequal’ social processes, practices and relations which both sediment within and are influenced by society’s histories of struggles for concrete emancipatory projects” (ibid., referring to Massey 2005, 151-152, 181). The politics of possibility has been linked to “[c]onceptualising space as open, multiple and relational, unfinished

and always becoming" (Massey 2005, 59, own insertion). Some urban scholars have also tried to approach lived space through "transactional rationality based on communication, rather than cognition, involving bodies as much as minds, and non-discursive, as well as discursive competences," as "a rationality that emerges out of difference and from within the city, rather than over and above it" (Bridge 2005, i).

Public space researchers work with relational conceptions of space in order to create needed bridges between the social and the material dimension of urban space (Lofland (2007 (1998)), Low (2003, 2011), Madanipour (2003, 2010), Tonkiss (2005, 2013a, 2013b), Watson (2006), Low and Smith (2006), Lehtovuori (2010), Hou (2010), Bridge and Watson (2011)). They connect the study of relational space to different articulations of scientific critique, tackling for instance at the same time inclusions and exclusions, peace and conflict, absences and presences in the lived spaces of contemporary cities. A key focus is set on uneven development (as one main continuing facet of capitalist urbanization) and social inequality (not just as consequence but as root phenomenon accompanying and fueling capitalist growth-oriented urbanization). According to Smith "[u]neven development is social inequality blazoned into the geographical landscape, and it is simultaneously the exploitation of that geographical unevenness for certain socially determined ends" (2008 (1984), 206, own insertion). Particularly as regards teaching curricula organized for architecture and planning students, teaching space as relational therefore involves a set of challenges and complexities that seek to overcome the Cartesian three-dimensional conception of space which in practices of mapping, designing and planning often becomes further reduced to two-dimensional representations of complex and relational social spaces. But as Lehtovuori (2010) has confirmed: "If space in general, can with difficult reductions (...) be conceptualised as an abstract three-dimensional continuum or a material substance, public urban space clearly cannot" (ibid., 54). This points to concrete, yet multifaceted characteristics as the public in the city is never merely political, never just social, and never only physical.

As regards public space research, both Low (2003) and Madanipour (2003) have stressed the importance of a feminist focus on the body and embodied space. Madanipour (ibid.) starts off his book on Public and Private Spaces of the City with

a chapter on the Personal Space of the Body in which he depicts that the body is an intermediary concept, a boundary that works at the interface between the public and private spheres of urban life: "the way this boundary, the public face of a human being, is treated is central to the way societies are organized" (ibid., 11). Low (2003, 9f) proceeds one step further when stating that "embodied space" is "the location where human experience and consciousness takes on material and spatial form" (ibid.). She states that at the interface of cultural theory and spatial inquiry, there was a need to find working concepts that would allow researchers to bridge between registering human everyday experience and mapping space, thereby including "the body as an integral part of spatial analysis" (ibid.). Researchers working at this interface needed "theoretical formulations that provide an everyday, material grounding" (ibid.), a perspective which Low has conceptually framed as embodied space, an approach which assembles "theories of body and space that are experience-near and yet allow for linkages to be made to larger, social, and cultural processes" (ibid.). Therefore, it is by no coincidence that particularly anthropological accounts to public spaces in architecture and planning especially feminist accounts, have used the concept of embodied space (ibid.), and have thus put the body central stage when analyzing urban life.

CLAIMING URBAN SPACE (PART 1)

PROBLEMATIZING SELF-ORGANIZATION

TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo

'Self' is a very common prefix nowadays. The call for self-sufficiency, self-entrepreneurship, self-promotion and competitiveness which lies behind neoliberal politics related to a range of policy fields (labor, health, education, etc.), is addressed and touches individuals as well as cities, as we have seen with the turn towards the 'entrepreneurial city'. Before starting with the present topic, the difference between analytical and normative orientations which we stressed before should be highlighted. These two approaches address and construct different realities. This clarification is very important for understanding the topic we are going to tackle here, in its meaning and implications, and the specific approach to the topic we are proposing (Pizzo 2018).

In fact, there is a growing interest for self-organization: as an explanatory concept of how cities and societies actually function (e.g. recognizing that it helps in treating and giving sense to a complex reality), but also as a guiding concept for obtaining 'better' cities (e.g. more 'resilient cities'), or also looking for different forms of planning, and of government (see e.g. Karadimitriou 2010, Iveson 2013, Savini 2016). Among the scholars interested in self-organization, we find Juval Portugali (1999) who constructed his particular urban theory account on self-organization related to complexity theory. The reason is presented as 'obvious': cities are complex system par excellence. In the foreword of his book! Hermann Haken states that, "Cities first came into existence more than five thousand years ago. How to deal with these partly fascinating, partly frightening creatures of mankind, both practically and intellectually, concerns all of us and, in particular, presents a real challenge to city planners. Each historical epoch has had its own particular attitudes associated with the 'Zeitgeist' (...). Nevertheless, the planner's dilemma is becoming more and more visible: cities and megacities seem to be unplannable. He also introduces a new idea: Cities are self-organizing systems. To substantiate his revolutionary concept, he uses several interlinked methods. On the one hand Portugali employs in his arguments theoretical tools developed in the interdisciplinary field of synergetics. On the other hand, jointly with his co-workers, he has performed detailed model calculations on cellular nets..." (from the Foreword to Portugali 1999, by Hermann Haken, p. vi). Earlier, Peter Allen (1996) published his contribution to the exploration of complex system theory for urban studies and planning²: "Since the great work of Newton, the mechanical vision of the

world has been the basis of our understanding. Even though sub-atomic and atomic physics were revolutionized by quantum physics, the mechanical vision remained paramount in our comprehension of events at the level of our everyday experience. This means that we explain things on the basis of 'causal mechanisms', where components influence each other and form systems, in which the change seen in one part is explained by change in another, or in the external environment in which the system is embedded. These mechanisms could be written down as mathematical equations, as mathematical models expressing fundamental laws of nature, and then used to predict behavior. The paths traced by the system from any given initial state were pre-determined by the equations and therefore it was believed that surprise could only come from the outside. However, although this might have seemed reasonable for mechanical systems before the recognition of deterministic chaos, in human systems it does seem at odds with everyday experience. For many people, the key choices of career or partner hinge upon events which are intrinsically extremely improbable, and as economists and politicians would agree, changes and trends in society are very difficult to anticipate correctly. Why are human systems different?"

It could be rather hard to avoid to take the last question just as a provocation, or as a paradox. Indeed, the above-mentioned approach proposes to include and understand cities, as well as any other social representation, institution and product, within some abstract model, e.g., one of the highly regarded (but also strongly criticized) algorithms which seem to be the answer to all our contemporary questions. In a post-positivist perspective, to conform social laws to the laws of nature can be (at least) risky, if not dangerous. In fact, if we can say that in general terms models can be useful to tackle some specific problems, we need to remember that to be modelled, reality is subjected to reductions, often meaning simplifications, which tend to erase singularities that can be of the utmost importance instead. Moreover, we need to have clear that in such reductions or simplifications, issues of power become even more decisive – and the recent debates about the instrumental use of algorithms in policy and decision making is a clear case for that.

We have to consider power when observing what actually enters into models (what is considered as the 'norm' and what is considered as a 'deviation' or a 'minor' issue, so to be excluded from the model). In such cases, we want to point out that the shift

from a super-ordinated 'designing intelligence' (is it the rationality of the state?) to self-organization, as Portugali claims, does not resolve the issue of power. On the contrary, a self-organizing society risks to reproduce some sort of Darwinian 'natural law' regarding the condition of the different individuals. From this perspective, we are interested in problematizing a certain supposed correlation between self-organization and a more just distribution of power that is usually quickly drawn in urban studies and planning theory. We suggest to deeply inquire the pre-conditions and contexts of self-organization for each case: Which kind of context? (Political, economic, social, cultural, ecological etc.); Who are the involved actors? (Who is included / excluded?); Which power relations emerge? (Or tend to be hidden, or even negated).

Looking at the various interpretations of self-organization, we may see that from one side it is presented as a 'natural' concept, mostly related to 'spontaneous order'. Significantly, the concept of self-organization lies at the core of Darwinian theories and, in our view, this is where part of its 'dark-side' resides, particularly when it comes to be too directly translated into social sciences. From this viewpoint, we may wonder which are the implications of conceiving the city as an ecosystem (e.g., Darwinian laws apply?); society as a living body; and a sort of implicit and often unacknowledged 'unifying' view (where differences fade, what about disparities?). From a different viewpoint, self-organization is recognized as a 'political' concept (much similar to Lefebvre's concept of 'autogestion' – self-management: the only real and acceptable form of 'participation'); against any pyramidal, so-called top-down forms of organization; overcoming the state (the capitalist state in Marxist thought; but also the state in its anti-liberal limits and constraints of individual freedom and initiative).

Is there any relationship between the 'natural' or positivist concept of self-organization (which in some cases explicitly denies any normative intention) and the 'political' concept of self-organization? Which are the meanings and implications of the shift from analytical understandings to normative understandings in this case? Depending on that: Can urban transformations be assumed as a 'natural' result of conflicting objectives and interests? Or are they rather result of politically relevant power relationships to be disclosed and (possibly) re-balanced?

¹ Hermann Haken is a physicist and professor emeritus in theoretical physics at the University of Stuttgart. He is known as the founder of synergetics.

² Another scientist has made this point, too: in this case, it was Ilya Prigogine, Nobel Laureate in Chemistry. We may wonder why post-positivist urban scholars wish to have their theories and proposals being introduced by scholars rooted in positivism. It reminds an 'old' problem of legitimization of urban studies (and planning more particularly).

PLANNING THEORY, PERFORMATIVITY AND AFFECT

Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Sabine Knierbein

This lecture unit sheds a light on the intellectual stimuli that particular approaches to theorize the role of the body in urban research have raised. This relates to empirical, conceptual and methodological findings from fields such as anthropology, arts and performance, and different scientific disciplines that have incorporated cultural approaches (e.g. feminist political science, cultural studies, sociology, among others) which have been transferred into the field of urban studies. The lecture will (1) offer an understanding of embodied protest as an affective form of staging dissent and thereby shaping 'the political' in the city. By taking on a particular perspective from the field of radical anthropology on the embodied dimension of protest, different examples of bodily protest in public spaces will be explored and discussed. In a successive part (2) the lecture will deal with the concept of 'politics of affect': How does embodied action, or, as Setha Low coins it: embodied space, relate to an (analytical, interpretative) understanding of the relevance of feelings, experience and affect that is very much inscribed in theories dealing with urban cultures? How do both embodied and affective experience relate to the shaping of the political in contemporary European cities? Finally (3) a transfer will be established between considerations linking embodied space conceptions, politics of affect and a new strand in post-positivist planning, that is, performative planning.

Thinking space as embodied space has been a key contribution of anthropological and feminist perspectives in public space theory (see e.g. Low 2003, 2011 and Moore 2013). In that sense, lived space can be understood as the embodied geography of everyday life in the context of processes of capitalist urbanization, as an important place of face-to-face encounter and a potential arena for the spatial practice of democracy (Knierbein and Viderman 2018) and civic dignity (Knierbein et al. 2020). Sheehan Moore (2013) has presented research on the embodied dimension of protest by asking: Do people using their bodies as a resource in protest want to make a claim to a political discourse, or is their embodied action a way to disrupt discourses of institutionalized politics thus addressing the very basic sense of the political? (ibid.) Does it make a difference to expose your body on a public street or to twitter your claims for social and urban change into the virtual worlds that social networks make use of? An embodied space approach allows for a social anthropology perspective to theorize (public) space as it includes the body as an integral part of spatial analysis (Low

2003) and fosters the creation of place through spatial orientation, movement and language. From the perspective of cultural sociology, Shields (1999, 123) has explained the interest in the centrality of the body: By acting, the body, "'appropriates' the resources of cultural codes and its material environment. Both can be studied, mapped, but that action is fundamentally unpredictable: the active body and the 'situation' it anchors and defines (...) is the wild card in the theorist's deck" (ibid). Particularly those urban researchers with an interest in lived space, have therefore become interested in the study of the body-space-relations, as this innovative focus would allow them to empirically study the materializing ambivalences and ambiguities that lived spaces bear in the context of capitalist urbanization. It would allow them to study the 'unhappy marriage' between cities as places of capital accumulation and as lived spaces of urban experience, of social spaces embodied by their residents. Conceiving of the body would thus offer urban researchers to be confronted with new ways of framing what they could not explain, and new ways of seeing what they wished to understand: Beyond environmental psychology approaches to measure and predict behavior in public space with positivist connotations, the focus on the body would allow to meander between action and practice, between affect and (political) passion within a post-positivist planning theory approach. It would be a meaningful analytical entry perspective for a scientific world that seeks to grasp the changing qualities of experience and meaningful encounter in contemporary cities while hesitating to essentialize bodily presence through a phenomenological account.

The focus on the body also establishes a link between Lefebvre's protofeminist Critique of Everyday Life and wider accounts to feminist theory in the spatial arts: As Shields (1999, 76) has noted: "Lefebvre would place the experience of the body at the center of attempts to reground theory - 'The body, at the very heart of space and of the discourse of power is irreducible and subversive. It is the body which is the point of return'" (ibid., quoting Lefebvre 1976 (1973), 89). Lefebvre also identified a fourth form of alienation and thus amended a new line of enquiry to those three dimensions of alienation that Marx had already coined, by pointing to the alienation of people from their bodies and natural needs which he saw as lying in the midst of capitalist urbanization processes (cf. Shields 1999, 42): "This 'distancing' and estrangement amounts to an insidious form of alienation that is often 'mystified'

(...) that is, denied or explained away. Not only is this self-alienation but the alienation of mind from body." (ibid., 67)

Feminist planning and architecture theorists have widely worked also with Foucault's critique of biopolitics and have transferred it into a critical revision of the bodily implications of architectural projects, for instance, when planning hospitals, prisons, schools and other social infrastructures in which forms of surveillance, optimization and control became spatialized. "Given that power has become a major issue in architectural theory (...), it stands to reason that difference and embodiment have come to the fore. (...) These differences do not exist in an abstract way: they are embodied in real persons who can be subjected to real discrimination" (Heynen and Wright 2012, 46f, original emphasis).

Recently, a debate started to flourish that aims at theorizing the performativity of social action in urban geography (Thrift 2008). This debate has started to be acknowledged in other professional fields; such as planning, architecture and urban design (Altrock and Huning 2015, Wolfrum and Brandis 2015). While much of urban writing on public and private spaces has been influenced by approaches that rest heavily on the discursive construction of space, this lecture unit explores approaches to theorize space that discuss social relations through aspects of performance, (re)presentation and the performative. These accounts are often rooted in cultural geography, cultural studies, cultural sociology, feminist political science or approaches that (partly) criticize representational space through the concept of non-representational space (Thrift 2008), more-than-representational space (Lorimer 2005) or wider-than-representational space (Schurr and Strüver 2016, referring to Massey 2000). In most cases these endeavors include a conception of the performative, non-discursive and partly non-cognitive features of spatial praxis and social action. We will therefore establish connections between approaches on the performative, debates on non-representational space and wider-than-representational space, and further theorizations of space, affect and performativity in the field of urban studies. These all shed a light on different readings of the performative and affective dimensions of lived space. Successively, initial conceptualizations of performative planning (Altrock and Huning 2015) and affective urban design (Viderman and Knierbein 2018) will be discussed. Finally, emphasis will be placed on recent approaches to performative

urbanism and a debate about performativity's and affects' influences in the field of planning and architectural theories.

Linked to performative planning approaches, a debate that seeks to theorize affect has been conducted across many disciplines, driven by cultural, queer and feminist studies (Hardt 2007, Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2013, Angerer et al. 2014, Gabauer 2018a, 2018b, Viderman and Knierbein 2018b, 2019). While much of urban public space research has focused on performative dimensions taking place in public, reflections that connect public space and affect, and that seek to integrate the affective into theorizing lived space are often missing. This lecture unit's part 3 will therefore offer an initial entry perspective to discuss social relations through aspects of affect, affection and affective praxis. These relate to political science-based approaches to theorize affect for a democratic-emancipatory planning theory (Gabauer 2018a), and explorations that discover potential links between the study of affect and of planning praxis (Sodl 2017). Successively, this part shall include accounts that seek to link considerations about architecture and urban design with theories of affect (Viderman and Knierbein 2019, 2018b).

CLAIMING URBAN SPACE (PART 2)

SELF-ORGANIZATION AND PUBLIC POLICIES

TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo

To frame this topic, we need to recall two points we previously discussed. First, it is very important to look at strategies through which non-monetary values, which are fundamental in place making as well as in city making, are turned into monetary ones (Harvey 2002, 2012). We clarified how very often it is in such strategies that the basic explanation of urban transformations can be found. Second, we already observed that a call for self-organization is increasingly emerging in the political realm, from different viewpoints and for a number of reasons. Increasingly often, spontaneous, self-organized initiatives are addressed as drivers of innovation, and self-organization overall is interpreted as emancipatory, alternative to the established power relations, and even more just. And specifically, self-organization is also addressed as a different possible reference for planning (Allen and Sanglier 1981, Alfasi and Portugali 2007, Rauws 2016, Moroni, Rauws and Cozzolino 2020).

Indeed, examples show that self-organizing practices can have ambiguous relations with institutional actors, both public and private; moreover, that they can contribute, although unintentionally, to a value increase which is then captured and extracted following very different rationales from the ones which inspired intervention initially. This lecture unit aims at debating this supposed emancipatory power of self-organizing practices, discussing firstly their relationships with current institutions. Some basic questions have to be considered as regards: What is actually self-organization within an institutional context? Which is the relationship of civic self-organizing practices with state institutions? How and to what extent are self-organizing practices embedded into an institutional context, and to what extent can the latter be considered as 'independent' or 'autonomous'? (Salone et al. 2017). We will consider here in particular the transforming role of culture and of culture-driven initiatives in the urban context.

