

# JANE JACOBS IS STILL HERE

**Jane Jacobs 100**  
**Her legacy and relevance**  
**in the 21st Century**

**24 and 25 May 2016**  
**Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment**  
**TU Delft, The Netherlands**

**edited by Roberto Rocco**



## **Jane Jacobs is still here**

### **Proceedings of the Conference Jane Jacobs 100: her legacy and relevance in the 21st century**

Conference organised by  
Roberto Rocco (TU Delft)  
Brian Doucet (University of Waterloo) and  
Andre Ouwehand (TU Delft)

Editor: Roberto Rocco

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# Introduction

## Jane Jacobs 100

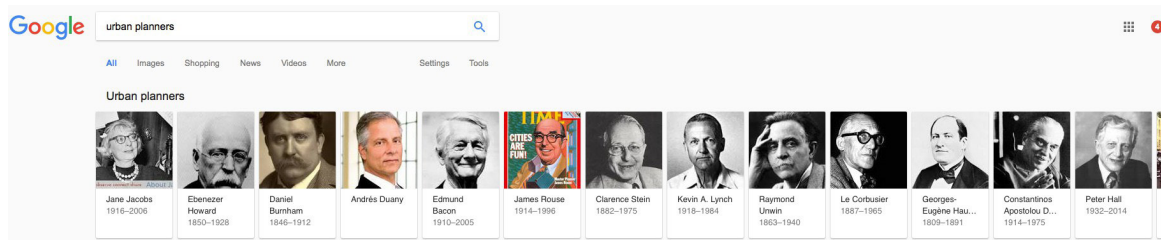
### A celebration of the life and legacy of Jane Jacobs and a look forward

On the occasion of Jane Jacobs' 100 anniversary, the chair of Spatial Planning and Strategy of the Delft University of Technology, together with the OTB Research Institute for the Built Environment and the Rotterdam Erasmus University College organised a two-day conference on Jane Jacob's legacy at TU Delft on 24-25 May 2016. This event was complemented one year later by a 'Jane Jacobs Year' closing event.

We wished to celebrate the life and accomplishments of one of the most important urban thinkers of our time, someone who has influenced generations of designers and planners and others concerned with the built environment: the great Jane Jacobs.

Jacobs' theories and ideas are seminal to many different academic fields: urban design, planning, architecture, sociology, human geography, environmental psychology, economic geography and many more. Her writings have been influential for more than five decades. This alone tells us of her importance for urban studies and for understanding the complex relationship between urban space and society.

This is reflected, among other things, in the immense popularity of Jane's ideas among young planners and designers. A simple Google search of the term "urban planner" yields the following results:



A line-up of male planners is headed by a woman, the most relevant of them all (at least according to Google's algorithms), Jane Jacobs! This is ironic, since Jane Jacobs would hardly see herself as a planner.

Maybe, like Roberta Gratz (who was a friend of Jacobs'), she was an 'anti-planner', someone with a keen eye for careful empirical observation, for whom cities ought to be understood from the careful exploration of how the built environment influences and is influenced by human life. Jacobs was an astute observer of the life of cities and the processes that produce both cities and citizenship.

In their contributions, the authors of the texts included in this book demonstrate how Jacobs is still relevant as a theorist in the realms of politics, economics and design, and how she can also help us understand how urban form yields meaning. But they also criticise and review her ideas in light of the experiences accumulated in more than 50 years since her main works were published, and the perspectives of places that have little similarity to New York or Toronto. This is relevant, because indeed Jane Jacobs' ideas are being reviewed reinterpreted and reinvented, and occasionally refuted, in contexts as diverse as Cairo, São Paulo or Addis Ababa. And it's high time this happens.

The conference aimed to explore those new insights on Jacobs' legacy and to take her ideas forward in the context of globalisation, internationalisation and accelerated urbanisation in places like China, India and Brazil. The intensity and scale of current urbanization is unprecedented and new challenges have emerged since she published her texts. How are the ideas of Jane Jacobs still relevant for the understanding of the interplay between urban space and society? Or do we need new theories? To what extent have Jacobs' ideas inspired today's urban leaders and thinkers? How are they tackling urban issues such as growing inequality, spatial fragmentation, street life, safety in the public space and environmental decline?

We discussed Jacobs' ideas critically and to take stock of how those ideas have been used, misused and hopefully updated. We invited abstract submissions for six different tracks, exploring essential aspects of Jacobs' ideas:

Track 1: Jane Jacobs, ethics, and the just city

Track 2: Jane Jacobs and Street Spaces – Streets as public places

Track 3: Jane Jacobs and the dynamics of neighbourhoods

Track 4: Jane Jacobs and the Reshaping old urban fabrics in Chinese cities

Track 5: Jane Jacobs and organised complexity

Track 6: Jane Jacobs and safety in public space

The conference was organised by Roberto Rocco (TU Delft Urbanism), Brian Doucet (University of Waterloo, Canada, then Erasmus University College in Rotterdam) and Andre Ouwehand (TU Delft OTB)

For more information, please visit the website <https://janejacobs100.co>



# Track leaders

## Track 1: Jane Jacobs, ethics, and the just city

**Dr. Claudia Basta is senior Assistant Professor at Wageningen University.**



Claudia Basta is co-chair of the Thematic Group ‘Ethics, Values and Planning’ of the European Association of Schools of Planning (AESOP) and member of the Human Development and Capabilities Association (HDCA) of Nobel Prize laureate Amartya Sen. Her main interests gravitate around planning theory in relation to the themes of social (in)equality, social justice, and the relation between urban spaces and human capabilities. She is the Editor of *Ethics, Design and Planning of the Built Environment* (with Moroni S., 2013, Springer) and of numerous contributions on the ethics of

spatial planning.

**Dr. Thomas Hartmann is Assistant Professor at Utrecht University.**



Dr. Thomas Hartmann is assistant professor at the Dept. Human Geography and Spatial Planning of Utrecht University. One of his focal areas is planning theory, with a specialisation in aspects of justice and ethics in the city. Thomas Hartmann is also affiliated with the Czech Jan Evangelista Purkyně University (UJEP) in Usti nad Labem, and he was in 2015/2016 guest professor at the University of Vienna, Department of Geography and Regional Research, where he taught on “Justice in the City”.

**Dr. Roberto Rocco is Senior Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft.**



Roberto Rocco is an Assistant Professor at the Section of Spatial Planning and Strategy of the Faculty of Architecture of the Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands. His main fields of research are governance, social sustainability and spatial justice in urban development. Using those concepts as frameworks, he has conducted research in informal urbanization processes in the developing world and in regional planning and design. Rocco is currently editing the “Routledge Handbook on Informal Urbanisation”, in which more than 30 cases around the world are analyzed by different authors, seeking to understand how informal urbanization influences access to citizenship and the right to the city. He holds a Master in Urban Planning by the University of São Paulo and a Doctorate in regional planning by the TU Delft. More information at <http://robertorocco.com>

## Track 2: Jane Jacobs and Street Spaces – Streets as public places

**Dr. Agustina Martire is lecturer in Architecture at Queen’s University Belfast (QUB).**



Agustina has studied architecture at the Universidad de Buenos Aires. She is specialised in urban history and theory. She received her PhD at TU Delft on the history of Urban Leisure Waterfronts and has worked as a post-doctoral researcher in UCD Dublin. She is currently leading an international project on the analysis of streets as public spaces, from a multidisciplinary perspective, which sheds light on the way urban spaces are used and represented. She runs a design studio unit in MArch focused on street analysis and run the fifth year humanities dissertation and third year history and theory module.

## Track 3: Jane Jacobs and the dynamics of neighbourhoods

**André Ouwehand is senior researcher at OTB – Research for the built environment, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands.**



His main fields of interest are neighborhood change and housing. He has conducted research on the interface of social and physical processes in neighborhoods, branding and lifestyle profiling, urban renewal policies, housing governance and housing allocation. He was editor of two books on research in urban renewal and

published a book about Dutch housing associations.

He is presently also completing his PhD at TU Delft. Formerly he was manager of housing policy for the city of Rotterdam (1990-1998) and worked before that time as an adviser for neighbourhood organisations and tenants associations, as well in the city of Rotterdam as on the national level.

**Brian Doucet is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Social and Behavioural Sciences at Erasmus University College in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.**



Originally from Toronto, Doucet has lived in Holland since 2004. His work critically examines today’s urban renaissance and questions the celebration of the contemporary cities by asking: who profits from this remaking of the city? He has written extensively on gentrification, waterfront regeneration and urban re-development.

His approach is to focus on engaged research, relevant to academic, political and societal debates. More information at [www.briandoucet.com](http://www.briandoucet.com).

## Track 4: Jane Jacobs and the Reshaping old urban fabrics in Chinese cities

**Dr. Lei Qu is an Assistant Professor at the Section of Spatial Planning and Strategy of the Department of Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft.**



Dr. Lei Qu is a full-time Assistant Professor at Delft University of Technology. She works at the Chair of Spatial Planning and Strategy in the Department of Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment. She studied Architectural Design at Tsinghua University in China from 1994 to 1999 for her Bachelor's degree, and obtained Master's and Doctoral degrees in Urban Planning and Design at the same University in 2004. Her research interests vary from Housing and Liveability to Urban Transformation and Strategic Development Strategies, with special interests in comparative studies between European and Chinese cities.

## Track 5: Jane Jacobs and organised complexity



**Dr. Stephen Read is Associate Professor at the Section of Spatial Planning and Strategy of the Department of Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft.**

Stephen's specialisms are Urban spatial form, movement and process, social-spatial form and transformation, urban spatial evolution, urban spatial modeling and design. Interests: Process philosophy, philosophy of physics, complexity science, biological morphogenesis, network theory, perception/cognition, anthropological place, dynamical systems, urban ecology, space and time geography.

**Xiaofan Deng is an urban planner and architect active in the Netherlands and China and a PhD candidate at the department of Urbanism at TU Delft.**



She is the project director of urban design firm ROAM in Rotterdam, and is also an external PHD candidate at the department of Urbanism at TU Delft. She received an architecture degree in Beijing Jiaotong University and later went to the Netherlands to pursue her master degree in Urbanism at TU Delft. Before joining ROAM, she worked as urban planner in KCAP Architects and Planners on various scales of urban projects across the world. Xiaofan combined her practical experience with academic interests for her PhD study. Her research focuses on the planning process and tools for urban regeneration, and their impacts on city's development at various scales, especially at the local scale.

## Track 6: Jane Jacobs and safety in public space

**Muhammed Ziya Paköz is a researcher in the department of urban and regional planning at Abdullah Gül University, Turkey.**



His research interests focus on accessibility, location, local and regional development, urban transport, mobility and acculturation. He received his PhD degree in urban and regional planning from Istanbul Technical University. He worked as an urban planner at the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (2007-2009), as a research assistant at Erciyes University (2009-2011) and Istanbul Technical University (2011-2015). He is currently working on local development plans of different cities in

Turkey.

**Ahmet Gün is a research assistant at Department of Architecture of the Faculty of Architecture at the Istanbul Technical University.**



Gün is also Phd Student at Architectural Design Department. He defended my MSc thesis in 2014 on benefitting of unused industrial plants. My current research interest vary from architectural theory, participation in architectural design, resistance & architectural relations, space and safety, urban transformation

**Ahmet BAŞ is full-time research assistant at the Urban and Regional Planning Department of the Faculty of Architecture at the Istanbul Technical University.**



BAS defended his MSc thesis in 2012, on the Turkish RDAs performance, in ITU. His current research interests range from urban transportation, planning theory, transportation modeling systems, urban history, urban centrality, and urban renovation. He teaches spatial modelling and research methods. He is a PhD candidate at the Istanbul Technical University, studying high speed railway systems and their effects on cities.

# Tracks description

## TRACK 1: Jane Jacobs, ethics, and the just city

### Organisers:

**Claudia Basta, Faculty of Environmental Sciences, Wageningen University**

**Thomas Hartmann, Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University**

**Roberto Rocco, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology**

How does a ‘just’ city look like, and what would be the right way to plan it, when considering the many competing ideas on what justice is? Jane Jacobs had very clear ideas



regarding these distinct questions: her profound belief was that what a rational-comprehensive approach to urban planning tends to envision as the ‘right’ plan, endangers the ability of the informal dynamics among social fabrics and urban spaces to generate the beauty, and value, that planners ought to enhance and preserve.

Ever since, ideas of the just city have been promoted in literature. However, a multiplicity of conceptions of justice continues to inhabit

the city as much as the scholarly community that gravitates around it. An idea of ‘just city’ implies endorsing explicit evaluative criteria; for example, the equal accessibility to urban resources, or the equality of ‘human functionings’ achievable in and through those resources (Basta, 2015). Cities, though, are wicked, polyrational (Davy 2008) and clumsy (Hartmann 2012) realities in which the interaction between people and spaces generates sentiments, and meanings, which escape the rational evaluation of the ‘justness’, or ‘goodness’, of spatial interventions.

Jane Jacob’s underlying idea of the just city was of urban spaces ‘owned’, symbolical-ly but also materially, by the people who contribute to co-create them. This idea seems to coincide with Lefebvre’s idea on the “right to the city”, that is, everybody’s right to ‘appropriate’ urban space and to participate in its transformation (Purcell, 2002), but also with liberal views on cities as places wherein the private and the public spheres co-exist up

to form an indivisible unit (Moroni and Chiodelli, 2014).

Despite their evident differences, what all these ideas have in common is being informed by underlying, albeit distinct, conceptions of justice and equality; for example, a libertarian, utilitarian, liberal or materialistic conception. How can these ideas co-exist with Jacobs's legacy? What has changed, or on the contrary remained intact, after Jacobs's seminal reflection on cities, citizens, and justice?

These questions are central not only for architecture and urban geography, but also for urban planning. In this session, we invite contributions that explore the tensions between different conceptions of the just city which may challenge, or revive further, Jacob's inspirational legacy.

#### References:

Basta, C. (2015) From justice in planning toward planning for justice: A capability approach. *Planning Theory*. Online first. DOI:10.1177/1473095215571399

Davy, B. (2008). Plan it without a condom! *Planning Theory*, 7(3), 301–317.

Hartmann, T. (2012). Wicked problems and clumsy solutions. *Planning Theory*, 11(3), 242–256

Moroni S. and Chiodelli F. (2014) Public spaces, private spaces, and the right to the city. *International Journal of E-Planning Research* 3(1) 51-65

Purcell, M. (2002). "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant." *GeoJournal* 58: 99-108.



## TRACK 2: Jane Jacobs and Street Spaces – Streets as public places

### Organiser:

**Dr. Agustina Martire, School of Planning, Architecture and Civil Engineering, Queen's University Belfast, [A.Martire@qub.ac.uk](mailto:A.Martire@qub.ac.uk)**

‘A sidewalk life arises only when the concrete, tangible facilities it requires are present. (...) If they are absent, public sidewalk contacts are absent too.’ Jacobs Jane, *The death and life of great American cities, The Modern Library, New York 1961, 1993, P92*



Streets and their sidewalks are framed by buildings. These buildings provide the important thresholds between public and private spaces. They are the tangible facilities that allow streets to be vibrant public spaces. If buildings fail to provide permeability, harmony and rhythm, the street as public space suffers. Streets are in essence public spaces and connect diverse areas of the city, weaving the urban fabric. Since the 1960s motorways and large retail areas have replaced existing streets, tearing the urban fabric and transforming the qualities of the urban landscape. Jane Jacobs' influence on urban planning worldwide must not be ignored. She defended urban streets as the main spaces where social interaction takes place. Academia has strongly defended Jacobs' position, while urban designers have been heavily influenced by her ideas. However, for some reason, many cities in the world still utilise modernist planning principles such as zoning and priority to the car, which Jacobs so much criticised. Frequently Jacobs' ideas have been either ignored or misinterpreted. When it comes to streets, especially in redevelopment projects, the pedestrianisation and commercial zoning has broken the sidewalk life and rendered street spaces unrecognisable. This phenomenon has developed in different ways across the world.

This track will explore the role of the street in Jane Jacob's discourse through the study of different cases of streets worldwide, trying to understand whether the influence of Jacobs is apparent, implied or expressed in the projects for regeneration or conservation of urban streets.