Among the many existing examples, in most European cities we can recognize that spontaneous, self-organized cultural initiatives are generally welcome. Let us just think to the many squatted urban spaces, occupied and transformed for experimenting and sharing new aesthetics and different social values: they are more than just 'tolerated', but can become important collective spaces. Through time, they often end up in being merged with -or included into- public policies, or incorporated within market logics: the same

rationale that most of those practices initially wanted to overcome or even to subvert.

This means also that informal, self-organized initiatives can be considered as co-contributing to the turn towards the so-called 'culture-led' urban economy, which is a main tool for the urbanization of capital (see e.g. De Fillippi, Grabher, and Jones 2007, Lange, Kalandides, Stöber, and Mieg 2008). There are many ways in which it may actually happen: e. g. after negotiation or even conflict between groups and/or institutions over the urban space where these initiatives are located; through forms of recognition/legitimation of activities which have a collective/social meaning and importance (also substituting or assisting public services); by getting sponsorship or funding from local public or private institutions, and/or from getting supra-local funding, such as European funding.

With important differences, such trends can be observed and analyzed within different policy fields; nonetheless, culture-driven initiatives are a very clear example of the intrinsic controversial meaning of spontaneous, informal, self-organized practices in their relation with existing, defined institutions. Moreover, they have been emerging as a main driver of urban transformations in contemporary 'global North' cities since the 1990s. What do we need to understand when analyzing such culture-led urban transformations? In our view, first of all we need to acknowledge precisely their multifaceted meaning and controversial implications (Swyngedouw 2005). Since we are embedded within a highly institutionalized context, we need to understand how and to what extent self-organization can be actually practiced and conceived as such. And, if not fully independent, which kind of relations these practices embed. For example, a main part of the literature dedicated to gentrification asks to seriously consider these practices for both their expected and unexpected results and implications. This is particularly important if the value increase self-organizing collective actors produce is actually neither as shared as they pretend (or claim), nor the object of specific policies addressing resource redistribution or if the protection of those inhabitants who are more exposed to the social impacts of rapid urban change these cultural regeneration initiatives trigger is not guaranteed.

In brief: Culture-led policies and initiatives, despite of their (possible) different origins and (declared) orientations, are a very peculiar field of inquiry that permit us to understand:

- Which is the relationship between self-organization and public institutions?
- How do the different initiatives conceive of the relationship of culture and economy in the city?
- Which idea of culture and of the urban economy do self-organizing actors address and sustain?
- How and for whom do they contribute when they shape urban places?
- Which kind of urban places do they actually produce, and for whom?

PLANNING THEORY, COUNTERPLANNING AND EVERYDAY LIFE

Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Sabine Knierbein

The lecture engages with those salient planning, urban design and architecture approaches that address public space as a geography of everyday life, and in this deep sense, as a lived space. A particular focus will be set on aspects of increasing urban social inequality, and related urban struggles. The city has long been the site of social struggles that render urbanization a constant political project (Goonewardena 2011). As the manifestation of social organization, power, and politics, urban settings also comprise places in which those relationships are contested and sometimes overthrown (Hou and Knierbein 2017). Theorizations of lived space need to ground in the everyday spatial practices of those who socially produce space as relational (counter) space. In this respect, Sandercock (1998) has explored the role of counter planning and hence asks planners to use their “knowledge and ability to make alliances from a completely different societal position than that of the classical expert” (Lehtovuori 2010, 52, referring to Sandercock 1998). Friedmann (2012 (1999), 9) also coins counter-planning as “a form of planning at the initiative of and carried out by the residents of a neighborhood, though generally with professional (and financial) outside help.” Besides Sandercock’s and Friedmann’s counter planning accounts, many different planning and urban design approaches have been flourishing in the past years which – in different ways – highlight space, place and everyday life and point to the relevance of city publics, urban communities, NGOs and activists in urban planning processes: guerrilla urbanism and insurgent public space (Hou 2010), insurgent planning (Miraftab 2009), performative urbanism (Wolfrum und v. Brandis 2015), performative planning (Altrock and Huning 2015), agonistic planning (Hillier 2003), ordinary urbanism (Chase et al. 2008 (1999)), planning with counter publics (Purcell 2009), community planning (Wates 2014), tactical urbanism (Lydon et al. 2012, Lydon and Garcia 2015), do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism (Talen 2014), pop-up urbanism (Fredericks et al. 2015, 2018), temporary urbanism (Bishop and Williams 2012, Ferreri 2015, Lehtovuori and Ruoppila 2012), bottom-up urbanism (Glick 2012), affect-based planning (Sodl 2017, Gabauer 2018), urbanismo afectivo (Knierbein et al. 2015a), social design (Falkeis 2015), social-model of design (Margolin and Margolin 2002), affective urbanism (Viderman and Knierbein 2019), among others.

Many of them work with relational conceptions of (public) space, mostly address small-scale interventions of often temporary character, involve

residents or interested communities and very often work on no budget or low budget. All of them tackle the relation between planning and everyday life. Some of these perspectives relate to practical approaches, yet not all of them are actually theoretically backed. It is not the objective of this lecture unit to cluster these salient approaches in a more systematic way. Rather, by pointing to this new multiplicity of planning, architecture and urbanism approaches with an interest in the neighborhood scale, many of these approaches link back planning, architecture and urban design to a consideration of everyday life and lived space at first sight. After a deeper reflection and a needed update of the critique of everyday life, the study of these newer approaches that often combine process-focus on social relations with product-focus on material arrangements of public space can be enriched by a more systematic and qualitatively enriched approach to lived space. This proceeding will facilitate to reflexively address that approaches within the new relational mainstream in architecture, urban design and planning run risk of losing their emancipatory capacity. This is the risk that they rather work in favor of more recent paths of capitalist urban restructuring that seek to balance the increasing social costs of urbanization – fragmented, uneven and unequal – in conditions of flexible capitalism through approaches to place-making, while at the same time increasing direct benefits for real-estate owners through an increase in symbolic capital in public space (Zukin 1995, Madanipour 2019).

Stephen Graham and Patsy Healey (1999, 641) have detected that “planners have great difficulty in representing space, and explaining its nature and significance – a task of great importance after decades of the domination of economic, a-spatial conceptions of public policy agendas. But planners often (...) allow the conceptions of articulate and powerful groups, who have clear ideas about their space-time parameters and relational orientations, to dominate”. The authors claim that “planning practice should recognize how the relations within and between the layers of the power geometries of place are actively negotiated by the power of agency (...)” (ibid., 642). Following a relational approach means to adopt “a point of view which displaces that of the ‘producers’ of policy by that of the ‘users’ of policy”, “of people living multiple everyday lives” (ibid., 643): What is now needed is a collaborative effort between the ‘theorizers’ and the ‘practitioners’ to re-configure the practices of planning, as actions and as vocabulary, to help

generate the innovative dynamic which will respond to the growing social demand for place-focused public policy. (Graham and Healey 1999, 643). It is evident, that Healey's and Graham's interest here is to link planning as a policy organizer with everyday life of cities, organized around a Habermasian conception of communicative rationality (Davoudi 2018). Early in the new millennium, a couple of approaches have emerged within a new relational mainstream in architecture and planning that on the one hand use relational conceptions of space, but on the other disentangle these from the focus on communicative action.

This lecture indicates a shift away from a coopted entrepreneurial concept of public space (Madanipour 2019) towards a critical concept of lived space, which connects different segmented urban fields like housing, social infrastructures, mobility, and public space, among others. Another feature of relational ways of researching is a dialectical strategy to bridge these previously segmented fields of urban inquiry: This means for instance combining housing and public space research, and thereby pursuing a relational approach that works with dialectical fields of planning action. This strategy can support the public articulation of critique especially in favor of linking back planning practice and the acknowledgement of human rights (García Lamarca 2017a, 2017b). It also may help to shed light on the social impacts of more general framing conditions that may both limit and amplify the everyday lives of urban dwellers, both in the centers and peripheries, in housing units as well as in public space (ibid.). Dialectical ways of enquiry need to be (re)established in order to analyze the absences and silences from public space in private space and the relations between them (and vice versa). A precondition for this type of research into different planning schemes is a basic understanding of lived space in its relational-material dimensions. One strategy to do so is to focus on the inhabitants of certain neighborhoods as main drivers for urban transformation: similar to Ronneberger's (2008) and Merrifield's (2002) interpretations of Lefebvre, Welch Guerra (cf. 2013, 40) states that inhabitants of certain neighborhoods proved themselves as carriers of reformist ideas in wider urban politics, and adds that an urban planning discipline rooted in system-neutral and reluctant urban planning was considered as not being able to implement a critical, reflexive and constructive approach. Thereby, he links planning theory to the field of political science. Back in the Anglo-Saxon debates, particularly relational approaches to space have

been taken up by Purcell (2013) who notes that Lefebvre distinguished between the urban and the city: "The contemporary 'city' is the capitalist city, which for him is not 'the urban' at all, but merely an impoverished manifestation of it, an urban world reduced to its economic elements" (ibid., 148f, referring to Lefebvre 2003 (1970), 35). Lefebvre decried reductionism in all its guises, from the class reductionism of many Marxists to the capitalist desire to reduce all human value to its economic value. He advocated relentlessly for an understanding of social life, "one that is always attentive to the many aspects of human experience (...). One way (...) to do this, (...) was to fore-ground the question of space in general and the city in particular. He hoped that an analysis (...) specifically of the 'lived spaces' that people actually experience, would be able to apprehend human life as a complex whole and avoid reducing our understanding of experience to small fractions of life, such as class status, gender, race, income, consumer habits, marital status, and so on." (Purcell 2013, 145, referring to Lefebvre 1991 (1974))

A relational-material approach to public space implicitly carries many of the findings that Welch Guerra and Purcell have included, yet is also quite distinct: It has included, alongside sociology and political science debates, recent findings to theorize space and place from the fields of (empirically informed) cultural studies, social anthropology and cultural geography. Transferred to an inclusion of everyday life analysis into planning, it is of key relevance for relational planners to learn from the divergent everyday realities of existing and new urban dweller populations. This means they need to get in touch with the social, cultural and political context of the location as relational setting, and include knowledge from these contexts into the planning, design and building-related debates and projects.

CONTESTING URBAN SPACE (PART 1)

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT, UNEXPECTED. CONFLICT AND UNINTENTIONAL

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A key concept of our explorations is that of uneven development, elaborated by Neil Smith (1984) in one of his most known works. In brief, the concept refers to the outcomes and results of a contested understanding of the economy (capitalist economy), of the environment (built and natural, considered as resources to be exploited) and their relationships (exploitation, extraction of value). Our intention here is to show and discuss that uneven development is rarely just the 'linear' result of a process; on the contrary, it can be the result – not always and necessarily fully intentional – of intricate trajectories of conflicting interests and goals. Nevertheless, it is precisely from the result which is possible to reconstruct (let us say, going backwards), and understand hegemonic relations and the actual values that shaped decision-making. In this perspective, the Gramscian concept of hegemony is (also) a key concept, that can be put to work together with those of agonism and antagonism, as conceptualized by Adorno (1974) [1951], Foucault (see: McNay 1998), and then by Laclau (1988), Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 2001, and Mouffe (2000). In particular through some case-studies dedicated to Rome (e.g. Pizzo and Di Salvo 2015) it became clear that actors with completely different objectives, interest and also ideology, could (unintentionally) contribute to outcomes they not foresaw, and far away from their own expectations and intentions. In fact, as also in the previous lecture dedicated to self-organization and the transformation of use value and also of cultural and symbolic values into exchange value, we pointed out this 'risk'. Deepening and exploring the concept of uneven development through case-studies where controversial results have been obtained despite the 'good intentions' of many and their actual contribution in the process allowed us to understand an increasingly common pathway towards uneven development. In brief, uneven development might result from the intricacies of interests and actions addressed towards very different objectives, pursued by actors with unbalanced knowledge and power, whose intervention might produce unexpected or unintentional uneven results.

Although we criticized the direct transposition of concepts from the natural to the social sciences, just to provide an image of what we are going to explain, we could make an analogy with the realm of physics, saying that the result of different and conflicting intentions and actions are similar to the resultant of the geometric composition of forces through vectors: any force contributes to the

result, but if there is one or more of them which are predominant, they will shape the resultant in its direction and strength. This is why we could go back to understand power relations by looking at the choices that have been actually implemented and their results.

Increasingly often, people express their worry about urban transformations. We can find a number of cases where people disagree and therefore react against e.g. the rehabilitation of a building, the creation of a park, or the renewal of a public space – all changes that, in theory, should be the most welcome, in particular in deprived or poor neighborhoods. Uneven results of these transformations, the more debated being gentrification, started to be perceived as more negative than decay, or poor public spaces, or no parks, with evident dead-ends (Pizzo 2020).

Nonetheless, uneven development can be the outcome of urban transformations carrying a range of uneven meanings which are often unknown or hidden for a number of well-minded actors. It is very important to highlight that Neil Smith introduced factors (first of all, that of scale) to be taken seriously into consideration in order to understand the complexities of those dynamics. Scalar shifts of urban questions can be very controversial, the tools for the realization of contentious objectives. We can see how the politics of scale can take form in our everyday life (Smith 1996; Swyngedouw 1997, 2004; Cox 1998; Brenner 2000).

In the literature, such results are often addressed under the banner of the pervasiveness and inescapable potency of the neoliberal model. But just to mention neoliberalization (as an explanatory concept) is not enough. We can see through empirical examples that referring to neoliberalism is not a call for a *deus ex machina*, but, indeed, a way to understand how a very powerful concept that has been rooted and diffused in every field of public action and also in every sphere of our individual life has become hegemonic. Once that hegemonic power has been explicated, the point would be how to prevent the uneven to happen?

Since it is not possible and also irrational to avoid any form of intervention fearing the undesired to happen, how can we obtain more just and beautiful cities avoiding or limiting as much as possible the uneven? This will be the focus of our reflection.

CITY UNSILENCED

LIVED SPACE, URBAN RESISTANCE AND 'THE POLITICAL'

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In the search for connections between lived space, everyday life, and the political, this lecture revisits two key concepts of urban studies: public space and urban resistance. In public space, the political may eventually become enacted through the everyday spatial practices of publics producing space. Through an exploration of practices of resistance in public spaces in societal contexts facing neoliberal, authoritarian and neoconservative conditions, this lecture unit emphasizes that publics need to be revisited as ever-changing and contingent foundations. The lecture concludes with an emphasis on a needed dialectical study of public space resistance and changing aspects of everyday life as the spatio-political dimension of urban resistance and of egalitarian politics cannot be separated from everyday life.

Cities have long been sites of social and political struggles. As the manifestation of social organization, power, and politics, urban settings are also places in which those relationships are contested and sometimes overthrown. In 2011, urban resistance returned to the headlines of global news media through global incidents such as the Arab Spring protests and the Occupy Wall Street Movement. In Brazil, rounds of Free Fare Movement protests joined by thousands of young people, students repeatedly forced the local governments to cancel the increase in bus fares. In Taipei, university students took over the country's Parliament building and occupied it for 24 days in protest against the passage of a trade pact with China that would further erode the nation's economy and democratic institutions. Yet as well cities in Europe increasingly witnessed the resurgence of emancipatory struggles and practices of resistance: In Greece, Portugal, and Spain, the indignados movements organized demonstrations against austerity policies. In Stuttgart, protestors demonstrated against the redevelopment of the city's main railway station by occupying the public park that would be vastly destroyed by the redevelopment. In Istanbul, citizens protested against the proposed urban design project foreseen for Gezi Park near Taksim Square by setting up encampment on the park. These recent acts of urban resistance share many things in common. In addition to the popular use of social media and the adoption of a horizontal structure for mobilization, many of the protests have re-introduced public space, in forms of streets, squares, parks, and parliament buildings, as the stage for political struggle. This re-centering of focus on public space is particularly significant as it comes at a time

when public space, understood as the embodied geography of the public sphere (Low and Smith 2006) have been undermined after decades of corporatization, privatization, commodification, enforcement of surveillance techniques and safe and clean policies in many parts of the world. This lecture is an attempt to better understand that the current waves of urban protests are inherently linked to rapidly changing structural conditions and the decline of (national) democracies, and illustrate very well the relation between the social, cultural and political dimensions of understanding lived space.

If we assume that democracy is a spatial praxis rather than an abstract political field, public space – understood as lived space of contemporary cities – needs to be reconsidered as place of doing democracy (Knierbein and Viderman 2018).

In public space, the political may eventually become enacted through the everyday spatial practices of publics producing space (e.g. recent and earlier waves of protest in public plazas, streets, airports, tube stations of Hong Kong) (Chen and Szeto 2017). Yet a fine line needs to be drawn between different types of face-to-face political acts of urban resistance, as resistance may move from anti-politics to alter politics (Knierbein and Gabauer 2017), provoking real change in social structures and institutional governance arrangements (e.g. Taipei when protestors first occupied the legislative chamber of Parliament in 2014 to resist against a new trade agreement between Taiwan and China, and later became elected politicians and thus institutionalized) (Chen 2017). Different forms of resistance entail: occupations of parliaments, squares, streets, or factories; sit-ins, revolts, rage, human-chains, protest, appropriation, or passive bodily resistance against authoritarian regimes. An example for the latter has been Erdem Gunduz, the "Standing Man" in Turkey (Seymour 2013). Wider public-space based urban struggles point to contingent structural imbalances between promises of political equality and increasing empirical evidence for enhanced patterns of social inequality (e. g. anti-austerity/indignados protests in Madrid's Plaza del Sol) (Kränzle 2017). Related to debates on public space and urban resistance are debates that ask for the emancipatory potential of public space. These debates render public spaces as places of public urban life in constant struggle between the utopian topoi of social/human emancipation which remained unfulfilled when political emancipation was achieved for wider groups of the society,

leaving the more vulnerable and marginalized groups often behind in their struggle for full social emancipation (Knierbein and Viderman 2018).