## TRACK 3: Jane Jacobs and the dynamics of neighborhoods

### Organisers:

André Ouwehand, OTB Research for the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology, A.L.Ouwehand@tudelft.nl

Brian Doucet, Department of Social and Behavioural Sciences at Erasmus University College in Rotterdam, brian.marc.doucet@gmail.com

‘Death and life of great American cities’ is “an attack on current city planning and rebuilding” (1961/1992, p. 3). Jane Jacobs fervently criticises Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City, the City Beautiful movement and Le Corbusier’s Radiant City and construes her principles for great cities: a mix of functions, short building blocks, a mix of buildings of different age and a high dwelling densities, based on analysis of everyday life in the city and especially in the streets. Those four conditions should enable vitality and diversity, the main characteristics and qualities of great cities as Jacobs sees it.

She also includes a disclaimer: that she hopes that “no reader will try to transfer my observations into guides as to what goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs which still are subur-

ban.” She acknowledges that peripheral neighbourhoods and suburbs will often later be engulfed in cities and wonders “whether they can adapt to functioning successfully as city districts.” (ibid., p. 16). But in her quest to criticize modern planning, she does not only pose the question about the functioning of the suburbs, but also answers it and could not hide that she loathed them and so did a lot of her followers. She met a lot of adherence, but also criticism, for instance of Herbert Gans who questioned her preference for a rather working class/bohemian way of life and not taking in account the preference of the middle class. He also questioned whether visibility is the only measure of vitality (Gans 1991/1962).





Nowadays we see that (still) a lot of the suburbs that were despised, are popular residential districts, with more diversity than we obviously would presume. We also see that many neighbourhoods which adhere to Jacobs' principles are gentrified and some of the most desirable (and expensive) parts of cities. While Jacobs was not an advocate of gentrification, her principles have become so valued that in many cities, living in these neighbourhoods has become an elite privilege.

In this workshop we welcome papers that use Jane Jacobs' tools of looking at everyday life to analyse the functioning of neighbourhoods, the way her ideas influence gentrification and neighbourhood change. In addition to traditional urban areas, we are also interested in (former) suburbs and papers that analyse the way neighbourhoods adapt to changes in society and are adaptive for different ways of life.

#### References:

GANS, H.J. (1991/1962) *Urban Vitality and the Fallacy of Physical Determinism*. In H.J. Gans (1991) *People, Plans, and Policies*. New York: Columbia University Press. P.33-43.

JACOBS, J. (1992/1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.



## TRACK 4: Jane Jacobs and the reshaping of old urban fabrics in Chinese cities

### Organiser:

**Dr. Lei Qu, Section of Spatial Planning and Strategy, Department of Urbanism, Delft University of Technology, L.Qu@tudelft.nl**

After two decades of rapid urban development, Chinese cities have now started to pay more attention to their existing built-up areas, instead of exploring new territories and expanding. Urban regeneration is playing an increasingly crucial role in reshaping spatial structures in city-regional levels and urban form at the neighbourhood level. Such planning strategies imply a paradigm change regarding urban development modes in China, from extensive urban expansion to adapting the existing built environment, seeking for more sustainable ways of development. However, driven by demand on land for large-scale re-development, especially in central urban areas, Tabula Rasa approaches have been adopted in renewal of old urban fabrics, such as historical inner city districts and the so-called ‘urban villages’. As a consequence, issues related to gentrification and decrease of affordable housing in central urban areas emerged.



As indicated in Jane Jacobs’ understanding of cities- ‘organized complexity’- certain spatial conditions can contribute to urban vitality, such as walkability, mixed functions, place identity, and room for self-organization. Old urban fabrics in Chinese cities mentioned above generally possess such spatial conditions, which were created by people through time. As Jane Jacobs stated in her book ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’, “Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody” (p. 238).

This track intends to discuss alternative ways of urban regeneration that may lead to a more inclusive and vital future city life. These alternatives mainly refer to locally oriented and people centered incremental development, improving spatial conditions and maintaining socio-economic networks simultaneously. The research question would be: How to incrementally reshape old urban fabrics in Chinese Cities with local stakeholders as key actors? Papers addressing such issues from perspectives of urban planning, design, and governance are welcome.

## TRACK 5: Jane Jacobs and organised complexity

### Organiser:

**Dr. Stephen Read, Section of Spatial Planning and Strategy, Department of Urbanism, Delft University of Technology, S.A.Read@tudelft.nl**

Jane Jacobs is known for her suggestive use of the then new idea of ‘organised complexity’. She proposed that cities were best understood as ‘problems of organised complexity’ which meant “dealing simultaneously with a sizeable number of factors which are interrelated into an organic whole” (Jacobs 1961: 432). We most often think of complex systems as being defined by nonlinearity, fractal orders and feedback loops. Her own rather sketchy accounts of the concept emphasise processes and inductive reasoning, working from particulars to the general and from the small to the big (Jacobs 1961: 440). She spoke of a “web way of thinking” involving dynamic interrelationships and sudden changes, and “self-diversification” as a “regenerative force” (Jacobs 1961: 290). But she also focussed consistently on the concrete and situational ‘ballet’ (Seamon 2015: 143) of the street and the neighbourhood.



Contemporary understandings of complexity are increasingly emphasising the concrete situations whereby everyday places and things matter and everyday choices are made: where ‘forms of life’ evolve through the selection by participants of particular and situated orders from ranges of ‘adjacent possibilities’ (Kauffman 2000: 22). Complexity theorists in biology and ecology have, for example, suggested that ecosystem and species level orders are driven by the distributed choices living creatures make for their own prospering and survival and against the alternatives at individual and group levels (Stengers 2000: 92; Markoš et al. 2009: 240). Echoing this perspective, urban societies and economies may be conceived as emerging and evolving through subjective as well as political choices made at individual and community levels that thereby construct larger social and urban orders from different objective possibilities.

Jacobs emphasised people, their own everyday actions and choices, and her critique of planning has on occasion been interpreted as methodologically individualist and subjectivist, but the notion of ‘organised complexity’ can itself be understood as ‘methodologically communitarian’, emphasising forms and agencies located and distributed through ‘communities’ of complex interaction and interrelation.

On the occasion of Jane Jacobs’ centenary we invite papers expanding on and extending the concept of ‘organised complexity’ in urban planning, policy and design, at theoretical, practice and pedagogical levels.

#### References:

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KAUFFMAN, S.A. (2000) *Investigations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MARKOŠ, A., GRYGAR, F., HAJNAL, L., KLEISNER, K., KRATOCHVÍL, Z., NEUBAUER, Z. (2009) *Life as its own designer: Darwin’s Origin and Western Thought*. Dordrecht: Springer.

SEAMON, D. (2015) *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, rest and Encounter*. Milton Keynes: routledge Revivals.

STENGERS, I. (2000) “God’s Heart and the Suff of Life”, *PLI* 9, 86–118

## **TRACK 6: Jane Jacobs and safety in public space**

### **Organisers:**

**Muhammed Ziya Paköz (PhD), Abdullah Gül University Faculty of Architecture, Department of City and Regional Planning, muhammed.pakoz@agu.edu.tr**

**Ahmet Gün, Istanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture, ahmetgun@itu.edu.tr**

**Ahmet Baş, Istanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture, Department of City and Regional Planning, basa@itu.edu.tr**

Jane Jacobs' perspectives on urban planning, which she developed taking American cities into account, and her criticism to "orthodox Urbanism" has remained on the planning agenda for more than 50 years. Jacobs' suggestions on issues of safety in urban public spaces, which she discussed in 'streets and sidewalks', were based on the observation of ordinary crimes in American 20th century cities. These observations triggered the development of planning and design principles that aim to prevent crime and minimize fear of crime in cities.

In the 21st century, globalization penetrates the life of cities in multiple ways, and cities become more open to global opportunities and threats. In our times, public spaces have become more vulnerable as a result of the globalization of crime, violence and conflict.

Violence resulting from drug trafficking, gender inequality, and religious intolerance are prevalent in different urban contexts. It seems safe to assert that issues of safety in today's cities are more complex, and demand a more detailed exploration. Moreover, the level and type of violence and safety issues may vary according to different cultural and political backgrounds, while Jane Jacobs' ideas were based on a single cultural and political perspective.

Therefore we need to reconsider her perspective on safety in public spaces having this framework in mind. How is it possible "to keep the city safe" from "barbarism" and "fear" and provide "public peace" in the urban areas of 21st century?

The aim of this track is to examine Jane Jacobs' perspectives on safety in public spaces in terms of the deep transformation and re-organization of cities of the 21st century.

# Feminist protest

The Jane Jacobs 100 Conference was marked by the TU Delft Feminist Group's protest about the absence of women reservedly. A series of unfortunate coincidences led to the main panel being composed by men only, although the protest was made of chairs with names of female scholars who could have been invited to speak at the conference. To celebrate Jane Jacob's ideas properly, we organised a second event on the first anniversary of the first event and their accounts have been incorporated in this report.



om-en among the main speakers in the conference. The organisers recognise their mistake and apologise un-  
most of the tracks were either led by women or had women in their composition.  
ference. The chairs remained in the main room of the faculty for the remainder of the conference.  
ti-tled 'Jane Jacobs is still here!' where two eminent female specialists on Jane Jacobs were invited to speak.









# Foreword

## Roberta Brandes Gratz

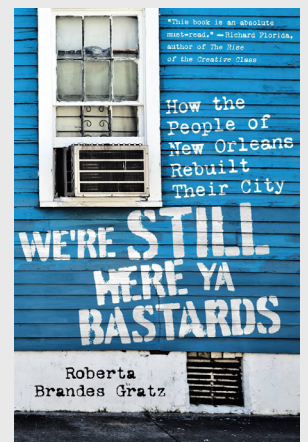


## Roberta Gratz

Jane Jacobs changed the way the world views cities. But is she as relevant today as when her first book burst on the scene in 1961 to challenge the planning orthodoxy of the day?

Sixty-six years since ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’ came out, people constantly ask “What would Jane say?” about one urban challenge or another. Is that the right question? Roberta Brandes Gratz will reflect on this and other questions.

Roberta is an American award-winning journalist and urban critic, lecturer and author of the books ‘We’re Still Here Ya Bastards: How the People of New Orleans Rebuilt Their City’; ‘The Battle For Gotham: New York in the Shadow of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs’; the now classics ‘The Living City: Thinking Small in a Big Way’, and ‘Cities Back from the Edge: New Life for Downtown’. Roberta was also a longtime friend of Jacobs.



# Jane Jacobs: Dark Age Ahead

Roberta Gratz

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**A Dark Age, she adds, is not just a loss of things, not merely a “collection of subtractions. Much is added to fill the vacuum. But the additions break from the past and themselves reinforce a loss of the past and a loss of memory.”**

In her last book, *Dark Age Ahead*, Jane Jacobs warned us of the potential of a new Dark Age. It was not a prediction but a prescient warning. She was simply observing the reality of the global moment. She was writing in 2003. But what were some of the signals and symptoms she suggested mark the coming of a dark age? A growing urban crisis. Increasing denial of environmental degradation. Mass amnesia. A populist backlash leading to the rise of a demigod. An enlarging gulf between rich and poor. And, increasing distrust of politicians.

A Dark Age, she adds, is not just a loss of things, not merely a “collection of subtractions. Much is added to fill the vacuum. But the additions break from the past and themselves reinforce a loss of the past and a loss of memory.” The replacements are myths instead of memory, false news instead of real facts, autocratic rule instead of democratic leadership, and fake

science instead of verified facts. With this comes a fortress mentality, dismantling of government institutions, disrespect for the civic realm and disregard for alternative points of view.

Welcome to the world of Donald Trump. Do I need to repeat the word prescient?

But Jane Jacobs was prescient in all of her books and my emphasis here is on the dangers of forgetting what works and what doesn't work in the face of official but questionable assertions and policies built on them. I will also spotlight the restorative value of lasting memory.

In *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs first and most famous book, she warned of the urban destruction occurring through massive urban renewal and highway building and the mistake of one-size-fits-all national programs. Through demolition, the memory of what once gave strength to an area

is lost.

We see this in countless American communities where viable, if needing help, mixed-income, diverse communities were leveled for outwardly meaningful projects based on questionable thinking. Even the former existence, let alone the positive qualities of them, are forgotten as are the lessons about what made them viable despite outward appearances.

In the *Economy of Cities*, Jane's second and, in her view, her most important book, she focused on the significance of import replacement in urban economies at a time when economists and government leaders were extolling the virtues of national economic policies that ignored the heart of a real economy, most often urban-based.

In *Systems of Survival*, probably her most complicated book, she warned about the confusion between government and commerce

that has brought us to today's deceptive arrangement, known as the public/private partnership, that really means a private project with public funding. Little, at least in our country, is actually produced or managed by government anymore; most often, instead, private contractors and developers have replaced government, reaping great profit while not accomplishing any better – and sometimes worse – what government can do when it functions well. If you want a blatant example of this, read my last book on the recovery of New Orleans, titled *We're Still Here Ya Bastards: How the People of New Orleans Rebuilt Their City*. Particularly read how the probably 80 percent of the government contracts to private firms went to private profit – often out of state – and little actually got spent on the ground.

In *Dark Age Ahead*, she also warned about the eventual mortgage foreclosure disaster because, she said, we were creating a housing bubble by letting “money grow on houses” by maintaining the low mortgage interest rate and then letting mortgage payments be deductible from income taxes. That book was published in 2004. The foreclosure crisis occurred in 2008.

Jacobs was ahead of her time in many ways and is still valuably instructive today. The relevancy of her ideas can actually be found in the simple observation of the significant terms she coined: “eyes on the street,” “human capital,” “sidewalk ballet” and probably most significant of all, “diversity of uses and people.”

But in *Dark Age*, her prescience goes beyond such familiar terms. This time, most importantly, she warns of “mass amnesia,” whereby “the previous way of life slides into an abyss of forgetfulness, almost as decisively as if it had not existed.” This is something to be deeply examined from many different angles. She is clearly warning us that it is important to strive to remember things that worked, were lost for illegitimate reasons and could be revived, at an opportune moment. This means ignoring the myth that you can't recreate the past, or

at least understanding that we can recognize and build on the productive patterns of the past. Those past productive patterns can re-emerge in new configurations as beneficial to the present as they were once in the past.

Signs exist today, for example, of a possible re-emergence of the kind of economic diversity that once helped cities and their regions thrive.

“Beneficent pendulums do occur,” Jacobs wrote. “Corrective stabilization is one of the great services of democracy, with its feedback to rulers from the protesting and voting public.”

In *Economy of Cities*, Jacobs observed that both Detroit and Rochester, N.Y., were doomed when they became one-industry cities. Both cities, she noted, had thriving diverse economies before they were transformed into company towns.

Detroit, for example, was an early producer of steamships, first for its flour trade, and then for export to other localities. It thus had many smaller businesses making engines and all sorts of components and was exporting steam generators, paint, pumps, stoves and a whole host of other products. Eventually, all these smaller, diverse businesses were either absorbed by the automobile industry or turned into a supplier for it, losing the diversity that once made the Detroit economy thrive. So when the automobile industry started dying, first due to competition from Japanese car manufacturers, Detroit started dying.

But, after all the years since, what do we see happening in Detroit today? The beginnings of a new diversified economy with many small companies emerging, only some of which are related to a growing arts population. Most people both in Detroit and out have forgotten the once thriving diverse economy that was Detroit but that is what is emerging again and may, eventually, save the city. In this case, amnesia is preventing the recognition of what first really made Detroit thrive.

Similarly, Rochester, New York, was once the home of many scientific and advanced technological equipment makers that formed the basis of a growing, diverse economy. Kodak eventually bought up most of them and Rochester became a one company town. But a few years ago, this photography pioneer was overpowered by the new digital competition and Kodak went bankrupt. It shed many of its components and became mostly a printing company. Well, many of those laid off workers of those individual components started their own new small companies and Rochester, the former company town, once again is evolving a diversified economy, something few remember that it once had.

Also, observe the proliferation in small towns and big cities all over the U.S. of fresh food markets that once were the heart of many communities' food economy. In the 1970s, these markets were still disappearing, torn down as economically irrelevant in the age of the supermarket. A few survived, like the universally admired Pike Place Market and Detroit's Eastern Market. Pike Place, by the way, was targeted for demolition by Urban Renewers but saved after a fierce battle by local activists.