According to Lefebvre (2003), urbanization processes are key vehicles that spatially catalyze growth, competition, and alienation. Simultaneously, they are characterized by continuous attempts of urban societies to self-organize through acts of resistance as part of their endeavor towards human emancipation, de-alienation, and meaningful lives. Urban studies situate emancipatory resistance movements in the history of capitalist urbanization (Goonewardena 2011, Bayat 2013, Mayer 2013). Urban resistance movements, predominantly understood as constituted around a collective political ideal, have been studied to understand how certain symbolic and social orders have emerged, and how insurgent publics have influenced trajectories of urbanization. This abstract analysis of the relation between capitalism, urbanization processes, and social change can be best analyzed at the level of lived space inquiry and everyday life research. Here, public space can be understood as a seismograph of social and political change. Public space research may unravel completely new qualitative aspects of the changing relations between capitalism and urbanization (see Bayat's 2013 innovative concept of social non-movements), and thus produces innovations in urban research, because public-space researchers evidence that global processes of capitalist urbanization accrete locally in manifold ways which might undermine one global narrative of capitalism (Madanipour 2010, 2019; Bayat 2013, Hou and Knierbein 2017). Thereby, researchers may analyze how specific, contingent social orders become instituted in specific places (e.g. military control of public space after protests as in the case of Mexico D.F. protests) (De la Llata 2017). As public life and public space can, however, never become fully controlled, the process of instituting such an order is continuously overthrown, for instance when an order becomes contested by insurgent or counter publics who engage in resistance struggles for political possibilities along plural identity lines (Swyngedouw 2015). Protestors may be loud and collectively organized when democratic rights to protest in public spaces are granted and protected, or they may exercise these rights in a more silent and fragmented manner if democratic expression of opinion in public space is threatened e.g. by state violence against protestors (Bayat 2013; Knierbein and Hou 2017).

A contemporary critique of lived space and thus of the changing everyday life under capitalism remains a largely uncharted realm which carries a great potential for contributing to a needed pluralization of emancipatory thoughts. Against this background, there is an urgent need – through a focus on emancipation – to shift attention again on the innovative and centrifugal powers of the critique of everyday life (Lefebvre 2014). In this sense, emancipation needs to be addressed in relation with Lefebvre's production of space as inherently characterized not only by control, domination, and colonization, but by insurgencies from everyday life and acts of resistance in the lived space of urbanized areas. The self-activating affects, passions, and powers that stem from ordinary life can be considered as the very precondition of emancipatory praxis embedded in local space and socio-historic context. This requires an understanding of politics as a practice, rather than as an abstract political field (Marchart 2007). Thereby, a conceptualization of emancipatory politics as "all-encompassing permanent dimension of all social life" is reinforced (ibid., 55). While most of the literature linking spatial praxis to emancipation in public space tends to celebrate large-scale (revolutionary) acts, this lecture will also draw attention to ordinary city publics and everyday places of change that sprout in cracks of structural power systems, often emerging from the messy minutiae of everyday life. But how and why do these "cracks" come into being, transforming an ordinary public realm into a lived and relational (counter) space, a place of lived urban resistance?

CONTESTING URBAN SPACE (PART 2)

WHO PLANS?

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This lecture unit title derives from Robert Dahl's book *Who governs* (Dahl 1961). From his book we can also reconsider the many issues and cases we explored and ask the question *Who plans?* and also further the inquiry into *Who makes the city?* Our intention is to examine these three different questions as interrelated ones. In fact, on the basis of the content of the previous reflection (see lecture unit 9), we could derive that anyone who lives in a city also co-produces the city. Nonetheless, we pointed out that there are different capacities and powers at play, which must be taken into consideration.

In his *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* Dahl analyzed power dynamics in New Haven (CT), and observed the pluralistic nature of political power.¹ Although he found that power was distributed unequally, it was also dispersed (or fragmented) among a number of groups in competition with each other, rather than monopolized.² Two of the main concepts that we highlighted arise through this work, providing a different theoretical ground for discussion. First, in democracies, political power is unequally distributed: this addresses issues of inequalities and injustice, and also power relations and the mechanism of their reproduction.

Secondly, there emerges a constitutive competition among individuals and groups with different power capacities, a finding which addresses issues of conflict and antagonism (possibly turned into agonism), which characterizes pluralism (Mouffe 2013, see also lecture unit 9). A lesson to be learned from Dahl's work is that in democratic systems where power is not monopolized by a single (individual or group), nonetheless there is a tension between distribution and concentration of power, which includes, for instance what we can actually choose and do, and what is determined or established by others. The very limit of that tension, and the actual possibilities to change it towards another direction, plays a role. The way in which this tension shapes political choices and decision-making processes corresponds to different forms and understandings of democracy.³ Let us think, for instance, about the idea of 'emergency' used for justifying a number of 'fast' policies adopted to respond to crises. In such cases, decision-making power is concentrated in the hands of much fewer people than usual. Why are we referring to this idea? Representative western democracies are experiencing a profound crisis. Democracy as a concept is becoming more

contentious. On the one side, a lack of democracy is increasingly denounced, also in countries with a well-established democratic tradition. On the other side, the idea that democracy (and representative democracy in particular) is not a perfect system, but the best we have, is not so shared anymore, particularly from those claiming for a more direct participation into the political sphere, while more recently democracy is challenged by populist politics.

Nevertheless, democracy as an ideal and as a government system is fully embedded into planning as we theorized and practiced it, despite the many critiques it got throughout time.

Questions concerning *Who governs?* (and *Who plans?*) emphasize who actually decides for us – for a certain number of aspects of our own life, determining also problems of legitimization. It could be interesting to compare and discuss what Isaiah Berlin (2002 [1952]) says: that in this resides the fundamental question of political philosophy. He has framed a range of questions as regards: *Why should an individual obey to other individuals? Why should any individual obey either to other individuals or to groups or bodies of individuals? Under what circumstances do people obey? When do people cease to obey?* Beyond obedience, questions about what is meant by the state, by society, or by individual, by laws, and so forth are of fundamental importance. But the central question seems to Berlin to be precisely this one: *Why should anyone obey to anyone else?* (cf. Berlin 2002 [1952]).

The reason of our interest for these philosophical questions is twofold. The first one is theoretical and it is related to the aim of grounding and understanding planning and urban transformations processes within a political philosophy (and a political economy) perspective⁴. The second one is pedagogical, and it is related to the need of retracing and completing the argument related to *the how* and *the why* of urban transformations, which has to do also with a more analytical or a rather normative orientations.

Through the lecture we pointed out that the number and types of actors involved in the making of urban places is usually large, including different kinds of individuals, groups, associations and institutional bodies. We mentioned Dahl's theory (1961), which claims that in democracy power is not concentrated

in the hand of very few – observing the risk of underestimating the tendency to monopoly or oligopoly which concerns power in its different forms and dimensions.

We evidenced that power relations dominate decision environments. Although in democratic contexts power is not fully concentrated in the hand of few, nevertheless it is unequally distributed between different actors. Knowledge which is part of the power, does not emerge only in different quantity but also in different quality among the different actors: this produces and tends to reproduce social unbalances, which emerge and shape also the urban space.

Inquiring urban transformations starting from their results and outcome permit to understand which interests and forces actually produced them. Nevertheless, Dahl in that same mentioned book reflects on how to try to re-balance unbalanced distribution of power, asking: “because they are unequal in other conditions, citizens of a democracy are unequal in power to control their government, then who in fact does govern? How does a ‘democratic’ system work amid inequality of resources?” (cf. 1961, 3). Thus, if power is not equally distributed, how “to give power to the powerless”? (ibidem, 5) - providing a normative orientation to reflection.

¹For a more philosophical perspective on the relationship between democracy and pluralism see Hannah Arendt (see Arendt 1958 and also e.g. “What is Freedom?” and also “What is Authority?” in Arendt 1961).

² In claiming that, he challenged other theories that sustain that the country (USA) was ruled by a small group of interconnected individuals occupying key positions of power.

³ In comparing the concept of democracy (as an ideal) with institutional arrangements that approximate this ideal, Dahl (1961) introduced the term polyarchy to define the distribution of power that he observed. Polyarchies are based on the principle of representative rather than direct democracy. Therefore, they constitute a form of minority rule, which limits the power of elite groups through institutions - first of all, regular and free elections. Despite his critique of elite-power theory, Dahl was criticized for having underestimated the importance of broad civic participation.

⁴ See e.g. Brenner et al. 2003; Savitch and Kantor 2002.

PUBLIC SPACE UNBOUND

POST-FOUNDATIONAL THOUGHT, THE POST-POLITICAL CITY AND PLANNING THEORY

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This lecture (1) introduces the concept of the “post-political” thought in urban theory, (2) links it back to earlier thought on urban emancipation and, (3) outlines current strands in planning theory that work in the line of these new positions in contemporary social theory. It thereby bridges three key concepts of urban studies: the post-political city, public space and urban emancipation. Through an exploration of practices of emancipation in public spaces facing post-political conditions, it is argued that publics need to be revisited as ever-changing and contingent foundations (Knierbein and Viderman 2018). A lack of egalitarian politics and social justice which manifests itself when our conceptual repertoire in public space research becomes fixed and static is thus part of the problem that the concept of urban emancipation describes. Much of the contemporary debate in political theory tends to refrain from spatializing emancipatory praxis while attempts at transferring post-political thought to the fields of urban studies and planning theory tend to conceptually circumvent emancipation.

Through an exploration of the linkages between the concepts of urban emancipation under post-political conditions, this lecture unit emphasizes that publics need to be revisited as ever-changing and contingent foundations. Post-politics is characterized by consensual governance regimes that work to reduce political contradictions to policy problems (Wilson and Swyngedouw 2015). Under post-political conditions, these policy problems are managed by experts and legitimated through participatory processes in which the scope of possible outcomes, and their lines of argumentation are narrowly fixed in advance (cf. *ibid.*). Key thinkers detecting a post-political condition in urban development and wider politics share a post-foundational ontology, according to which there is no essential ground to any social order (Marchart 2010, Roskamm 2017). In contrast to political philosophies that ground society in a state of nature, a primordial hierarchy, or an economic base, post-foundational theorists begin from the position that all social orders are profoundly contingent and structured to conceal their own absent ground (cf. Wilson and Swyngedouw 2015, 10).

On a theoretical level, public space can be scrutinized as a constant place of political struggle, a terrain “in which two heterogeneous processes collide: that one of government in an almost Foucauldian sense of governmentality [the police] and that one of emancipation [the political]”

(Marchart 2010, cited in Mullis and Schipper 2013, 79). Throughout the 20th century, a series of emancipatory struggles and attending scientific debates realized the liberatory potential of urban spaces as grounds for opportunity and possibility, cosmopolitanism and freedom from a multitude of political, cultural, social, and economic constraints (Lees 2004). Emancipatory movements have involved almost all social identity constructs and social structures, including labor, gender, ethnicity, ecology, peace, freedom, and justice. In recent years, emancipatory struggles have predominantly taken place as a critique of different local forms of (neo)liberalization, and more recently, as an urgent call by the youngest generations to stop climate change. Struggles for rights and equality have shaped not only institutional politics at various scales, but also the symbolic order of our cities.

However, emancipation seems to preserve its ambiguous meaning for a broad portion of the social and political scientific communities, as well as the design and planning disciplines. Much of the contemporary debate in political theory tends to refrain from spatializing emancipatory praxis, while attempts at transferring post-political thought to the fields of urban studies and planning theory, with the exception of Swyngedouw (2015), tend to conceptually circumvent emancipation (Metzger et al. 2015, Roskamm 2017). In addition, emancipation, if systematically reviewed, is often not used on its own terms, but rather serves as a mechanism, means or bridge aligning with other concepts relevant for urban theory (cf. Knierbein and Viderman 2018, 4):

- Forms of innovative self-organization and self-management;
- Struggles for equality and equity and against structural patterns of inequality;
- Articulations to renew democracy through utopian praxis and action;
- Attempts to overcome gridlocked ways of thinking when conceiving relations between space, society, and urbanization;
- Calls for liberation from oppressive constraints pointing to the fact that power relations are immanent in all types of social relations.

Marx (1844) distinguished between political emancipation and social or human emancipation. Political emancipation concerns the relation between the individual and the state: the pursuit of equal access to political decision-making in a modern state against the conditions of oppressive

social relations. It is achieved when everyone is treated equally under the law of the state. Marx admits that “in the existing world order,” i.e. capitalism, “political emancipation is [...] a big step forward.” Yet, he also expresses that “real practical emancipation” might go beyond a reduced version of political emancipation towards full social emancipation. Criticism was directed against bourgeois aspects of the emancipatory project, which separate political and social power(s), as the wider social striving for emancipation came to a halt when many people had been granted rights to vote, even though the material living conditions of all members of the society had not changed for better. For Marx, social emancipation could only be accomplished when people recognize and organize their own powers’ as social powers including the separation between social powers and themselves, a separation previously resulting from political emancipation (ibid., 1844).

Marx’s argument has been taken up in more recent thought when claiming the need for emancipation in processes of global urbanization. Here, social emancipation is a guarantor for political emancipation, whereas political emancipation does not automatically provide social emancipation (cf. Merrifield 2006, 114). Differentiations between political and social emancipation can be transferred to current debates in planning theory that make similar distinctions. As Purcell (2009) outlines, present liberal democracies have been based on an unsolved tension between political equality and social inequality. These have been explained by frequent shortcomings of liberal democracies to overstress freedom and underemphasize equality (Mouffe 2000). In this sense, emancipatory struggle is unavailing for social suffering associated with lived experiences of exclusion, marginalization, or inequality (Bourdieu 1984). This contribution does not situate emancipation in the static space of the ideal(ized) city, but it takes on the challenge of revisiting the relation between emancipation and urbanization.

De Sousa Santos (2006) agrees that modernist means to achieve emancipation are in fact anachronistic colonizing forces, whereas he insists that the original aims of emancipation are still, if not even more, globally relevant. A tension between the everyday experience of people and their expectations is central to the understanding of emancipatory potential (cf. 13–14). Throughout modernity, capitalism has maintained the narrative that social improvement is possible for (nearly)

everyone based on the rights resulting from capitalistic political emancipation. Despite the maintained discrepancy between political equality and social inequality in many of the Western democracies, during the 20th century the modern emancipatory project preserved social peace and order by coupling emancipatory struggle with social regulation effectively working to reduce tensions arising from discrepancies between the regulatory forces and emancipatory drivers of urbanization. Yet regulation did not eliminate the existing disjuncture between political equality and social inequality, leaving the struggle for social emancipation incomplete. The early 21st century witnessed a break away from these fragile regulatory routines, as for a great deal of the world population, the expectations have become less positive than the current experience (De Sousa Santos 2006, author’s emphasis). This is because the balance between regulation and emancipation has been distorted towards regulation, which meant control and order, whereas emancipatory action was delineated as chaotic, and thus to be regulated and ordered, particularly through means of planning and urban design.

One of the core arguments of post-foundational thought is that the political re-enactment of equality can only emerge because of the inevitable contradictions of a social order which presupposes equality but simultaneously disavows it (cf. Rancière 2010, 9). A dual notion of foundation is central to post-foundational thought; this duality assumes that while grounding society in a solid foundation is impossible – it is possible to form ‘contingent foundations’ that operate as a plurality of competing foundational attempts “[seeking] to ground society without ever being entirely able to do so” (Marchart 2007, 7). The impossibility of founding a social order, as in structuralism, thus “serves as a condition of possibility of always only gradual, multiple and relatively autonomous acts of grounding” (ibid., 155). There is an urgent need to revisit and reactivate the concept of emancipation with caution. Rancière’s (2010) political subjects, for instance, are continually driven by endeavors to ground an unconditional equality as “lived and effective” and not simply “represented” by a particular set of institutions in power (cf. ibid., 177).

Shaping the urban fabric reveals a tension between particular and universal interests, a tension which is best mirrored in the efforts of conceptualizing public space in capitalism. Equality in public space can hardly be achieved, as there is an inherent

division already employed when defining public space (Lofland 2009 (1998)). Following the reasoning of post-foundational thinkers, the need for constant and never-ending definition of *who is part of a city and who is not*, of *who is heard in a city and who is not*, of *who is seen in a city and who is not*, is an essential ingredient of defining and redefining publics. Any static articulation of what a public is or any attempt to socially ground its essence therefore condemn it to failure (Knierbein and Viderman 2018).

This plea reflects the urgent need to raise a storm of conceptual critique against public space. For some, this storm will end in a reconceptualization of public space by first de-constructing the use of overall positive connotations, omnipresent co-optation into business-friendly policy agendas and general concept stretching, by unravelling its key critical aspects and by successively reconstructing public space conceptually (Knierbein and Viderman 2018, Madanipour 2019). For others this storm will offer an invitation to dive beyond conceptions of public space which have historically been initiated with the rise of capitalist spatial separation, and thus cannot be unbound from conflict-ridden pasts (Lofland 2009 (1998)).

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BENEATH THE ROAD, THE PROFIT!

HOW IKEA IS ADAPTING DIY-URBANISM FOR MARKETING AND BRANDING IN VIENNA

Paul Achatz

Introduction

Last week after buying some food in the nearest supermarket to my flat I stumbled over a poster hanging on a door of a building, which in my memory, was vacant for at least more than a year. It was very colourful and said "hej 1150 - Dein Ikea Grätzlfest". It initially caught my interest, as obviously intended by the design, and I went over the street to take a closer look. As I imagined and the title indicated it was related to the long proclaimed arrival of the second-inner city IKEA in Europe after the one previously opened in Hamburg in 2014 (de.wikipedia.org, 2018).



The story about this meanwhile existing urban myth that an IKEA is going to be located close to the Westbahnhof at the beginning of the long unattended Äußere Mariahilferstraße has been over the (social) media for some years already. During the European refugee crisis in 2015 interestingly the building site, where this new dependence of the well known scandinavian furniture shop should be located, was a main center of the Caritas to provide for the refugees in-between their flight from the Balkan to Germany and other Western European countries.