New and revived markets started re-emerging as the renewed interest grew in local, regional and organic foods. Now, like the New York City Greenmarket that opened in 1974, such markets are proliferating everywhere and growing exponentially by the thousands. The markets have saved many struggling farms and given birth to new ones.

This is an old idea in a renewed form and most American communities and cities have forgotten that a local market system ever existed. Many of these new markets are the catalyst downtown needed to revive. And with the growth of new markets and fresh food outlets has grown the proliferation of new artisanal foods from new mustards to local beers and wines. Real food markets, not chain stores, are the real outlets for these new products. This is food production on

the micro-scale having an impact on the macro-scale.

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman recently wrote a column, "A Road Trip Through Rusting and Rising America," observing this phenomenon from a different perspective. He took a car trip to discover the "failing" communities that President Trump described as the country's vast "carnage" of "rusted-out factories." What he found was a hopeful story of local people finding new ways to rebuild their economy.

"Over the last 100 years... we went from decentralized artisan-based manufacturing to centralized mass manufacturing on assembly lines. Today, with these emerging technologies, we can go back to artisans, which will be great for local communities that spawn a leadership and workers able to take advantage of these emerging technologies. We are going to see a world of micro-factories..."

Take an even bigger subject: Mass transit. Today, in America at least, few people remember that we once had probably the most intricate and well-connected rail network in the world. It was an efficient, well-functioning and geographically far-reaching national rail network. We also had an extraordinarily efficient, well-connected local transit system connecting towns and cities all over the US. It used to be said, one could travel from the far reaches of Maine to Chicago on a pocket full of nickels, transferring from one urban streetcar system with a nickel fare to an interurban network connecting cities and then repeating that pattern again and again from one distant city to the next.

As Jacobs reminds us in *Dark Age Ahead* and as I wrote in my 2nd book, *Cities Back From the Edge*, our well-functioning, efficient, affordable transit system was wiped out by a consortium of corporations, led by General Motors, Firestone Tire, U.S. Steel and others, all of whom were involved in the manufacture of cars and buses. They bought out streetcar systems first in two small cities in Ohio and Michigan, closed them down, paved

over the tracks and replaced the systems with rubber tire buses. This was during the Depression when cities large and small needed money desperately. It was a short-term gain. The pattern repeated itself around the country for the next several decades.

Even in New York, we had streetcars, trolleys and elevated rail lines everywhere that were closed and wiped out under the leadership of Robert Moses. In fact, as an amusing aside, the Brooklyn Dodgers ball team got its name from the term, "trolley dodgers," because in Brooklyn everyone had to dodge the many trolleys that ran everywhere.

The national rail system was further undermined when the 1956 Interstate Highway Act combined with the Urban Renewal program swept through and demolished urban neighborhoods and small towns across the country.

Today, most Americans, except the very old, have FORGOTTEN that we once had this intricate rail system and are difficult to convince that it can be recreated. In many American communities where I go to lecture, I am often shown neighborhoods that date from early in the 20th century. I can tell from the development pattern where the streetcars went and I observe to my hosts, "oh, this must have been a streetcar neighborhood." Most often the response is, "we didn't have streetcars," when in fact they did. That is amnesia.

Today, local networks are actually being recreated piece by piece in many localities where new, modern light rail systems are being built or expanded. This is not RECREATING the past but rebuilding a system that worked in the past but building it today in a contemporary way and with new 21st century technology. Communities across the country now want more of these light rail systems but there is little government money to support them. Instead, we continue to subsidize new highway building or highway expansion in a big way, crippling the potential of increased rail.

For example, Amtrak, our only national rail system, was created a number of years ago by Congress but ordered to become self-sustaining financially. No transit system anywhere that I know of can be viable financially on its own. Nor, in fact, can any road system pay for itself. So we have a railroad that is very expensive to ride, inefficient to run and crippled by lack of investment in upgrades and modernization.

This actually reflects a purposeful governmental policy that heavily subsidizes the airplane and automobile industries but not rail. If it were cheaper and more efficient to take a train to more places, driving and flying would lose passengers. As always, there is a politically potent corporate policy that explains a mistaken governmental policy. And the airplane, road, car and truck lobbyists are there, too, in full force, all stacked against transit.

This scenario played out in Europe as well but in different guises. Many more networks of streetcars and train systems remain in Europe than certainly in the US but many have been lost or diminished. In Central Europe, however, right after the wall came down, several telltale events unfolded.

One was the immediate presence all over Central and Eastern Europe of automobile lobbyists promoting the building of new or expanded highways.

Second, we saw countries shrink their support of rail lines needing upgrades and reinvestment. Some lines were closed.

Third, Central Europe saw a surge of new car purchases and the development of huge shopping malls that made US malls look small and quaint.

But Jacobs was also prescient in another way, alerting that overcoming amnesia was possible. But, "Time for corrective action is finite," she warned. Lost habits and lost systems can be regained, she implies, as long as they are not "lost to practice and memory." In the examples I have cited, the lost habits and systems may have been officially lost from

public policy but not lost from the memory of local activists or specific advocates who have forged the path to their revival.

Even though Jacobs was warning us of a potential dark age, she also believed that destructive change over time can be healed. In many of the question and answer sessions, for example, that have followed the opening this April of the new film about Jacobs called *Citizen Jane*, the question is often asked, how did Jane feel about Haussmann in Paris. I discussed this question recently with her son because, although I knew her for almost 30 years and shared many conversations, I could not remember discussing Haussmann. Jane had apparently offered two observations about Haussmann.

First, she noted, that the neighborhoods she found most appealing in Paris were not touched by Haussmann. Second, she observed, it was encouraging to notice that after so many decades, Paris repaired itself from the demolition damage of Haussmann. She saw that as a hopeful sign, a sign that cities today can, over time, repair themselves in a socially, economically and politically positive way. This had happened in many a once heavily demolished and damaged American city. That, in fact, was what my first book, *The Living City: Thinking Small in a Big Way*, was all about, published in 1989.

At a time, as now, of so many discouraging, patterns of redevelopment, I choose to take heart from this observation and believe that, like in so many ways, Jane Jacobs is right. Maybe some of our most destructive mistakes can be healed. It is not easy to be hopeful with so many negative things happening and so many mindless people in power. But if citizens put their minds to it, it is amazing what can be done. To start, the art of protest is revived and going strong. That protest energy is coming from “the local” who Jane always beseeched us to “trust.” Amnesia is being resisted. That gives me hope.

# Introduction





# Jane Jacobs: an intellectual trajectory

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**Abstract**—Jane Jacobs's trajectory took her very far from the original insights and propositions of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. This paper attempts to give both an overview and an assessment of her oeuvre as a whole: her books and actual contributions, the state of empirical verification of her main ideas, and the limits and controversies surrounding her approaches. Throwing light on her diverse facets, this paper examines her place and impact – from a pioneer of the young discipline of urban studies and a theorist in spatial economics to her status as an interdisciplinary thinker.

**Key words** – Jane Jacobs, urban studies, spatial economics, ecology, culture

## Introduction

I should approach these sheets  
with reverent eye,  
Thinking, with mental halo, how  
I sought  
The perfect word to clothe the  
perfect thought...  
(Jacobs, 2016a [1935]: 9)

Jane Jacobs published this early poem in the New York Herald Tribune in 1935, a year after arriving in New York in the mid-1930s depression. She was 19. The girl who used nickels to explore as a *flâneur* the city and its diverse population came to almost singlehandedly revolutionize a discipline, and to achieve a presence in at least another. In fact, no other theorist in urban studies comes close to her influence. She is the only one to come near the volume of citations and mentions of powerhouses in geography and urban philosophy, David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre (figure 1). Jacobs had a long career, and published six books on cities, economics, ecology, politics and culture, another on separatism in Canada, two books for children, and a political history book still at age 25. She passed away in 2006, two years after publishing her latest book, the premonitory *Dark Age Ahead*. Her mind was full of ideas and projects

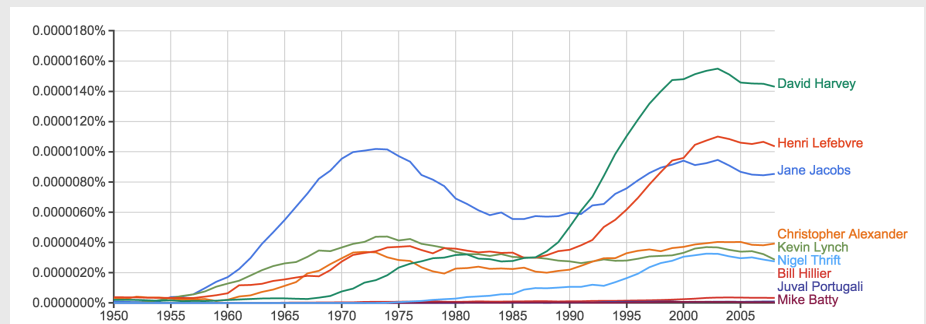


Figure 1 - Percentage of times selected theorists appear among all 'bigrams' in the sampling of books written in English and published in the United States between 1950 and 2008. Source: Google books Ngram Viewer.

for two new books.