Since that time the corporation has been fostering rumours that they will move in this building at this location. After this announcement there have been guerrilla marketing campaigns as to create an interim pop-up-store in a well-known Würstelstand called "Zum Scharfen Rene" to sell "Köttbullars" and other food and beverages branded by the company there. Also the already bought "Blaues Haus"-building was used as one of the festival

headquarter of the "Vienna Design Week". This has been last year.

This year in the beginning of spring the next step of PR was taken and the winner of the architecture competition for the building plot was announced. Surprisingly to most of the observers was, that the winning design won't work, relate or re-use the existing building. A whole new modular structure including semi-public green spaces and so on was presented.

My first thought was: Well let's see what this intervention will bring and take a deeper look into the winning proposal. Of course I always thought about the overall impacts of such an encroachment for the whole district. The 15th district actually became quite hip and trendy in some parts during the last years already. This is related to motivated, young and creative people, students and professionals, who discovered the neighbourhood mostly around the Schwendermarkt and the Reindorfgasse for themselves. The reasons for that were and are the still low rents, good housing quality, the rural feeling like in a village and the good connection to public transport, even despite its located already outside the Gürtel.

When doing research for and going through the lectures I came across following two citations in lecture one that "Finance is increasingly intertwined with the urban space and to city making." (Lefebvre, Harvey; in Pizzo, 2018) and in lecture two that "Public spaces are considered as urban assets through which an (in)direct increase in capital accumulation can be promoted and achieved." (Knierbein, 2018). Both of these sayings I automatically connected to this case of this neighbourhood festival promoted and created by IKEA in the 15th district, which from my perspective should definitely be criticised and reflected on.

Detailed problem description of "Hej 1150 - Dein Ikea Grätzlfest"

As we now heard something about the overall story and how it evolved over the last years I want to go a little bit deeper into the actual research case that I want to focus on, the neighbourhood-festival "Hej 1150", which will take place during the 9th and the 30th of June this year. So quite a long period for a marketing campaign in the public space, my first impression and underlying critique was. The first thing I did after seeing the first ad was

to take a look at their project page. The homepage is quite well designed and structured and gives the notion of being well managed and thought through by professionals from marketing, design, advertisements, public relations and cooperate identity/branding, but also from people with knowledge about community-work and planning. This impression gets approved when you take a look at the imprint, which gathers a who-is-who of renowned Austrian advertisement, design and marketing offices. (Hej1150.at, 2018 a)

Interesting is that IKEA itself is not the legal official organizer of the event. It is one of the design companies. The multinational association is hiding a little bit in the back and is outsourcing the main responsibility.

Furthermore the site is structured in the general story, the programme, the locations, contact addresses and FAQ. They also formulated an own agenda for the festival, which basically says, that everything is about the neighbourhood and how to make it more beautiful and liveable. (Hej1150.at, 2018 b)

Furthermore they defined FAQ in which they state as a reason and motivation for conducting this event that they "... *want to touch ground in the district already in an early stage before even the construction has started. And that there is no better possibility as such a public festival to get to know each other.*" (Hej1150.at, 2018 c)

On Tuesday this week before I went to the lecture I took my bike and explored the proposed locations for the festival, which have been indicated on a map I found on the homepage of the project. Overall the festival has three main topics for each of the three weeks (sustainability, innovation & mobility and the neighbourhood) und four focal points (food & celebrations, sports & play, work, DIY).

To nearly each focal point the corporation assigned one specific "base" on the map. So there will be one for work, food & celebrations and DIY. Interestingly enough the base for the DIY will be in the previously vacant building I already mentioned in the introduction, the base for food & celebrations will be in the ground floor office of one of the most active neighbourhood associations in the surroundings, "einfach 15/werkstatt 15", and the

base for work will be in an interim use co-working space called "We are Bandits". The festival central itself will be situated in the "Blaues Haus" close to the Westbahnhof. Furthermore there will be ten other stations in shops, public spaces (squares and parks) and concert venues all over the south of the 15th district.

So as Madanipour states: "*Public spaces are broadly defined as crossroads, where different paths and trajectories meet, sometimes overlapping and at other times colliding; they are the meeting place of politics and culture, social and individual territories, and instrumental and expressive concerns.*" (Madanipour, Knierbein & Aglaée, 2014: 1) So this statement and the definition of public space also quite good sums up the programme of this marketing festival, because IKEA is really trying to get all of this parts together and combine them for its own good. Pretending of course its all just for the public.

The programme itself is a compilation of every method for attracting the attention of the public anyone can ever imagine and also of a range of activities that Ikea promotes in order to communicate (to get consensus in advance) on what they were going to do. It reads itself like a textbook for performative planning, which was born out of a critique of communicative planning. They say there are going to be open-air movie screenings, DIY-workshops, cooking, readings, public feasts, concerts, talks, discussion panels, performances, comedy, yoga, dancing, leaded walks and further more. It nearly seems to be a never-ending list of trendy, nice sounding and good-vibes happenings.

But what really caught my attention within all these nicely formulated press-texts was the exaggerated usage of the term "DIY". The term itself means in short "... *a range of micro-spatial urban practices that are reshaping urban spaces.*" (Iveson, 2013: 941) These practices can include a wide range of different actions and are also not quite definable as one common stream. A question Iveson is asking is, "*to what extent are these practices helping to "give birth" to a new kind of city, as it sometimes claimed by their practioners and supporters, and what might this city be like?*" (Iveson, 2013: 942) Also Lefebvre plays a role here as he stated that the production of space is a contested issue and that the shaping and re-shaping of urban spaces

is a product of complex power-geometries. (Iveson, 2013) This becomes quite visible in this example as different actors really try to determine who and what the city is for. IKEA plays a strange double role here. On one side permanently claiming that the city and the neighbourhood is for everybody and playing the liberal, open-minded multinational company, whose aim is to get to know the neighbourhood and to empower people. But on the other side they are permanently displaying their logo, name, their products and their ideology (in a hidden way) over the public space. The municipality and its entities are also playing a crucial part in this play, as they are taking part in this role game of power relations and forming together with the associates of IKEA and all the actors who are participating an urban regime for this purpose of the "Grätzfest". This is manifested in the acknowledgements, where the most influential public actors in the district get listed. (Hej1150.at, 2018 d)

For Harvey the term "Right to the City" is directly connected to "which capital shapes the city, and the need to democratize the surplus". Marcuse has argued that the right to the city is, that use value over exchange value should be in focus. He furthermore thinks, that "Cities for People, Not for Profit" might help to unite coalitions. IKEA is turning these ideas around for its own needs. (Iveson, 2013)

In this context the DIY-events are definitely not intended to conquer the existing political situation, because following Kurt Iveson "... such experiments will only give birth to a more democratic city if we can find ways to politicize them." (Iveson, 2013: 955) IKEA'S intention is definitely not to do that in the first place, but my assumption is, that they intentionally want to trigger that notion in the participants of that neighbourhood-party.

Going further to a more general critique, which was formulated by Mark Purcell on communicative planning, it can in my opinion also be linked to the initial starting point that this festival has been approved by the authorities and not being criticised publicly, because "... communicative and collaborative planning, insofar as they follow these ideals (Habermasian ideals), provide an extremely attractive way for neoliberals to maintain hegemony while ensuring political stability." (Purcell, 2009: 140) So this festival in this respect was in favour of the district council, as it was supporting these goals with its pleasing programme. IKEA made use of this somehow. But this critique can also be translated to the soft urban renewal offices and the new district-managements, who are directly representatives of the administration of the city of Vienna. And the "Gebietsbetreuung" even participates in a role of an advisor in this festival,

as is indicated in the acknowledgements (Hej1150.at, 2018 d). One citation from this article from Purcell really got stuck in my mind: "Closely related to that deficit (democratic deficit) is the one that results directly from neoliberal agenda in its purest form: the increasing control of capital over social life. As the state retreats from regulating capital and transfers more and more decisions to the free market, those who are powerful actors in that market – corporations first among them – gain increasing power to determine the fortunes of people and places. The disciplinary forces of competitiveness and capital mobility give large corporations significant control over public policy." (Purcell, 2009: 144)

Of course this citation only relates to the certain case of the "Grätzfest" in a very slight way. It nevertheless focuses on the power corporations nowadays have to "determine the fortunes of ... places" which is in this case somehow true. I assume that already in the beginning of the negotiation process of locating the second inner-city IKEA to the city of Vienna the multinational group put immense pressure on the city council as to get the grants as quick as possible. And now they played the cards of capital and power again as so to be able to organize such a big marketing festival in the name of the good for the inhabitants of the district and the city.

"In engaging communicative processes, neoliberals, if they are just a little savvy, can consolidate the hegemony of neoliberal assumptions and reinscribe the increased power of capital to shape the future of the city." (Purcell, 2009: 147)

Learning from the protests against the first inner-city IKEA in Hamburg

In 2009 IKEA bought a plot of land in the West of Hamburg in the neighbourhood of Altona. It was conceptualized as the first inner-city IKEA of this kind in Germany and only two comparable other locations worldwide where existing before that. So it was definitely a novelty (de.wikipedia.org, 2018).

But there was a lot of protest from the beginning. Two groups of citizen initiatives were formed and in 2010 a residents poll was held which ended up being pro the new IKEA building. The supporters were hoping for an indirect improvement of the whole area because of the settlement of the IKEA, whereas the opponents feared that because of this extreme increase in value the rents in the surroundings will go up and that this part of Altona will be slowly gentrified. Also the building which should be replaced and demolished for this plans inhabited a lot of offices for interim use by artists and creative, the Frappan organisation. The group against the plans also asked the famous question, who owns the city? Even the famous Hamburg-

based movie director Fatih Akin commented on the changes in the area he grew up as not being in favour if it (Wiegand, 2010). Interestingly one of his most famous movies "Soul Kitchen" is going to be shown in Vienna during the "Grätzfest". On purpose or a coincidence? The shop itself was then after all the protests officially opened in 2014.

One interesting definitely unintended outcome of this experiment for the corporation was that already after half a year the inner city furniture shop was mainly functioning as an attraction for hungry residents. It became a hotspot for youngsters, people during their lunch break and tourists.

Nevertheless by official numbers the IKEA in Altona is the most popular branch of the company overall Germany. But not moneywise, because the majority of the customers just buy small decorative goods or grab something to eat/drink. Nearly nobody is buying real furniture there. Those who intend to do that still go to the previous shops at the outskirts of the city. So IKEA Altona turned into a new strange form of public space for the residents. (Spanner, 2015)

Summary, critique and outlook

I think the overall aims of this project are to advertise the arrival of the new IKEA, to the direct neighbours and as so to bind them in the early stage to the possibility, that the shop will soon be opened and everybody can get ready to go shopping and spending money, while everybody has to cope with the effects like congestion, gentrification and traffic jams. Also the whole campaign can lead to a very positive image for the company and so the pressure on the public administration will increase, even and mostly from the convinced voters to speed up the authority procedures to start building. Furthermore after studying the case form Hamburg my impression is that IKEA definitely wants to prevent itself from making the same mistakes as they did in Germany.

This time they want to be in charge of the situation earlier, as so to prevent and hinder protests in the early phase. Also they probably want to communicate that there will be more in this inner-city branch than just foods and snacks. As to do so they are investing huge sums in this early marketing and information campaign in the vicinity of the future store. For the 15th district this project will definitely be a key turning point for its future spatial and social fabric and development. From todays point of view its far-reaching impacts can't yet be grasped. A very interesting research topic, which I'll might be focused on the next months, during and after the "Grätzfest", or maybe even longer.

But I'll stay critical!

Reactions in Social Media and protests in the neighbourhood

As meanwhile the whole "hej 1150" is already over – for this year – there have been some quite critical reactions to it, as well as analog and digital through social media or directly in the neighbourhood. In the following I made a small compilation of these different forms of protest and critique, as to show that not everybody in the 15th district goes along with IKEA's ideas and to also give those a voice and stage for a more diverse overview discussion apart from the official PR by IKEA itself.

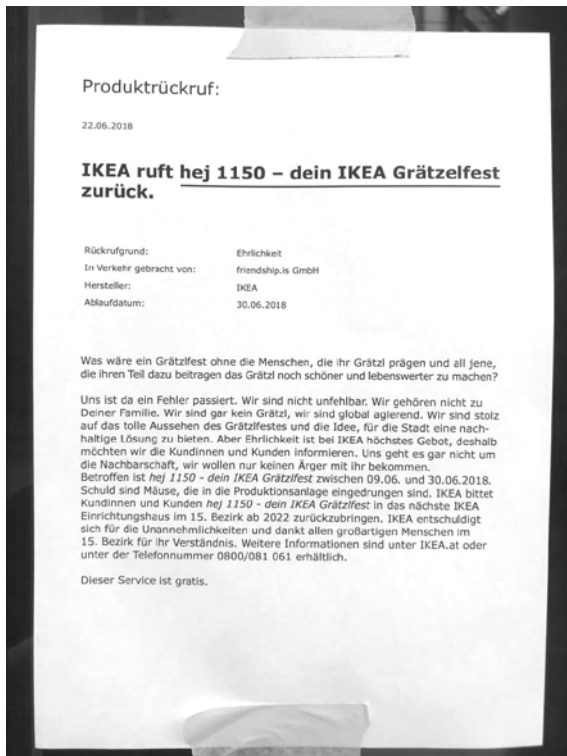
Anonymous Protest (2018 a) "FUCK IKEA"-Graffiti at Schwendermarkt, 1150 Wien



Hübl, M. (2018) Ein Grätzl namens Småland



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Images

If not explicitly indicated otherwise all pictures have been taken by myself.

Anonymous Protest (2018 a) "FUCK IKEA"-Graffiti at Schwendermarkt, 1150 Wien [offline] own depiction [Picture taken 30 Jun. 2018].

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WHY GEZI?

WHAT IS THERE TO LEARN FROM THE GEZI PARK PROTEST?

Laura Sánchez Fernández

“Yaşamak bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür ve bir orman gibi kardeşesine”

“To live like a tree alone and free and like a forest in brotherhood” Nazım Hikmet

In this essay, the Gezi Park protests happened in the summer of 2013 in Istanbul, Turkey, are going to be analyzed in diverse aspects and linked to the content of the various lectures given in the “Module 11: Urban Culture, Public Space and Housing” by Sabine Knierbein and Barbara Pizzo. Other references from various cited articles will be used, as well as quotes from interviews made in Istanbul in July 2017 with different actors in diverse profiles such as lawyers, sociologists, urban planners and architects for my own research project “Redefining Istanbul”, which analyzed the mechanisms and strategies influencing and characterizing today’s situation of the city’s public space.

Diverse approaches will be used in the analysis of the happenings in Gezi Park and its further meaning. In reference to Knierbein’s lectures, especially on “Planning in the context of post-colonial and feminist theory and action” and “Planning Theory and Everyday Life” on topics appearing in both lecture contents, such as the new global urban restructuring, reclaiming urban space, feminist activism, resistance and critique of everyday life. Referring to Pizzo’s lectures, centered on “Negotiating Public Space: The Capital can be patient, what about Cities?” and “Negotiating Public Space: Financialized, entrepreneurial, negotiated: which city is this?” in issues such as the role of land and capital in the city making, how and why is the land assumed and treated, the how, why

and for whom urban transformations are made, will be approached. It results to have big importance to analyze various different aspects in order to get a holistic picture of the happenings in Gezi, its origins and achievements regarding the fundamental question of Democracy of Public Space.

Introduction to Istanbul relating to Gezi

“The most appropriate word to describe Istanbul in the last 500 years is CHANGE.”

Professor (Interview on July 2017)

Istanbul, the city divided between the Asian and European continents and the nowadays Turkish cultural and economical capital, has been the scenario for many historical events during centuries, from the Byzantium era as Constantinople to the nowadays metropolis.

Without a doubt, Istanbul itself and as the representative city of the whole country of Turkey, was back in 2013 (time when the Gezi Protests took place) and still is nowadays living convulse times and struggling in many aspects which are vivid and materialized in its public spaces. These many struggles and changes can be quite difficult to grasp due to the complexity of the city and the country of Turkey, regarding their very specific characteristics - related to its history, its geopolitical situation, its social dimension and its political dynamics and processes in which appear an intricate interplay of many actors - all of them become of enormous significance in order to understand today’s situation of Istanbul, especially referred to the case of the Occupation of the Gezi Park.

In order to get an overview on the concepts that have had a role in the protests, we can mention some examples, going from the deep political changes that took place in the country since the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the installation of the Turkish Republic, to the exponential rise of inhabitants - reaching in the late 2017 an official number of over fifteen million and an unofficial considered number of twenty million -; to the will of “islamization” of the country’s public spheres hand in hand with the extreme capitalization of public space and its massive shrinking through processes of control on freedom of expression. Such topics will be addressed later on, due to their relevance for this case study.

Picture (1) of a graffiti in the Gezi Park during its occupation in June 2013, showing the clear pacifist and feminist character.



To cope with the very strong immigration, mostly from rural Turkey, the city keeps to grow and to construct new residential areas permanently. Ignoring earlier urban plans for the growth of Istanbul, often with a wider range, the Turkish Government made hasty decisions moved by economical interests, which led to the creation of terrible environmental consequences for the city and dragged it to its collapse.

There is a very clarifying example to understand the extreme neoliberal agenda of the since the year 2002 ruling party (AKP - Justice and Development Party by its Turkish initials) regarding the use of land for private economical interests: Henri Prost, as part of his plan for the growth of Istanbul in the year 1937, designed huge parks around the city not only for its social importance as gathering or leisure spaces but also as a safe escape in case of an earthquake in the city; the majority of these parks have been sold in the recent years - in most of the cases - to big companies, leaving the Turkish metropolis with an estimated only 1% of its land dedicated to green areas. (Wouter Vanstiphout, Marta Relats, 2014, 60 and interview with the Architecture Professor Ipek Akpınar).

In the midst of this rapid change, uncertainty and instability materialized in the city, processes which have been accelerated and emphasized by the still nowadays governing AKP Party and its back then Prime Minister and nowadays President of the Turkish Republic Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the protests in the Gezi Park took place in the early summer of 2013.

Even though, the Turkish case as a whole presents a high complexity due to the interrelation for multiple factors and actors, in this essay I will try to scratch the surface and dig deeper in it, in order to contribute to the understanding of the variables affecting Istanbul, though the case of the Gezi Park Protests.

Geographical and historical contextualization of Gezi Park

“Taksim means to share things.”

“No matter how much you erase the historical footprint, you cannot erase the society’s memory.”

Professor (On interview, July 2017)

A brief historical contextualization of the Taksim Square – where Gezi is located –, serves us to understand the deep meaning that this place has had and still has for the city of Istanbul and the whole Turkey, and in this sense, be able to understand better the location’s relation to the protests as well.

The Gezi Park is located in Taksim Square, in the district of Beyoğlu, which is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Istanbul. Constructed during the late Ottoman Empire, Beyoğlu was since its creation an international and commercial district where the cultural life of the city took place until recent years, aspect which has now almost fully disappeared, due to diverse factors such as the strong process of gentrification led by the appearance of multinational shops in its main Street – İstiklal Caddesi / İstiklal Street – and the government’s pressure on secular “way of life”, though measures such as restricting the consumption of alcohol.

The square in which Gezi Park is located is probably one of the most emblematic symbols of the city of Istanbul due to its history since the Ottoman period, time in which it was used as a center for water distribution to the whole city along side with its use as a military base.

After the establishment of the new Turkish Republic, the Ottoman barracks were demolished and turned into a public park (Gezi) – under modernist ideas from the French architect Henri Prost –, the Atatürk Culture Center (AKM) was as well constructed, and a sculpture of the Independence War was erected in the Square, all of them as a symbol of secularism (Bilsel 2010 referred by Yiğit Turan 2017, 86).

The Taksim Square has a strong importance related mostly to leftist protests, which since the fall of the Ottoman Empire took (interruptedly) place in Taksim. In the 1st May 1977, the Square became a symbol for working-class struggle for justice and democracy after 34 of the participants in the Labor Day Protest were killed and 136 were injured (event called in Turkish Kanlı Bir Mayıs, which translated to English means “Bloody 1st May”). (Yiğit Turan 2017, 86).

In the summer of the year 2013, a new attempt to change the meaning of this square took place in the urban transformation project for the Gezi Park.

The contestation from the Turkish civil society to this new project was the key element that started the Gezi Protests, project that had a clear intention from Erdoğan's government to eliminate Taksim as a center of entertainment, leisure, and political protest (Yiğit Turan 2017, 86).

Origin of the Gezi Park Protest

“We have become the little America.”

“Public space means State space.”

“The government systematically sold our land to build malls.”

Professor (On interview, July 2017)

“They missed the social part of the development.” – referring to AKP's development strategies

Professor (On interview, July 2017)

The protests in the Gezi Park began in order to protect the park from the new project that included a new shopping mall and luxury residence in the reconstruction of the 19th century Ottoman barracks and a mosque, all of which would be replacing and/or privatizing the green public space. Furthermore, in the project it was planned to take the traffic circulation below street level, as well as dividing and separating the streets, and narrowing the pedestrian sidewalks. Through these arrangements, pedestrian circulation would be limited and taken under control, public spaces would be privatized, and the access would be limited. As consequence of all these changes, the place left for political demonstrations and meetings would disappear (Yiğit Turan 2017, 86).

After the declaration of intentions on the future of the Gezi Park, a civic organization, Taksim Platform, was established with the main aim of transmitting the public values of the area of Taksim and the Gezi Park to the people of Istanbul, as well as informing them about the negative impacts of the project. In the Platform, artists, professionals, intellectuals and local inhabitants worked together imagining what could be the future for the area. In this context, urban planners as well as architects and designers started organizing activities in the park such as workshops and festivals to attract public attention to the park.

In the night of 27 May 2013, an email started circulating within activist circles informing about the arrival of construction vehicles to Gezi Park, one of the very few remaining green spaces in the historical Istanbul, for its demolition. That night some activists gathered in the park and succeeded in preventing the vehicles to cut down the trees. The activists protecting the park camped there to ensure that there would not be further attempts

to remove the trees, although in the next morning the construction vehicles came back to the park, this time backed up by police, which attacked and injured several of the protesters who were pacifically occupying the park. The use of force of police against the activists used in 28 May 2013, and its following escalation caused an ever-growing number of protesters in the next days. On 1 June 2013, thousands of protesters gathered already in Taksim Square (Sinan Erensü and Ozan Karaman, 2017, 1). Thousands of people from all over the city started marching to Gezi Park while shouting the slogan of “enough is enough”. The people who could not join the marches, encouraged others by using various slogans such as “Resist Gezi” or “Resist Turkey” which they would shout from the windows or hang as posters in their balconies. Like that, the city was no longer “silent” (Yiğit Turan 2017, 88).

As referred to the quotes above by an interviewed Professor, the city of Istanbul as the main city of Turkey, has been victim of extreme capitalization of its urban space due to global neoliberal pressures hand in hand with the support of the AKP's government that facilitated this process by enforcing regulations to protect the interest of private investors, in this case there appeared as well a clear interest of “islamization” of the secular Republic. We can state after this given clarifications, that the intentions of the project can be understood on two main perspectives which are, on one hand of symbolic meaning (Islamic presence embodied in the mosque and the reconstruction of the Ottoman barracks) and on the other hand, of private capital interest (selling of a public land to private investors). This last interpretation of the project for the park, can be traced back to the question appearing in Pizzo's first lecture, of how land is assumed and treated and why. In this regard, we can state that in this case public land is assumed and treated as an object in order to beneficiate private interests, which will become an economical profit out of it. Regarding the questions of HOW, WHY and for WHOM Urban Transformations are realized, in the case of the Gezi Park, we will have a twofold interpretation: the first interpretation referring to the project for the park insists in the idea presented before, in which the land is used by private actors with the help from the government for its own interest; in the second interpretation, now referring to the Occupy Gezi, we can state that an urban transformation is made by a self-organized and plural group by the embodiment of the space they want to protect from the prawns of capitalist greed, which linked to the question of “Who Governs?” emerged from Pizzo's lecture “Who Plans?”, we can affirm that the occupation of the Gezi Park showed to Istanbul, Turkey and the world, that is not the only the Government or the private investors who govern and plan the city, but on the contrary, it is

the civil society that also has a voice and power to influence what happens in the city, how and under which terms it is transformed.

We might as well make a connection to the concept of the city's financialized, entrepreneurial and negotiated character appearing in Pizzo's third lecture. We can affirm that Istanbul has become the most important place in Turkey where capital accumulates and where its morphology has been changed "in the exploration of new ways in which to foster and encourage local development and employment growth" (Harvey, 1985) while leaving behind the social dimension of urban transformations (Ömer Aksoyak - in interview).

We can also suggest, regarding this approach of the financialized, entrepreneurial and negotiated city, that there is a clear intention from Erdoğan and his government – as many times stated by himself in various public speeches –, of converting Istanbul in a "world city", and in this sense, forcing the creation of the city's self-image "as being proactive in promoting the competitiveness of their respective economic spaces in the face of intensified international competition" (Jessop, 1997, 28-41).

The metropolis has seen how its public space has been sold to private investors in order to make profit (e.g. shopping malls, number of which have escalated tremendously in the recent years). The city's green areas have been for years systematically sold, under the rule of AKP in response to its economy growing hyper-development project such as the Istanbul's third bridge or the third airport, bringing the metropolis to the abyss of environmental collapse.

This situation reached an intolerable point for the *istanbulies* when these tendencies touched directly the Taksim Square and its Gezi Park, since it is one of the very few un-capitalized public and green areas in the historical heart of Istanbul, with a strong history of democratic and political struggle. The shrinking public space in the city, was not only physical - though the loss of public spaces sold to private investors - but also social and political - though regulations and moralizing intrusions into the citizen's way of life and freedom of expression in the streets and squares of Turkey (Nilüfer Göle, 2013, 10) -.

Development and End of the Gezi Park Protests

"Gezi was the peak of a period, the largest scale of protest in every way that Turkey has ever seen before." Professor (Interview on July 2017)
After the brutal repression made by the police against the activists who were protecting the park

in the late May of 2013, the indignation among the Turkish civil society escalated and the support to the activists in the Gezi Park brought an estimated number of 3.5 million citizens to the streets in each and every of the 81 provinces of the country (Amnesty International, 2013, 5). Through pacific means, the protesters – young and old, students and bureaucrats, feminists and housewives, Muslim, non-religious, leftists and Kurds – united to show their discontent on the AKP's urban transformations policies, on the one hand, protecting the public space against the will of selling public land to private investors for their own economical profit, and on the other hand protecting the idea of open public space in which the citizens can interact and express themselves freely (Nilüfer Göle, 2013, 10-13).

The claims went far beyond the Gezi Park and its renewal project; the protesters gathered in the main cities of Turkey were claiming an extent number of changes in AKP's governmental policies. The dissent against the rule of Erdoğan covered a wide range of demands going from the state's neoliberal top-down policies regarding cities, environment and culture, to policies on women, fertility, belief, education, economy and labor, in the ultimate will of giving voice to issues that had long been suppressed by the government through its exclusionary, homogenizing, and marginalizing discourses and practices (Yiğit Turan, 2017, 83). The main claims in this civilian resistance were in line with a critique of hyper-development and consumerist culture arguments, as well as a will of protection of the democratic public space in its quality of reunion and exchange of ideas and the will of preserving the secularity of the country (Nilüfer Göle, 2013, 9).

The protests in Gezi Park can, in this sense relate to various concepts approached in the lectures, especially to the concepts appearing in Knierbein's lectures such as Feminist Activism and Reclaiming of Public Space. The Gezi Park Protests should be considered as a form of feminist activism due to the pluralistic range of groups that took part in them and cohabited together during the occupation of the park, people with diverse political and cultural orientations that became united against the urban, social, environmental, economic, and cultural policies of the government, setting aside their differences for the first time in the republican history (Yiğit Turan 2017, 88).

The occupation of Gezi Park is also a clear example of Reclaiming Public Space and Reclaiming the Right to the City; through the embodiment of the space the occupiers defended their main claim of preserving democracy in the city's public space, in contraposition of the hyper-development projects carried out by the AKP Government, together the

intention to control the citizens' way of life and appropriation of public soil for private interests.

It results interesting to underline the organization of the occupants of the Gezi Park, which during the occupation became a "whole" and the park became more than a physical entity through organic articulations of people's spaces, performances, actions, and expressions. *"The hope was that people would make the city, democracy, and public space their own by realizing their dreams in the utopian world of Gezi as a critique of the existing socio-spatial order."* (Gambetti 2014 cited by Yiğit Turan 2017, 90)

Offensive expressions were made by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan referring to the protesters such as the Turkish term of *çapulcu* – which in English translates to "scum" –. These terms were used in a humorous way by the protesters who adopted them to define themselves and their actions while the occupation of the park took place.

Picture (2) of a protester in the Occuoy Gezi Park movement, carrying during a banner as a part of a full slogan used in the protests "Her yer Taksim, her yer direniş" which translates as "Everywhere Taksim, eveywhere resistance".



We find further connections in the case of Occupy Gezi related to concepts appearing in Knierbein's lecture on "Planning Theory and Everyday Life", such as: Urban Resistance. The Gezi experience, its meaning and its ultimate goal, which can be interpreted as *"instrumental in challenging the hegemonic, neoliberal political and economic paradigm that governs practically every aspect of life in today's societies"* (Hou and Knierbein 2017, 12). Also appearing in this lecture, Lefebvre's "critique of the everyday life" can be related to the project for Gezi and to Istanbul in a wider approach, in the sense of how capitalism has colonized the "everyday life" and converted it into "a zone of sheer consumption". We may as well describe the practices in Gezi Park as revolutionary for altering the forms of everyday life and rendering them "unnatural" (Ben Highmore 2002, 237, referring to Ken Knab 1981). *Occupy Gezi* also rendered clear the idea that there is a "zone of social transition and possibility with the potential for new social arrangement and forms

of imagination" (Margaret Crawford 1999), that there is a "potential of daily life as a site of creative resistance and liberating power" and that change in urban scenarios can be made.

On June 15, on explicit orders of the Prime Minister Erdoğan, the police evacuated the park with use of force and in the very next day it was stated by the Turkish government that, whoever went to Taksim was going to be treated as a terrorist. In the following days and weeks the protest slowly faded away from the streets and squares across Turkey. The creative exploration of true Democracy and City-Making were suppressed by AKP's Government though two means: the police brutality in one hand, and the use of mainstream media to distort the idea of the occupation. The area of Taksim became militarized after the expulsion of the protesters and all the signs referring to the movement were removed (Yiğit Turan 2017, 90).

The Occupy Gezi Movement left the streets and squares of Turkey after two weeks of intense protests and police brutality. As a result of the police violent response to the pacific occupation, in the whole country, 10 people were killed and more than 8,000 got injured according to Amnesty International reports.

Conclusions on the Gezi Park Protest

"In Gezi there was HOPE."

Professor (Interview on July 2017)

Even though the urban, economical, social and political situation in nowadays Turkish society can be considered as more complicated or even worse regarding key aspects such as freedom of expression in the public space and the media, the loss of public and green spaces or the still ongoing hyper-development projects of AKP – the Gezi Movement showed the world that there is still room for hope.

During the occupation, the Gezi Park became a real public space in which people from very different backgrounds, age, religious and political identification, were able to come together and share not only the space but ideas, experiences and dreams about the process towards a democratic city-making in a respectful and tolerant way to each other's opinions and beliefs, sharing and learning from each other.

In the two weeks of irruption of the general silence and rehearsal of democratic politics and city-making, the Gezi Protests showed the social and political potential that public space has. (Yiğit Turan 2017, 91). The occupation of Gezi Park – as well as many other international examples such as the *Indignados* Movement in Spain – has shown

to the *istanbulies*, the Turkish citizens and the international community that the civil society, does have a strong voice and power to transmit its needs and to accomplish its demands about changes in the urban morphology and its everyday life when it is united under a plural and feminist way of self-organization.

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Images

Picture (1) of a graffiti in the Gezi Park during its occupation in June 2013, showing the clear pacifist and feminist character. Source: <http://showdiscontent.com/archive/gezi-parki/2013-06-04/img/0604-gezi-parki-peace.jpg>

Picture (2) of a protester in the Occuoy Gezi Park movement, carrying during a banner as a part of a full slogan used in the protests "Her yer Taksim, her yer direniş" which translates as "Everywhere Taksim, eveywhere resistance". Source: <https://www.rosalux.de/news/id/7019/her-yer-taksim-her-yer-direnis/>

PATHS AND TOOLS OF THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE:

MAPPING NEGOTIATIONS, CONTESTATIONS AND CLAIMS AT THE INTERFACE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Univ. Ass. DI Judith Lehner, TU Wien Visiting Professor Dr. Barbara Pizzo

Starting from the semester topic “Urban culture, public space and housing” in this exercise course we explored the complexity of the production of lived space, both in the private and the public realm, and at their interface through the methodological approach of mapping.

The map, as selective representations of space, tells of an order of things and therefore helps architects and urban planners to get a feeling for places (cf. Petrescu 2006). At the same time the act of “mapping” is no longer a question of describing shapes and static space accurately. James Corner sees mapping as “a collective enabling enterprise, a creative act that describes and constructs space we live in, a project that reveals and realizes hidden potential” (Corner 1999, 213). In this sense, the production of maps has the potential to serve as a tool to analyse and reveal the (in)visible negotiations, contestations and claims at the interface of public space and private dwelling. The course aimed at developing a critical approach to mapping as a tool of urban exploration. Departing from the students’ perspectives of lived space explored in field trips to different housing sites in Vienna, the course eventually re-approached the theoretical content discussed in both the lecture and the seminar of the corresponding module.

After introductions on a critical approach to mapping and the method itself, we went on a collective field trip to selected housing projects in the city in order to exemplify the methodological

approach of mapping and on-site research against the background of discussions at the public and private interface on different spatial levels and scales. Starting from different typologies of (subsidized) housing in recent urban development areas in Vienna, student groups explored one selected housing project with a focus on the interface of private and public spheres, mapping their observations on different shades of private borders, boundaries and property lines as well as (in)visible connections, interrelations and encounters in public and private spaces. The created maps then were discussed among all workshop participants in order to reflect on the groups’ explorations, insights and their own specific positionalities in the production process as well as on the quality of the visualizations.

In a further step, different spatial dimensions and/or scales relating to possible negotiations, contestations and claims were added to the maps. The question was how additional perspectives and (spatial) scales can be incorporated and illustrated in these individual maps that relate to but at the same time go beyond the in-situ explorations? As a response, one approach was to add the spatial dimension of planning to the map by including original urban development plans and design ideas of the housing project or area; while another approach related to time as a further dimension and drew on historical events and issues of the development of the project/area.

Further on, the complex maps of private-public interfaces were questioned towards claims, contestations and negotiations in the production of space. Each group’s map was discussed among all course participants in order to pursue the following questions:

- What negotiations, contestations and claims in different spatial dimensions are (in)visible in the maps?
- How can negotiations, contestations and claims about these urban spaces at the interface of private and public be represented? What is or tends to be highlighted and what tends to be lost in the mapping process or in the final map?
- How can the map serve as an analytical tool to research on these negotiations, contestations and claims? What are the limits of mapping as an analytical tool?





Eventually at the end of the course, the groups included the outcome of the discussions on negotiations, contestations and claims in their final maps and presented them to a public audience, interviewed neighbors of the selected housing projects and visiting critics at the Nordbahnhof in one of Vienna's recent urban development areas.

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FRAUEN-WERK-STADT

Sovantania Kauv, Jessica Keves

The concept of the Frauen-werk-stadt emerged from a competition, where for the first time in Austria only women architects won and designed a housing project. It is located in the 21. district of Vienna. The concept considers especially womens' needs and was designed to make the everyday life of a family easier. The innerspace, interior space as well as the outer space are designed within this concept of womens' and family needs under the aspects of gender mainstreaming. Avoiding spaces of anxiety was one of the key aspects to consider in the design.