This paper will pursue a diverse path, as it must be the case for a work that aims to cover the production of an intellectual who has gone through many phases. It begins with a brief biographical account, reviewing steps that led Jacobs to become an innovator of urban studies. Then we will see her contributions, going through the main arguments of her books. We will visit her controversial status – would she be an observer, a theorist, a researcher, an amateur? Then we will see how her ideas have stood the test of empirical verification, both in urban studies and in spatial economics, and assess her place as a thinker of self-organization *avant la lettre*. Finally, we will see her last hypothesis, which would

remain incomplete, and some final considerations on how to understand her place in our field today.

## Jane Butzner goes to New York

The biography of Jane Jacobs seems intertwined with her fascination with language, the city, and the conditions of material life. Born in 1916 in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Jacobs wrote and published poetry at age 9. Jane Butzner (her maiden name) saw New York for the first time as a child, arriving by boat in 1928. She walked on Wall Street at noon, “amazed at all the people on the streets... the city was just vibrating. It was crowded.” After working at a

newsroom in Scranton at age 18, she decided to face the Great Depression and the financial hardship, coming to live in Brooklyn in 1934. In the morning, she crossed the bridge to Lower Manhattan to look for a job. In the afternoons, she explored the city. Her walks through New York became articles, later sold to *Vogue*, between 1936 and 1937. "I was trying to be a writer all the time." The articles described situations and people involved in small-scale production and trade – the networks that seemed to specialize and focus on certain parts of Manhattan: work in leather, shoes, flower preparation and sale, the intricate web of production and sale of jewellery. At age 21, Jacobs made descriptions of urban life and its material networks. She was fascinated by the ways these networks seemed to self-organize in order to survive (Flint, 2009). She did not know then, but this fascination with the practices, organization and ethos that emerge between actors engaged in the material effort of work and exchange would guide her whole future work.

Jacobs began in the magazine *Architectural Forum* (1952-1962) as a publisher specialized in hospitals and schools, and from 1955 onwards, she began to cover urban renewal. Initially favourable to modern urbanism, her *in-situ* observations of executed projects profoundly altered her assessment of modernist precepts. In 1956, replacing her boss, she made a presentation at the *Conference on Urban Design* in Harvard, putting herself openly against the practice of urbanism based on modern normative theory. The lecture had a great effect on the audience, including leading architects and theorists – and Lewis Mumford himself.

So I made a talk and I made an attack on [urban renewal]... It was a real ordeal for me. I have no memory of giving it. I just went into some hypnosis and said this thing I had memorized. And I sat down, and it was a big hit because nobody had heard anybody saying these things, apparently... Mumford was in the audience, and he very enthusiastically welcomed me. I had hypnotized myself, but I had apparently hypnotized them too. (Jacobs, 2016b [2001]: 82).

That unforeseen event was one of the determining factors of her trajectory. William H. Whyte, editor of *Fortune* magazine who would later become a recognized researcher on the use of public spaces, heard about the lecture and invited

Jacobs to write an article (Flint, 2009). The result is "Downtown is for people," published in 1958. Other communications would follow, such as "A living network of relationships," a talk given at the renowned New School for Social Research in New York, flirting with the systemic principles of city self-organization. Jacobs would be ready to write her first book on cities and the fabric of everyday life.

The passage from the 1950s to the 1960s was an extraordinary period in the foundation of urban studies, as we know them today. Original thinkers of the city appeared like a wave. In 1958, Jacobs' articles attracted the attention of the Rockefeller Foundation, which aspired to stimulate the emerging field of urban design. From the conversations between Jacobs and her contact at the foundation, Chadbourne Gilpatric, results the *Penn-Rockefeller Conference on Urban Design Criticism*, at the University of Pennsylvania (Laurence, 2016). In addition to Jacobs, there are both new and established exponents of urban thinking, notably Lewis Mumford, Louis Kahn, Kevin Lynch and economist William Wheaton (figure 2).

The stature that these participants would achieve in their fields suggests an extraordinary meeting (and image, a kind of urban thinkers' 'holy supper'). From it would come the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation for the production of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In those same years, Kevin Lynch was developing his method in Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles, published

in 1960 as *The Image of the City*, also supported by the Rockefeller Foundation – and possibly the first book to include empirical research as a scientific study about cities, although it would not resist rigorous empirical standards of today.

Muratori and his colleagues set up the Italian typological school in *Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia*, in 1960. Gordon Cullen launched his method of observation in *Townscape* in 1961. In 1964, Christopher Alexander published his first book *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*, an impressive insight into the generation of form, and in 1965 inaugurates the topological vision of the city, parallel to his description of the dualism between reason and intuition in the design process, in the award-winning article "A city is not a tree". Between 1965 and 1968, Leslie Martin and Lionel March published articles on the performance of urban form arrangements, which they would put together in the 1972 book *Urban Space and Structure*. In 1969 Jacobs released her new book on the role of cities in economic life. Experiments with spatial interaction appeared in the work of Alan Wilson in 1967 and Mike Batty in 1976, while, between 1972 and 1976, Hillier and colleagues began to emphasize the systemic role of street topology for societies as encounter systems (figure 3).

These are some of the approaches that initiated urban studies as a field of scientific knowledge, unlike previous, modern and pre-modern normative theories. It is no exaggeration to say that these works have opened up entire



Figure 2 - Break for reception at the Conference on Urban Design Criticism, Penn Institute, Westchester, NY (1958). Source: Grady Clay in Laurence (2016).

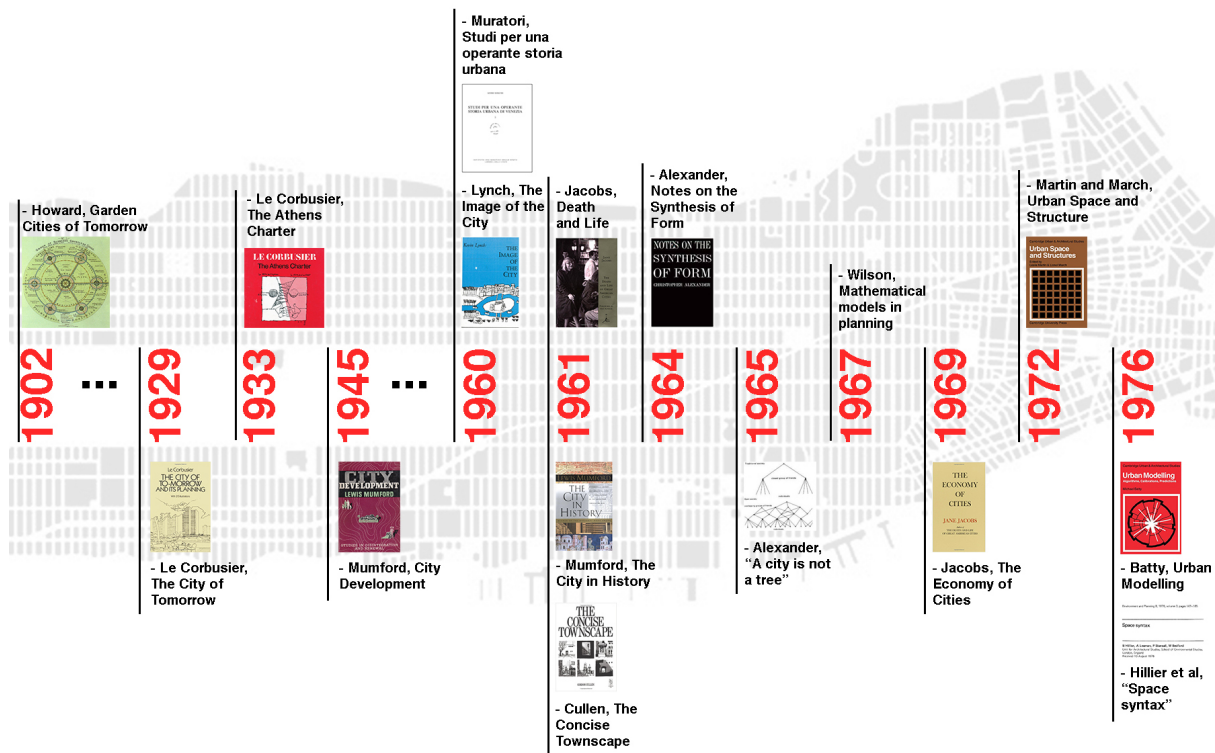


Figure 3 - Timeline for some of the main publications in urbanism of the 20th Century. Source: Author.