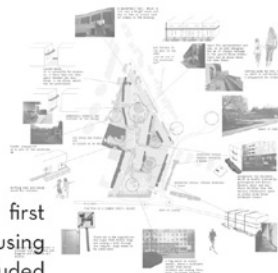
The housing project offers various spaces to communicate and get in touch with neighbours in order to build up a lively neighbourhood. Sense of safety, neighbourhood life, meeting spaces have been identified as one of the important topic in the housing project. It offers a lot of opportunities to

use the public spaces, also relating to different ages. The embedding into the theoretical context happens through drawing lines to the feminist planning approach and the practices of everyday life. This project was conceived for bringing the female planning agenda in the surface of housing projects through inviting only women architects to the competition. This empowerment has also been applied to the everyday habitus of women under the agenda of gender mainstreaming. The importance of the everyday routines such as cooking has been outlined through creating kitchens and balconies that are located towards public spaces to oversee the children playing in playgrounds of the courtyards. Simple routines of eating, being a child, playing in the courtyards, storing your stuff in the ground floor instead of the cellar, and getting old without barriers seem to mirror in the buildings and create a lively public space.

process of mapping

first draft

as a collection of the first impressions of the housing project. Which also included already public and private relations. But without an focus of the original concept of the frauen-werk-stadt I.



second draft

as a try to find the appropriate visualization styles. There the focus lies on how space and material and the physical structure shape the ability for the tenants to appropriate their spaces in this semi/public space.



FRAUEN-WERK-STADT

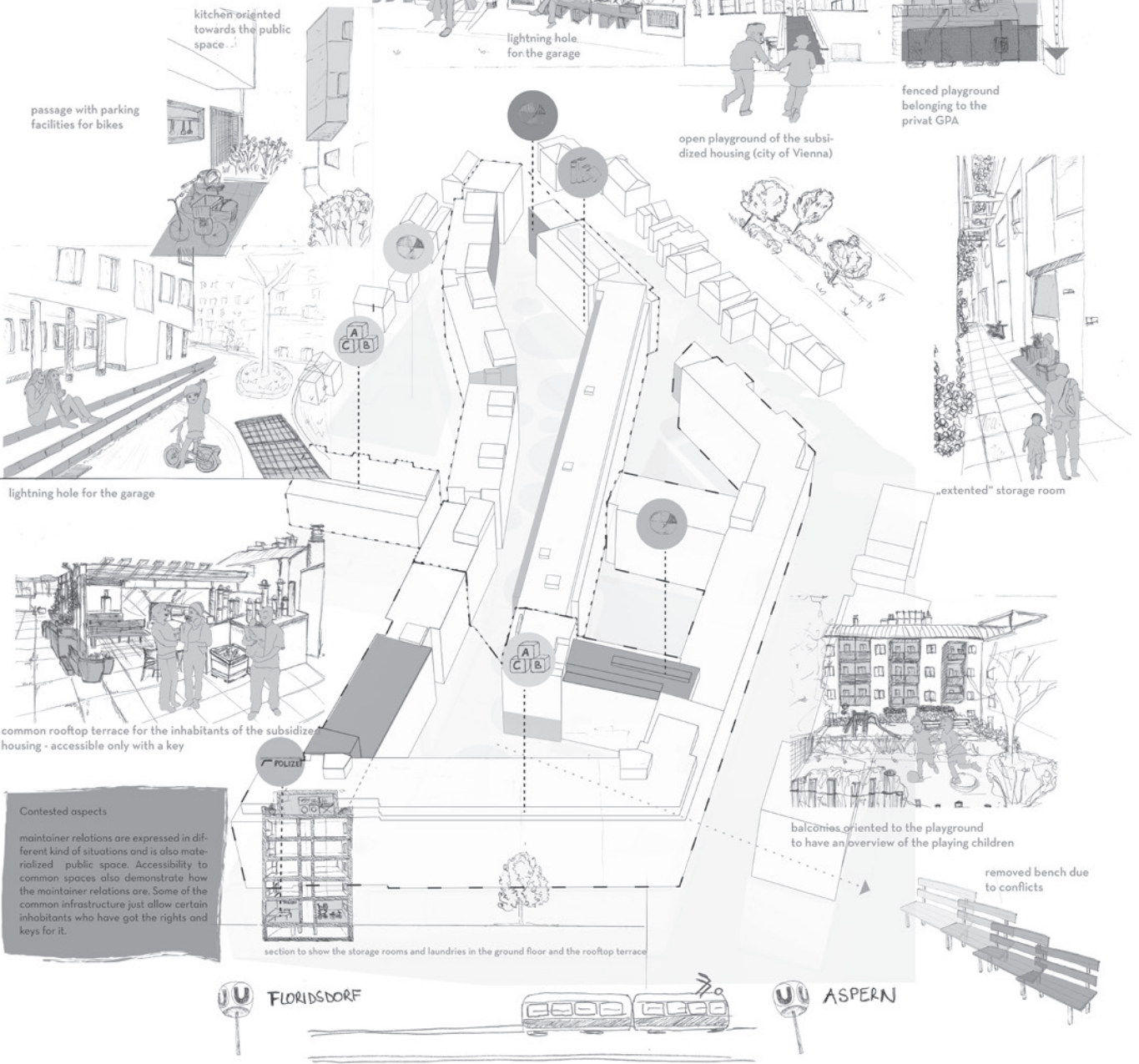
21. district Vienna

Female/ family aspects

Female and family aspects are revealed in different kind of levels and layers of the housing project. Avoiding spaces of anxiety, make the everyday life of families and women easier are concluded in the design of the „frauen-werk-stadt“.
Lightning conditions, short paths and flexible floor grounds as well as the infrastructure for children plays an important role.

Common spaces, appropriation and neighbourhood aspects

Spaces of appropriation are determined by the physical structure of each building. How far inhabitants appropriate their space indicates also how the dwellers are integrated in the housing project and how they feel secure in it. The given structure allows a flexibility in the different forms of appropriation



Contested aspects
maintainer relations are expressed in different kind of situations and is also materialized public space. Accessibility to common spaces also demonstrate how the maintainer relations are. Some of the common infrastructure just allow certain inhabitants who have got the rights and keys for it.

- semi-public
- private: common rooms that are only accessible with a key
- green space
- private owner GPA
- contested aspects
- female/family -aspects
- public owner city of Vienna
- common spaces, appropriation and neighbourhood aspects

(RO*SA) 22

Mazarine Girardin, Christopher Bindig

[ro*sa] is a Model of Solidarity village community. In this co-housing building, different women with different ways of life in their different moments of their life, live together. Men are welcome as partner or member of the family but the contract is concluded with women. This collaborative co-housing project wasn't built in one day, it is the result of a long participation process. It was a long process to understand and answer to all special needs of women. In 2003, Sabine Pollack had the idea to this co-housing project. Her project idea could be compared to the Frauen-Werk-Stadt I in Floridsdorf (Wien). She convinced a group of 20 to 30 women to follow the participation process which means one meeting every two weeks to discuss different topics, commonsense, community life, relation privat/collective, finance, etc. The association Frauenwohnungprojekt [ro*sa] was created the same year.

What was really important for us is to understand why through architecture the building was a building by women for women. In what extend do women have specific needs. We see that every room can have different uses in order to follow as much as possible the living way of the life of women. Yet somehow this architecture is based on clichés. This was for us really difficult to understand why they chose to give a material to cliché. Some shared facilities were workshops for children, a bicycle and stroller garage, a communal kitchen with a direct accessible communal terrace, an office with a library, laundry, sauna with relaxation room, etc.

„There did not exist many women utopias. Ro*sa is a lived utopia - Architecture just for and from women.“

Sabine Pollack

Symbolic Map

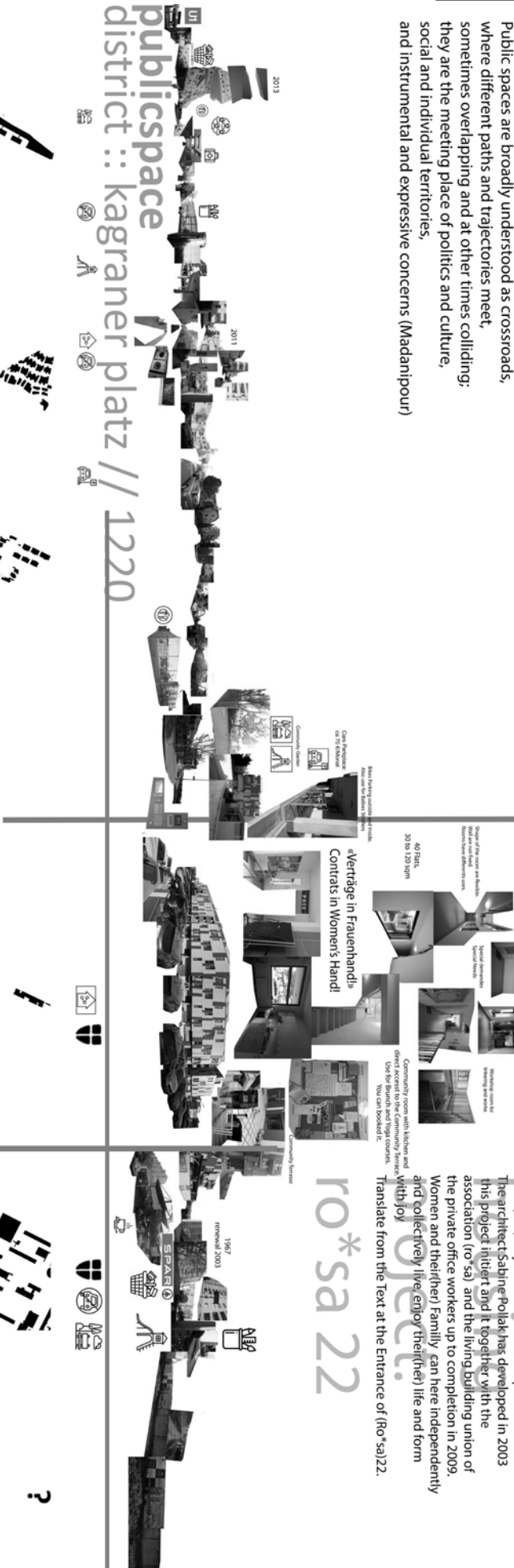


Production of Space.

INTERSECTIONS_

Public spaces are broadly understood as crossroads, where different paths and trajectories meet, sometimes overlapping and at other times colliding; they are the meeting place of politics and culture, social and individual territories, and instrumental and expressive concerns (Madanipour)

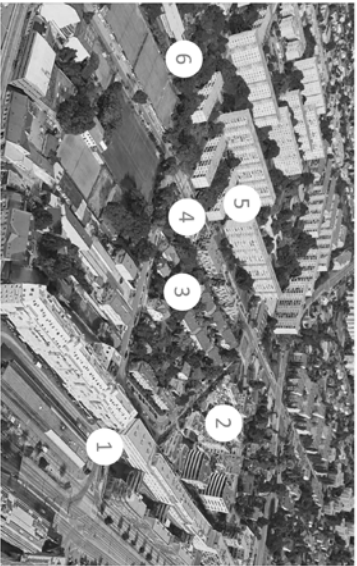
innerspace ro*sa 22 scales of communitylife privat/public



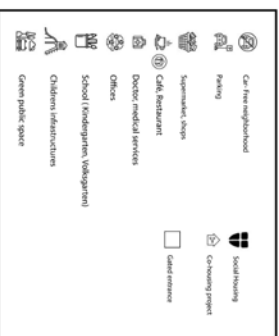
Participatory Planning Process
 his House was planned by Women For Women their (Her) ways of life should be expressed here. The architect Sabine Poljak has developed in 2003 this project initiator and it together with the association (ro*sa) and the living building union of the private office workers up to completion in 2009. Women and their(her) Family can here independently and collectively live, enjoy their(her) life and form with joy
 Translate from the Text at the Entrance of (Ro*sa)22.

ro*sa 22

- 1 Kagranner Platz
- 2 Kagranner Idylle
- 3 Neighborhood
- 4 Johanna Dahl Haus



- 5 Rudolf-Köppel-Hof
- 6 new neighborhood



SPACES, PLACES AND STORIES

MEMORIES FROM KABELWERK

Paul Achatz, Giulia Strippoli

Entering the area from the North, coming from the train station Meidling, it was quite interesting that there was a shift in noise intensity from the loud streets surrounding the area to the quite and car-free living streets inside the Kabelwerk. There weren't a lot of people in the public space at all. Just some children with their parents. Most of the public spaces are in majority paved or asphalted and the green spaces just seem to be some left-overs from the overall planning. Some smaller trees were planted in the squares, but they can't really grow in connection to missing natural daylight. Overall there is a high density visible in the area. The human scale and ratio is generally quite strange, if you compare the height of the buildings with the total area of space for walking. At the very beginning we had lots of information and we didn't

know how to manage all these topics, so we really needed to have information and conversations with people who live there. We were lucky to meet open people, working in the Geriatriezentrum especially the guy who worked there gave us a lot of information, letting us go into the topic and not presenting us like "strangers" to the people who are in the building.

After that meeting our work changed, having the possibility to really understand the life inside and also after meeting old ladies we were able to arrive at the mapping method of "pop-up". They gave us the input to work on by the way they were talking and referring to the space. The public is represented flat like just a background, as in the reality we had this feeling talking with people who live there.



How to read the map

We divided the map into two sections of collages. The left side is connected to the outside areas, the right side to the inner parts of the Geriatriezentrum Meidling. This orientation is also connected to our main finding and continuing research question, about whether the inner common shared spaces of a senior residence are a reflection or a resemblance of the outside spaces.

About the Map

The "Geriatiezentrum Meidling" is a melting pot of memories, places, spaces and stories. The different shapes of community spaces inside the building are like a reflection of the outside public spaces. By using the method of a pop-up-map in a postcard-style we wanted to emphasize on this architectural/planning mirror between the Kabelewerk-area and the Geriatiezentrum itself. The experimental style of the map derives from the idea of memories popping up in strange ways.

About the Ladies

Karoline and Elisabeth wanted to go together. They are living in this facility since 15 years now and are best friends, even that they never knew each other before. One is more strict than the other one, but are very funny, lively and make jokes all the time. Karoline is from the 6th and Elisabeth is from the 22nd district. Karoline was a dressmaker, Elisabeth an office businesswoman. We also wanted to take them out of the facility for a walk, but they refused.



But I don't want to sit down there!

There are some seatings over there. They are always quite empty. We could sit there? Oh no, lets continue, it's getting late.

Now we go to the other station, where we have something like a buffet. It's really nice I like it!

Oh no! It seems to be closed today. What a pity. Maybe we should return here later.

These pictures of famous old actors are beautiful. Far more beautiful than these strange landscape pictures from the stairway.

The roof garden is very beautiful arranged! But you have to go upstairs.

This here is (TV room) is the place where the people usually meet and come together.

The balconies are very beautiful here and offer a lot of space. We sometimes meet here and sit together observing the surroundings.

The majority are single-bedrooms here. Look here's a picture from us celebrating my birthday!

The only places we go to when we are outside is the nearby **cemetery**, or the **park** with the playground for the children.

We are always looked after here somehow, but it's ok! It's not bad here, so we aren't going out that often.

We are going to work, as so we aren't bored the whole day.

I always do a bit of exercise in the house. This is where I meet other people.



SLIM CITY

DESCONSTRUCTED

Giulia Manfrin, Theresa König

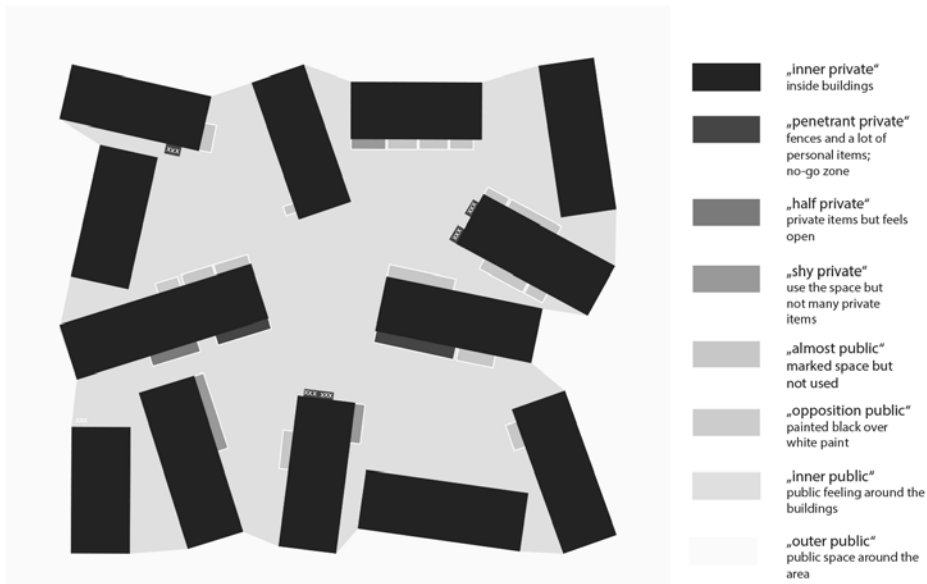
Ideally Slim City has been designed as a permeable structure, in fact there are several accesses from different sides instead of a main one. Even though it is based on the concept of porosity, due to the huge towers, the borders are clearly visible. This is the reason why, while walking around the complex you can just glimpse what is happening inside, and you are either stimulated to go through or being intimidated from the proportions.

Arriving at Slim City, the first impressions have been a bit confusing and sceptical about the design of the public space and the arrangement of the buildings. Especially the drawn lines on the concrete took our attention because they seemed to mark the "private space" of the homes on the ground floor. In the case of Slim City it was difficult to recognize the different functions of the marked spaces at first, also because there was no distinction between the material or

height. Although the usages of the marked space for the terraces were extremely different. Some inhabitants put a fence on top of the lines to mark their space and others just put chairs outside. What was interesting, is that almost all of them just "left" their private items out there, accessible for everyone. Still there were also inhabitants who didn't put anything in their marked terrace.

Main points of research

1. the architect's intention of using the form of white lines on the ground
2. the physical appearance of the site, matching the plan with the pictures we took
3. our interpretation of the shades between public and private space
4. the different types of users that we identified in the common area of the complex; (through observing and talking to people)



SLIM CITY deconstructed

public

private



spatial interactions



spatial outcome



"Thirteen slender towers of different heights form a unique and independent quarter on the construction site – a City in the city, as it were. Open urban space lavishly spread between the buildings is something that is more common in cities that have grown over time; a series of different plazas and constrictions – similar, yet varied, public, yet also used privately – which people can just walk through or use in many different ways."

- the architect

spatial intention

Architect's intention:

- Permeable structure from all sides
porosity, but border clearly visible
- Marks on the ground
should help to distinguish private terraces and public space
- Playground for children and recreation areas for adults
should encourage communication between different social groups
- Tarmacked ground:
should demonstrate urbanity
- Accessibility through decentralized entrances
ground floor, elevated passages, elevators and stairs
- Mixed usages in the ground floor
community space, shops and apartments

MAPPING POPUP DORMS IN SEESTADT

Bernadette Dannerer, Laura Sánchez Fernández

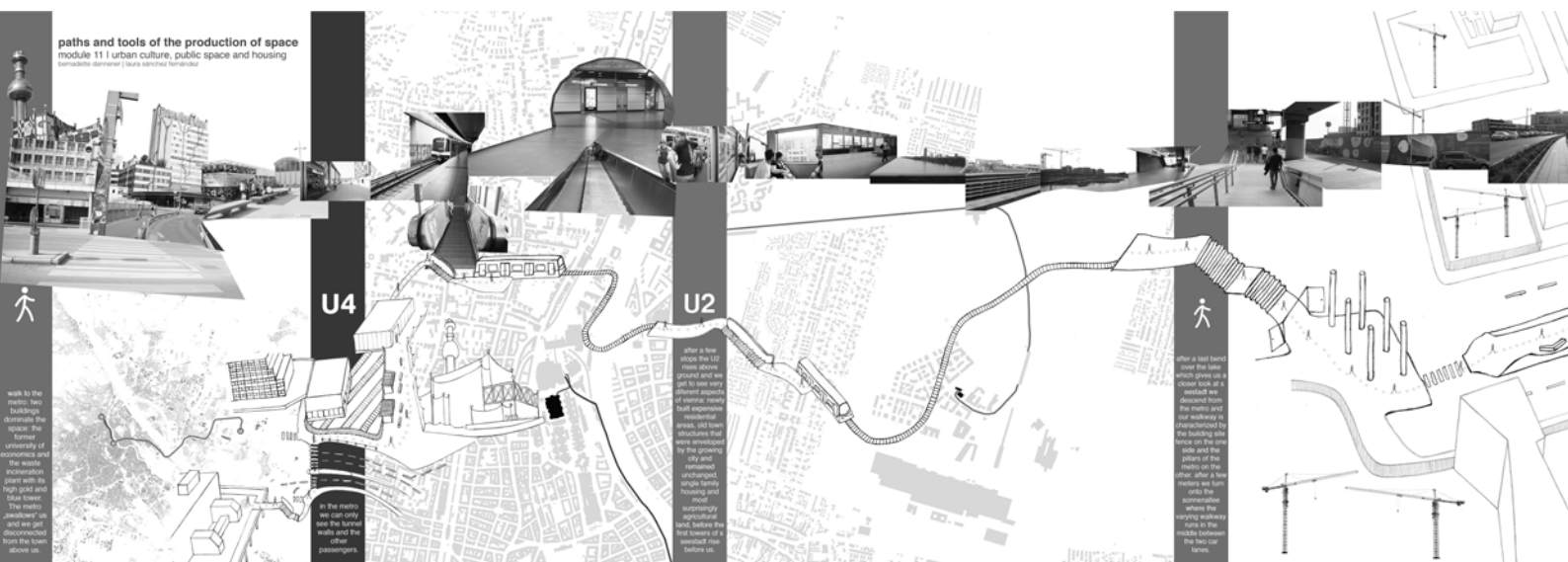
Our map of the popup dorms and their surroundings in Seestadt Aspern has two main focus points: the first are our impressions on the way from the university building in Spittelau to the site; the second one is the way the students living in the popup dorms use the public and semi-public spaces both in the dorm and the near surroundings.

When analyzing the site we found that the semi-public areas for the project are the atrium in one of the buildings and the lawn between the two buildings, where two pieces of wooden furniture can be found. The so called "garden" did not seem welcoming to us at all and did not show any signs of usage, maybe because it was march and still rather cold but we also attributed it to the noise from the construction site right next to it. When returning later in april and may we could see first signs of usage and when talking to a student who had been living at the dorm for about two years we found out, that they sometimes in the summer get together to grill there. In general the students do not really use the public spaces in Seestadt but

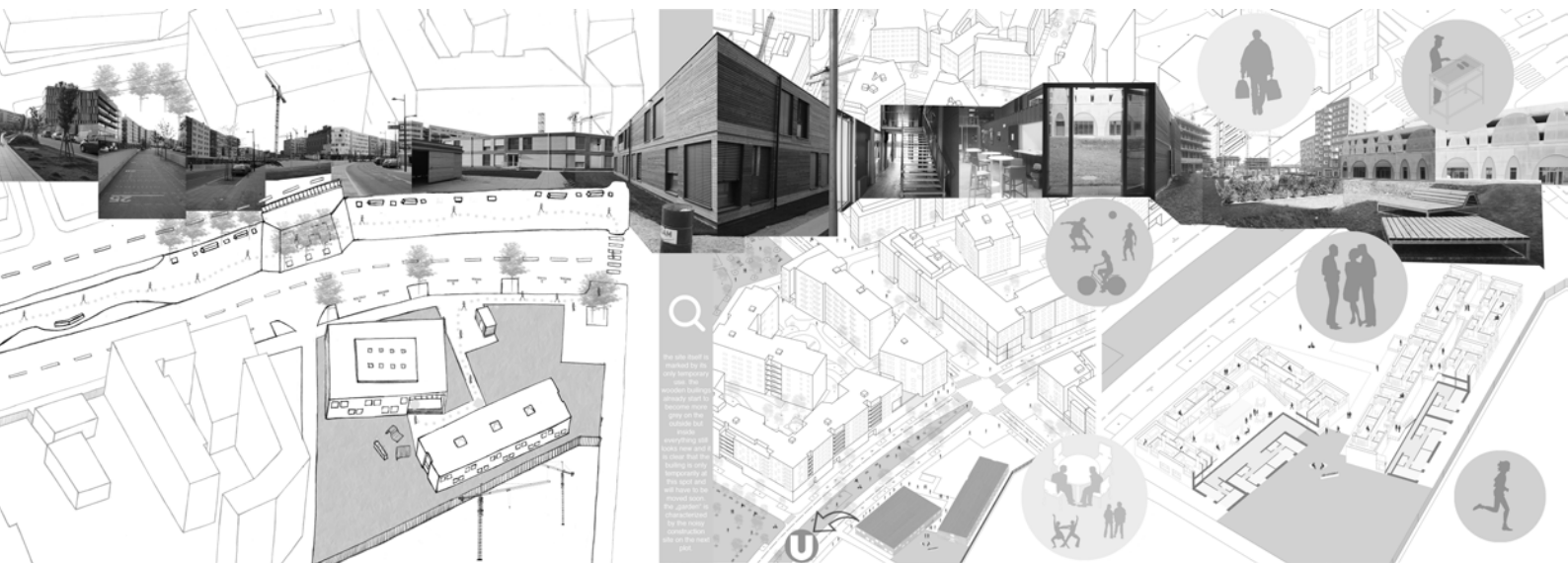
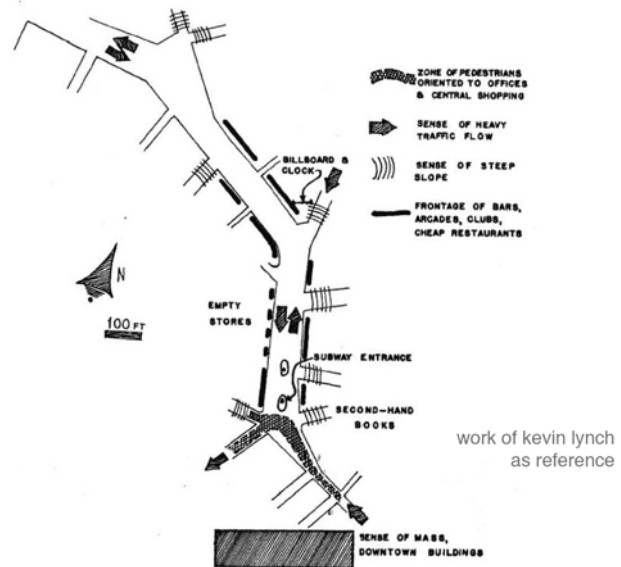
rather take the metro to the core of Vienna to meet with their friends and do other activities.

For them the vision of Seestadt as a center within the city where all the aspects of the inhabitants' daily life can be met has not yet become reality. For most of them their daily lives take place in the city center with a focus on the respective university sites as well as public spaces where they can meet friends that live in different parts of the city. This is why in the map the different activities in Seestadt are rather light while the path to the metro station became very prominent, as a way of representing their everyday lives where the city center can be seen as a kind of magnet pulling them in.

A problem that arose while creating the map was the question of scale, especially when putting the uses and activities of the students into the larger context of the urban structure of seestadt. On the one hand depicting the details of the urban "furnishing" while at the same time keeping the spatial relationships understandable was challenging but finally solvable.



Our very first draft of the map, created during the first intensive teaching block in the month of march, depicted a more basic version of our path through the city to the seestadt. Influenced by post-positivist analytical methods such as the "science of strolling" put forward by Lucius Burkhardt as well as the idea of a go-along as formulated by Margarethe Kusenbach and the influence of "the image of the city" of Kevin Lynch, we wanted to compare our experience of travelling to and strolling around seestadt to those of the students living there.

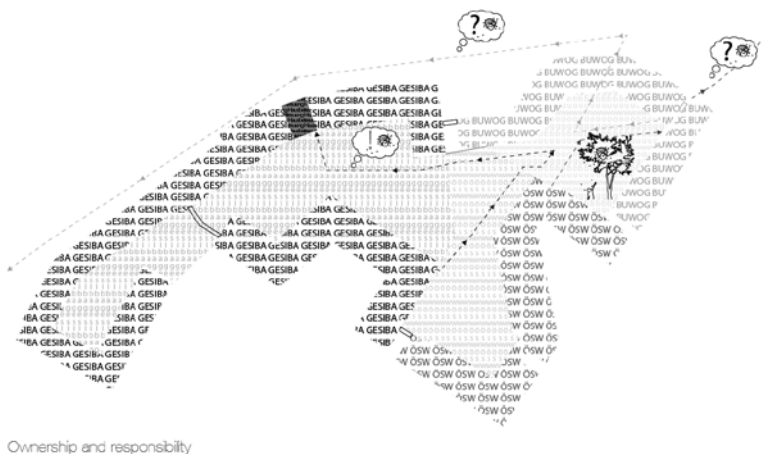
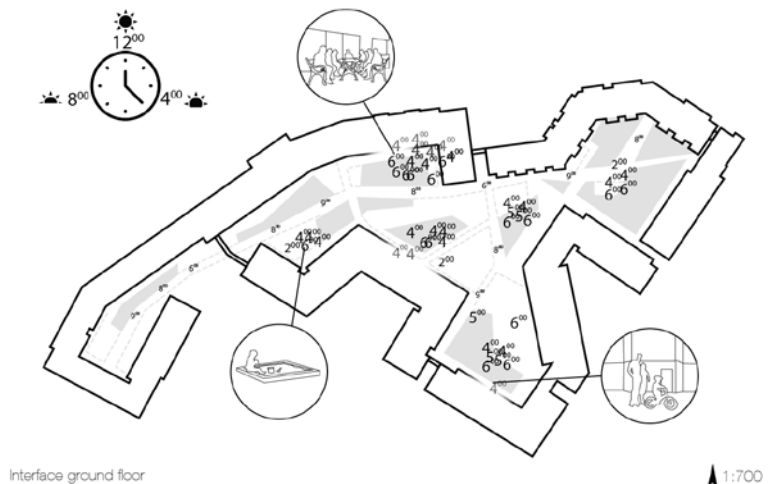


HOW COMMON IS THE COMMON SPACE?

Pedram Dersch, Naomi Dutzi

When going into the process of mapping we knew that we wanted to focus on the common rooms and on the community. We drew „artsy“ maps that try to tell stories that the caretaker told us and we tried to give a clue about the different developers. A second map focused especially on the interface of public and private space in the ground floor. We showed the different usage during the daytimes, focusing on locations, where people are shifting the interface.

Our research question concerns the real use of those spaces and what „common“ means for each of them. The essence of this questions remained until the end, but it changed a little. So we focused on questions like: How does the access system work? What rooms are used more than others and why? (Spatial factors, utility, access,...) Who uses the spaces more than others and why? (does anyone dominate the room and therefore restricts the sense of „common“ for others?)



HOW COMMON IS THE COMMON SPACE?

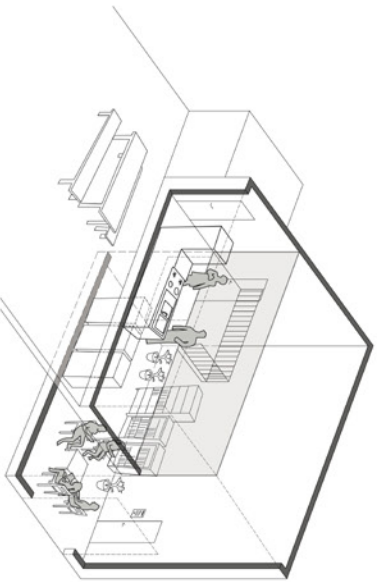


OASE 22 is a housing complex of three different developers that offers a diverse array of common rooms. We focused on the GESIDA building, which included a two-year long community building process for its residents.

We were interested in the factors that influence the usage diversity of the community spaces. Our research methods included interviews, tours with residents and study visits.

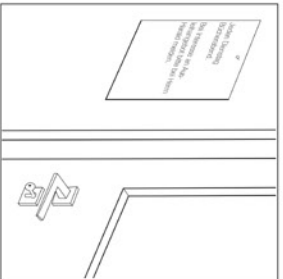
This map is showing concrete examples of the general findings we made:

- The spatial quality of a common room makes a great difference if and how it is used.
- Later applied rules and regulations can destroy the usability of a space.
- Access barriers influence the user diversity.



3 LIBRARY

- FREQUENCY
- ACCESS
- USER DIVERSITY
- USABILITY

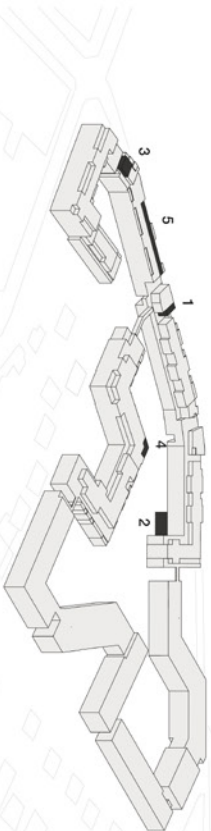
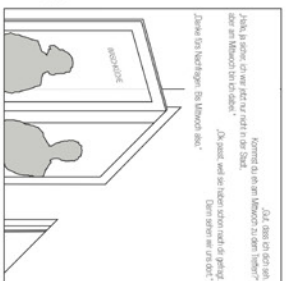
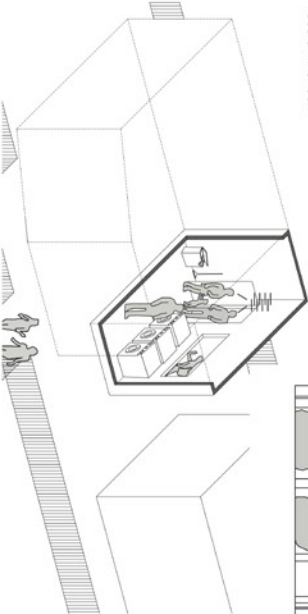


Only one person has the key to access the library that was installed as a resident's initiative. The room was first provided without an anticipated purpose. It is connected to the summer kitchen through an indoor balcony.

1 LAUNDRY ROOM

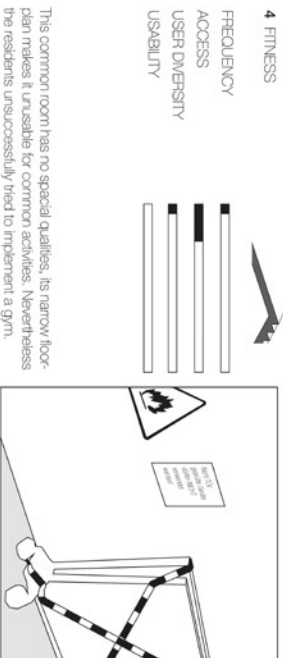
- FREQUENCY
- ACCESS
- USER DIVERSITY
- USABILITY

All laundry rooms have daylighting and most of them are located on the top floor with access to the common spaces on the roof.