lines of investigation, coinciding with phenomenal areas uncovered by these pioneers. However, the status of urban theory is still today questioned as ‘pre-scientific’ or ‘pseudo-scientific’ (Marshall, 2012). Let us look at the status of Jacobs in this scenario.

### Main contributions

There is a wonderful consistency of direction in your writings, from the earliest journalism on parks and city corners through the organism of cities to the principles of public life.

David Warren, interviewer for The Ilder, 1993 (in Jacobs, 2016a: 324)

Where did Jacobs’ thought go? After years of journalistic work and observations of networks of interdependencies and the role of diversity in many cities in her country, which led her from the status of ‘urban thinker’ in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) to her last work as a ‘cultural thinker’ in *Dark Age Ahead* (2004), Jacobs went through distinct phases, progressively expanding her substantive range (figure 4).

Let us visit this Jacobsian trajectory. The author criticizes modern urbanism, and brings alternative theoretical propositions to understand the functioning of

cities, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Like the articles published in 1958, the book brought ideas utterly foreign to the canon of urban practice and theory – an achievement perhaps more possible to someone coming from outside the discipline orthodoxy. The admirable feat is that these radical propositions would become part of the language and ‘common

sense’ in the discipline today. These include the importance of street and public contact; the idea of ‘eyes on the street’; and the ‘successful neighbourhood’ theory.

Today the idea that diversity is the motor of urban vitality sounds self-evident – but only because Jacobs won her theoretical battle and fed a new orthodoxy, now fixed, from New Urbanism to

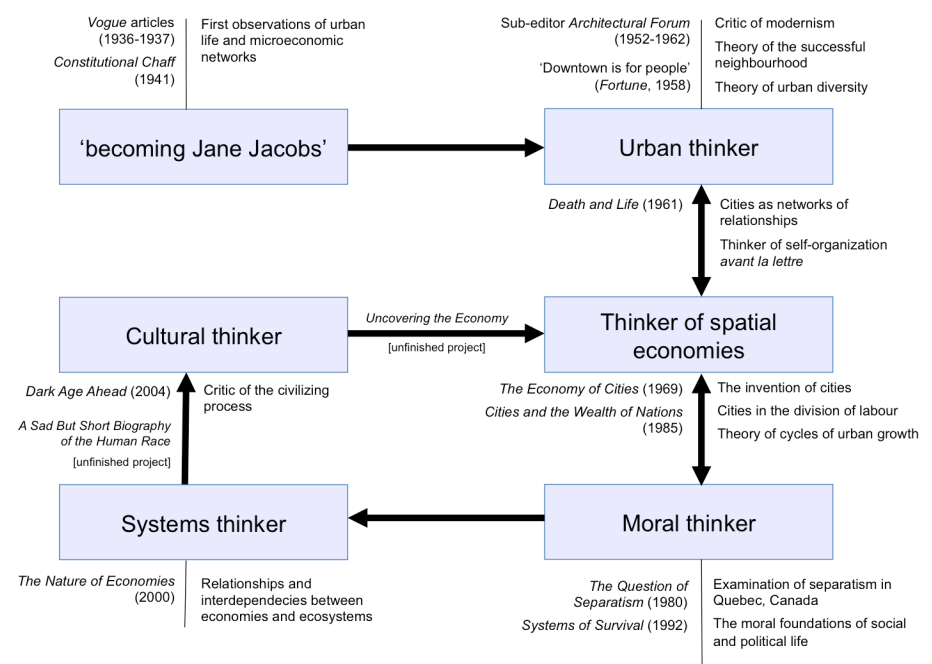


Figure 4 - The Jacobs trajectory: main phases. Source: Author.

# THE ECONOMY OF CITIES

JANE JACOBS

Author of  
THE DEATH AND LIFE  
OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES

the sustainable city debate (Gordon and Ikeda, 2011). I understand that the main contribution of this book, which is often regarded as the most influential in the discipline, is to identify the conditions of complexity as principles of self-organization, animated by microeconomic diversity and urban form. However, we will see that the theoretical system that Jacobs proposed in *Death and Life* is only the beginning of the relationships that she would explore in her subsequent phases. Many contributions were to come later in her work on the conditions of economic, moral, and political life – underestimated in our discipline. Here we have the case where a book is so successful that it ends up eclipsing the work that follows. The fact that Jacobs moved toward the relationship between city, society, economy, ecology and the moral conditions of social life, has possibly clashed with the borders of urban studies and prevailing epistemologies. However, Jacobs attracted interest in another area of knowledge: spatial economics.

“People ignore the common threads that run through economic life” (Jacobs, 2016b [2005]:116). Jacobs opens her book, *The Economy of Cities*, 1969, with a radical hypothesis. It proposes a rejection of the idea that agriculture precedes cities: the assumption that cities depend on a condition of surplus agricultural production to exist. Instead, she proposes that the agricultural practice develops from the demand of the cities that then arose. Cities like Çatal Höyük (7,500 and 5,700 BC), with about

10,000 inhabitants in Anatolia (today, Turkey), would emerge from commercial practices and the increasing division of labour, making the individual family subordinate to larger and more complex social and economic formations. It is the economy of cities emerging that would create new types of work in the rural world. “Rural production is literally the creation of city consumption” (Jacobs, 1969:40). This is an intelligent but also risky inference, made without direct empirical involvement, and without the support of archaeology’s mainstream. Jacobs imagined chains of causes and effects, piling up inference on inference.

In logical terms, the hypothesis is consistent: to believe that human cultures would produce technologies and surplus production without the concrete demand of production makes little sense. It is like inventing supply without demand. But it might be possible to find common grounds capable of incorporating strictly dated archaeological findings (for example, on the objects and utensils used by the first farmers), and the economic sense in agricultural and proto-urban practices investigated by Jacobs. Agriculture, as a practice of artificial intervention in the soil, may be older than the city, but agriculture compatible with larger scales and a technologically charged practice seems to depend on the creation of demand – which in turn depends on large enough populations, also capable of creating technologies for such intensifying practice. In any case, the proto-city found in Anatolia, and later in other regions, would feed the rural activity.

Jacobs’s provocation is just the beginning. This is possibly her richest theoretical book. “How have cities acquired more divisions of labor than other settlements?” (Jacobs, 1969:50). She goes on to describe how new work progressively multiplies the division of labour:

$$D + A = nD$$

where  $D$  is the division of labour,  $A$  is the new activity, and  $n$  is the number of new divisions created from the addition of  $A$ . Jacobs addresses the spontaneous generation of economies where ‘one kind of labour leads to the other’. This progressive addition increases possibilities of combining existing divisions. It includes accidents and unpredictability, which we now call ‘serendipity’ – incidental innovations stemming from exposure to and connections between ideas that are initially alien to one another, and that cannot be anticipated. “The greater the sheer numbers and varieties of divisions of labor already achieved in an economy, the greater the economy’s inherent capacity [...] for combining the existing divisions of labor in new ways” (p.59) (figure 5).