4 FITNESS

- FREQUENCY
- ACCESS
- USER DIVERSITY
- USABILITY

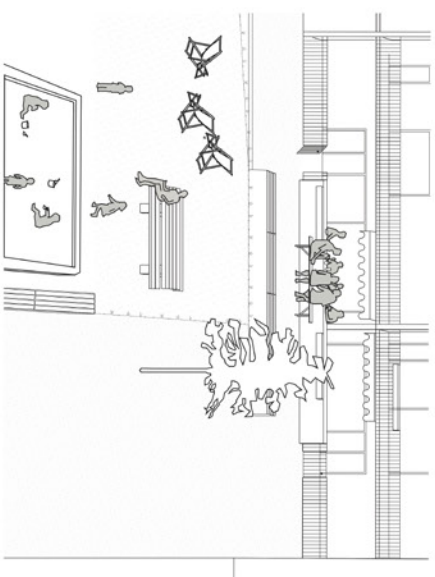
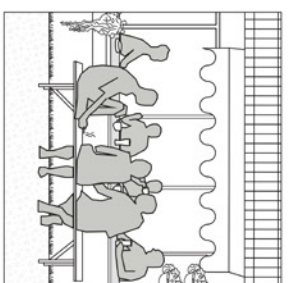


This common room has no special qualities. Its narrow floor plan makes it unusable for common activities. Nevertheless the residents unsuccessfully tried to implement a gym.

2 COURTYARD

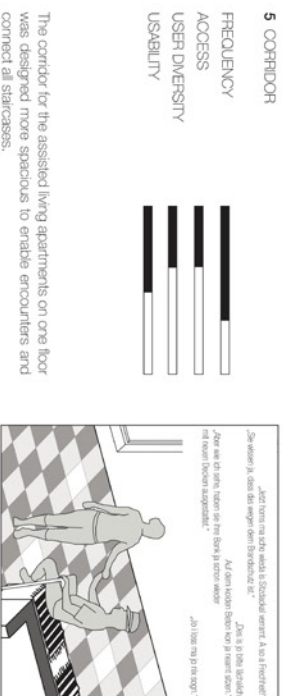
- FREQUENCY
- ACCESS
- USER DIVERSITY
- USABILITY

On sunny days the barriers that divide the private terraces and the public space are used as connecting elements.

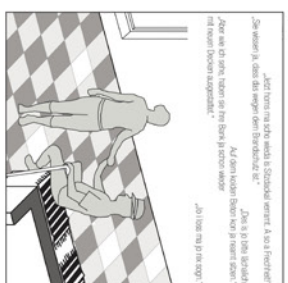


5 CORRIDOR

- FREQUENCY
- ACCESS
- USER DIVERSITY
- USABILITY



The corridor for the assisted living apartments on one floor was designed more spacious to enable encounters and connect all staircases.



PROJECT: PARK SIDE

Tamara Bajic, Aleksandra Kjjajic

After we came to the address, we realized that the building is the part of the building's project within one fenced yard. On the first look, we didn't think that we are going to have difficulties to get inside, but after the short observation, we realized that all the gates around the buildings are locked down. We started to be very judgmental, trying to understand reasons behind.

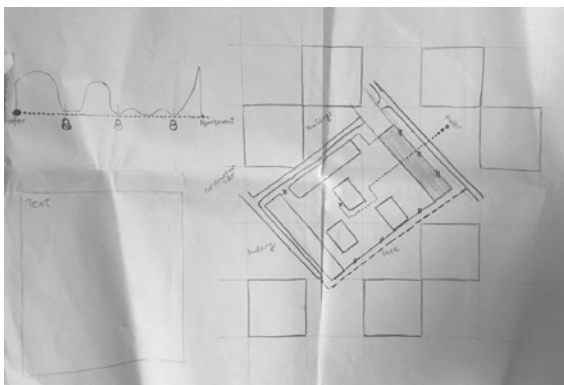
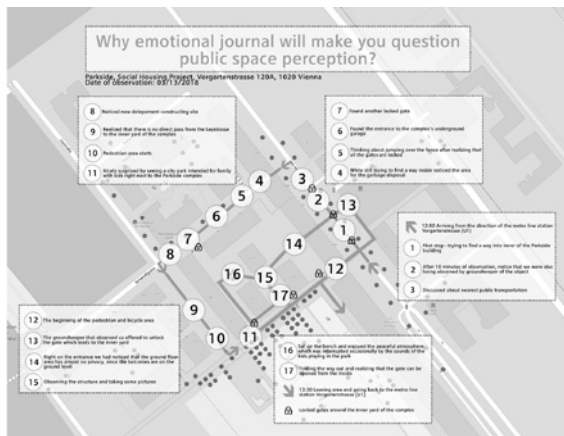
After some observation time, the groundskeeper of the building saw that we want to get in and unlocked one of the gates. We started exploring, taking pictures and making some conclusions.

Although, the building complex is located right next to the big public park and it is well connected with public traffic services, we couldn't avoid the feeling of being closed within those locked gates. We also have noticed that the buildings are having some kind of grid form and that the balconies are

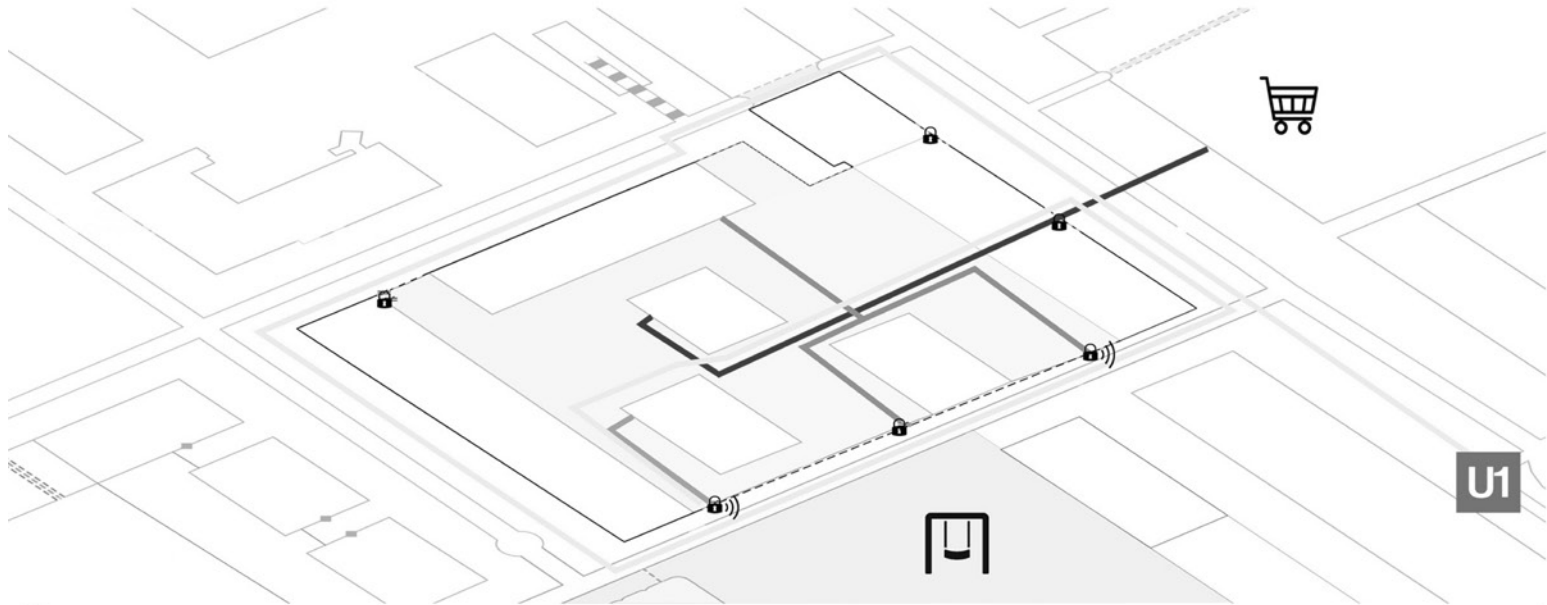
completely on the ground floor, having almost no privacy.

We made an 'observation plan'. The idea behind it was to observe the residents during the different days and time of the days in order to understand to what extent their everyday activities are difficult because of the barrier that is caused by locked gates of inner yard.

After long observation, we took some of the resident's situations that we witnessed and told their stories. Fictional names, but real stories are presented in one lane/path on the map, trying to present the influence of the locked gates and how it affects different groups of people. We have also put our personal story to express our own emotions through the path. At the end, we made a qualitative scale trying to categorize feelings in order to visualize the emotions.



project: park side



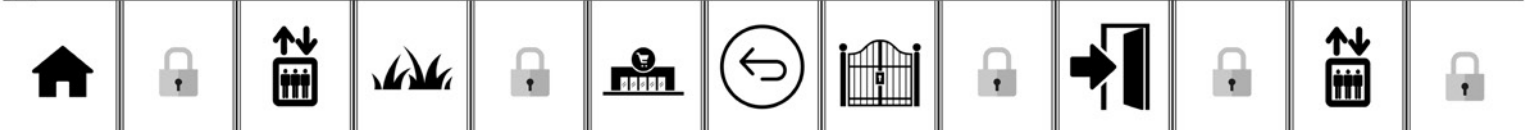
Marco's Journey

Marco is coming from work, leaving his things and going to the supermarket.	Locking down the apartment and heading to the elevator.	Going into the elevator and arriving at the ground floor.	Going outside the building through the inner yard.	Unlocking the door of the inner yard.	Crossing the street and entering the supermarket.	After the shopping heading back to apartment.	Crossing the street again and coming to the gate of the inner yard.	Unlocking the gate of the inner yard and going through the corridor.	Going through the inner yard and coming to the building entrance.	Unlocking the door of the building's entrance.	Going into the elevator and arriving in the apartment.	Unlocking the door of the apartment.
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Marco's Storyboard



Marco's Storyboard



Tamara's and Aleksandra's Journey

After finding the location, searching the way to get inside the inner yard.	Thinking about jumping over the fence after realizing that all the gates around the inner yard are locked down.	Finding the entrance of the complex's underground garage and more locked gates.	Noticing new development site right next to the building's complex.	Walking around the closed inner yard and seeing the big park right next to the buildings.	The groundkeeper of the buildings realized that we want to get inside and he unlocked one of the gates.	Observing the structure and taking some pictures.	Noticing that the ground floor area has almost no privacy, since the balconies are on the ground level.	Sitting on the bench and realizing that the playground situated in the inner yard is barely used.	Finding the way out and seeing that the gates can be opened from the inside by clicking the buzzer.	Leaving the area and going back to the metro station U1, situated nearby.		
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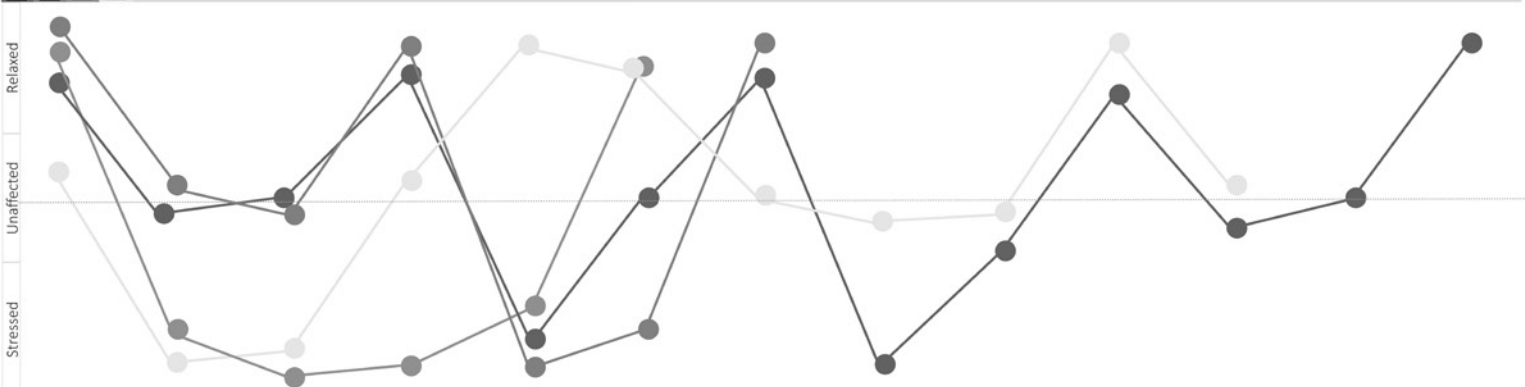
Michael's Journey

Michael is coming from school, leaving his backpack and heading to the park next to the building.	Going outside the apartment and heading to elevator.	Going into the elevator and arriving at the ground floor.	Going outside the building through the inner yard.	Coming to the door of the inner yard and realizing that he did not take the keys.	Going to the next gate that can be opened from the inside.	Clicking the buzzer and heading to the park.						
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Anna's Journey

Anna's son is having the birthday party. She invited the kids from the kindergarten with their parents.	The first guests are coming and her phone won't stop ringing.	The ones that are coming for the first time don't know how to get inside because all doors around the building are locked down.	She tries to explain them how to find 2 of 6 gates that can be opened from the outside.	After one of the guests found the gate, she couldn't find the buzzer, so Anna goes outside and opens the inner yard's gate.	Finally, they are coming to the building's entrance, unlocking the door and getting inside.							
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Marco/Michael/Anna/Tamara&Aleksandra EMOTIONAL JOURNEY



CREATIVE WRITING EXERCISE

A POEM ON DOING MY PHD

Andrea Stickler

When I started my PhD last year,
I felt much curiosity but also fear,
Am I intelligent enough?
Presentations at conferences, writing papers and all that stuff.
Can I grow into the academic sphere?
Being more a mountaineer than an intellectual pioneer.

But I think doing a PhD is a very big chance,
Especially if you have adequate finance.
And how exciting, that people from different places,
Are often interested in the same cases.
Working together and having a common dream,
This is the strength of the academe.

And all the people you get to know,
And challenges and experiences will make you grow.
Still you might be struggling with the writing process,
And my paper seems like a glorious mess.
But even though my work will not reinvent,
hopefully in the end, I can point out an important argument.

Xenia Kopf

corridor work
training to leave
training to return

so; read; say; what;
reattach
machine work
white corridor, grey corridor
blind window
detach, say hello, can't hear

training in words
form; what; slips and tangles; can you;
say; say what;

and in that;
corridor
capsule

POETRY BASED ON LIFE SITUATION OF A PHD CANDIDATE

Kamile Batur

It is my generic chaos
Producing some knowledge
By moving between places
And moving between ideas
All is the same
Hectic struggle

Picking some ideas from there
Rewriting it here
I am an epistemic mixer
Generating ideas
Out of chaos

All in all, I am,
Each time,
Generating myself anew

SKYSCRAPERS WRECK CITIES – YET STILL BRITAIN BUILDS THEM

Anonymous

I totally agree with Simon Jenkins. In his article "Skyscrapers wreck cities – yet still Britain builds them", published on Tuesday 29th of May 2018 on the website of the Guardian (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/may/29/skyscrapers-wrecks-cities-luxury-towers-ugly-greed>), he points out his love-hate relationship to high building towers and skyscraper skylines as they are planned and built in recent days. As outstanding miracles of technology and symbols of power and influence, as the towers of Siena, San Gimignano or the skylines of Manhattan and Dubai, they are aesthetic urban sculpsures. But in the randomness as high rise buildings are planned and build in a "wild west" planning style in London nowadays, they

are not only a symbol for weak and unambitious planning culture. The more: High rise buildings can become a threat to an urban life style as they hardly offer apartments and if, in price categories that are far away to meet the actual housing need.

"High-density, low-rise" urban renewal is not a new recipe, but a recipe that is proven to work out in a well way. In times when in London 510 high-rise buildings are in the development pipeline, but are not even shown in a plan and planning policy is more dedicated to foreign investment cash, there is a huge need for "real" smart planning as well as politicians and planners, who have the courage to reconquer it.

Predrag Milić

there is a forest
a forest so dense that there is no other side
yet
there is a path that goes through the forest
a tiny path that can host only the tiny steps of yours
it is there
waiting for you

so, approach the forest
step in onto the path of yours
the self-revealing pavement of your experience
look in front of your feet
touch the trees around you
find your own way

if you get tired
stop
make a break
take a look
choose the side that makes you feel good
and continue

step after step
tree after tree
break after break

eventually
there is no forest anymore

David Calas

Once you go digital,
Forget you intimal,
Nobody will protect you from juridical,
Listen up it's not fictional,
So be little bit afraid of the digital transitional,
But please, remain calm - we still remain aboriginal.

COMMENTARY

Emilia M. Bruck

"Welcome to cycle heaven: why we moved our family to the Netherlands", The Guardian, May 16th 2018

The issue of fostering active travel, such as walking and cycling, has become a common topic across large and medium sized cities, both in Europe and internationally. Focusing on traditional mobility forms, its relevance is mainly considered with regards to environmental sustainability, public health and quality of life. In the wake of ubiquitous connectivity and digital mobility, however, the prospective discourse needs to also acknowledge the increasing presence of digital devices in public spaces in order to consider technologically dependant mobility styles holistically.

Global cities such as London and New York, Oslo or Groningen successively follow the lead of Amsterdam and Copenhagen in expanding their bicycle infrastructures and investments in cyclist sensitive urban design solutions. The subject has entered the arena of political interests as cities compete for their polished images as sustainable and livable urban hubs. What the Guardian article aptly illustrates, however, is not only the long

tradition of integrated urban planning in the Netherlands - Houten was planned as a suburb of Utrecht in the late 1960s - but the social value of and people's desire for entirely car free environments. The mobile independence described is an urban quality, which is increasingly threatened not merely by car oriented urban development, but by modern - digital - technology as a whole. In considering the current exhibition at the Deutsches Architekturmuseum titled Fahr Rad, calling upon citizens and urbanists to reclaim the city through cycling, I wonder about how much good design can do, if citizens' mentality and self-image does not adapt in step with the intended mobility transition. I would even go further and suggest that while the current attention on active urban mobility incrementally alleviates parts of last century's urban pitfalls, the ongoing technological push to be connected causes urban qualities to simultaneously diverge. Virtual maps increasingly navigate our urban experience, while swiping and the web-scape's vast distances alienate our social interactions and connections. Thus, what we crave for in car free environments - technological independence and bodily freedom - is the flip side of our longing for continuous connectivity and ubiquitous digital mobility.