This is one reason why a top-down, vertically centralized economy hampers the spontaneous generation of new activities or specializations. They block the process of innovation and the deepening of the division of labour in an organic way. Predefined categories and a totalizing planning limit the emergence of new activities and techniques, and the combinatorial processes of innovation. Jacobs addresses here the material conditions of serendipity. On the

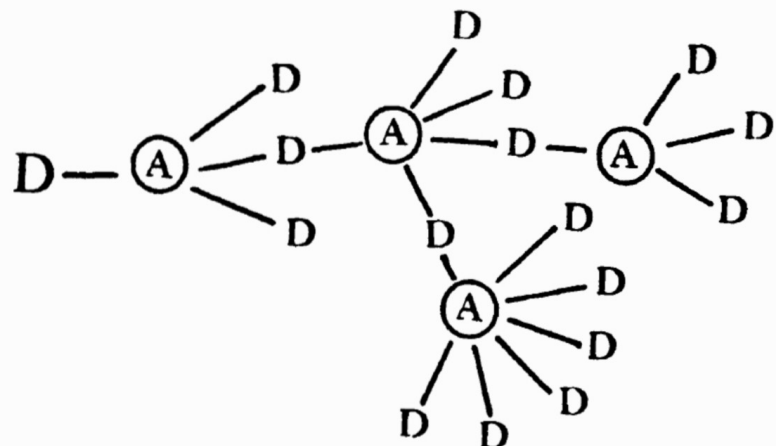


Figure 5 - Progressive multiplications in the division of labour, from new activities. Source: derived from Jacobs (1969a)

other hand, Jacobs is also critical of the understanding of the division of labour originated in Adam Smith, centred on the *organization* of labour. Instead, Jacobs's focus is on the emerging, *self-organized* process of specialization, including the creation and diffusion of new activities and divisions from old ones. The division of labour is lively and relational in Jacobs, a pattern of transformation of the economy from the breakdown of manufacturing processes performed by productive agents. A complex product initially imported to a local economy (a city or region) begins to have its parts produced endogenously, eventually leading to the substitution of the import. Gains from learning processes in import substitution often involve other sectors, diversifying and expanding the local economy, and releasing powerful multiplier effects and new potential exports.

Jacobs believed that this was her main discovery, for which she would like to be remembered (Jacobs, 2001). Interestingly, the idea is directly derived from her earlier findings on the urban conditions of diversity, density and vitality. This new theory took something like two decades to find repercussions, but was interpreted in economic geography in a rather prolific direction: the *spillover effects*, introduced by the economist Alfred Marshall (1890). In contrast to Marshall's emphasis on knowledge and productivity gains overflowing from specialization and spatial concentration of activities within an economic sector (say, in a city that grows by having many activities in the same industry), Jacobs emphasizes the positive gains of the exchanges between *distinct* sectors of the local economy, through the cross-fertilization of ideas. Interactions between people in cities help them to have ideas and innovate. Jacobs also favours local competition because she believes it speeds up the adoption of new technologies. Her theory predicts that industries located in highly diversified areas will grow faster. Like Marshall, Jacobs refers to the value of diversity and complementarity in labour supply to reduce risks generated by economic fluctuations (Rosenthal and Strange, 2004). As we shall see below, the benefits of local economic diversity were later subjected to rigorous empirical verification, and were named 'Jacobs economies'.

*The Question of Separatism: Quebec and the Struggle over Sovereignty* (1980) brings an

argument about the independence of the province of Quebec and its possible effects on other cities and regions of Canada. The book was criticized in Canada, for its understanding of local politics. Out of print today, it examines historical and political issues of separation, and their economic implications. This is not surprising, given Jacobs's radical thesis on the role of cities in economic life as superior to that of countries – which she would explicitly develop in her next book.

The iconoclast is alive in *Cities and the Wealth of Nations* (1985), title that evokes Adam Smith's classic. Beginning with broad critical reviews of economic theory since Smith and Marx and advancing her assertion of the city in the economic life of a society, Jacobs now questions what she calls the unexamined assumption of economics: the "mercantilist tautology that nations are the salient entities for understanding the structure of economic life" (Jacobs, 1985: 30; 44). Jacobs's main (and radical) proposition is to put the city at the centre of economic analysis, exploring the mechanism discovered in the previous book: the forces set in motion by cities immersed in processes of substituting their imports – forces that will shape networks of cities and regions, with effects on nations. The city should assume this prominence because nations depend on cities as networks of production and innovation – an idea recently emphasized by Glaeser (2010).

This approach is advanced in *Systems of Survival* (1992) by expanding Plato's idea of two radically different but symbiotic systems of fundamental values: the 'trade syndrome' and the 'guardian syndrome' ('syndrome' as in Greek, meaning 'things that run together'). The first syndrome is the 'impulse to trade', the voluntary agreement as the essence of exchange between people, a pillar of concrete material life from the beginning of the formation of complex divisions of labour. Elements of cosmopolitanism emerge from the presence of strangers doing business in commercial places and cities – a "functional necessity becoming a cultural trait" (Jacobs, 1992: 35), an ability to deal with the material reproduction generally ignored in philosophy (Jacobs, 2016a: 295). The second principle, on the other hand, is related to moral life and responsibility over the territory, to the impulse to governmental

organization, to create movements of social groups, and to loyalty to the public interest. Jacobs identifies these two principles as responsible for societal functions, operating around distinct but complementary sets of moral precepts such as the rejection of force, focus on efficiency and creativity, support in voluntary agreements, respect for contracts, ethos of work and collaboration with strangers, in the trade syndrome; and adherence to tradition, rejection of commerce, respect for hierarchy and focus on justice and loyalty, on the guardian syndrome. These two principles govern different instances of social life, such as material reproduction in the first case, and the governance of groups and territories in the second.

Science would flourish in societies that would attain commercial vitality: the logic of scientific contribution seems to echo and depend on the freedom of economic and cultural exchange in the form of collaborations and initiatives (I would add the guardian's moral oversight preserving commercial disinterest and public spirit in the sciences). The arts could flourish even under more socially controlling conditions of organization. Conflicts emerge when we mix syndromes, or attempt to operate them individually from the precepts of the other syndrome – for example, operating a state as a commercial enterprise, or an economy with the totalizing logic or the centralizing authority of the guardian (Jacobs, 1992; 2016a [1993]: 291). Divided loyalties in a government can lead to corruption: rulers can offer favours motivated by the logic of exchange. These situations lead to what she calls 'monstrous moral hybrids,' such as corrupt governments, governments that disdain the centrality of commercial life in material reproduction, or governments that disdain social arrangements open to the spontaneous emergence of new agencies and actions.

This is an inductive construction, based on observations of people's moral reactions to different social behaviours, published in newspapers and other vehicles. The Platonic dualism of the impulse to trade and the impulse to the responsibility of tradition and territory taken to the category of civilizing functions sounds unusual, but it recalls the categories of social action of Max Weber (1972: 24), such as instrumental action

and action motivated by tradition. It draws mainly on the influence of historian Henri Pirenne's *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (1925), and his discussion of the tensions between political, economic organization and the transformations that led to unprecedented structures of freedom and democracy (Page and Mennel, 2011).

In *The Nature of Economies* (2000), Jacobs, then 84, problematizes both common sense and disciplinary views about the separation of 'economy' and 'ecology', and seeks to open "a breach in the barrier that separates human species and its activity of the rest of nature" (Jacobs, 2000). Of course, there is the common etymological root: the prefix of both, 'eco', is derived from the Greek *oiko*, meaning 'house'; the suffix 'nomia' means 'management', 'logy' means 'logic' or 'knowledge'. In addition, Jacobs evokes parallels between the two phenomenal fields as "intricate networks of interdependence" (p.20). Her interest is to extend the study of ecology as 'the economy of nature,' introduced by Victorian scholars, toward the study of 'the nature of economics.' Economic science would not yet have understood that nature lays the foundations of human life, as well as its limits. At the same time, natural processes and principles, which are not a human creation, govern economic life. As such, they cannot be transcended.

I equate [the process of economic expansion] to what happens with

biomass, the sum total of all flora and fauna in an area. The energy, the material that's involved in this, doesn't just escape the community as an export. It continues being used in a community, just as in a rainforest the waste from certain organisms and various plants and animals gets used by other ones in the place. (Jacobs, 2001)

Jacobs proposes three universal principles in the continuity and development of ecological and economic systems: (i) the differentiation of natural or economic events emerges from 'generality' as a contextual condition. For example, the fertilized egg is the condition of generality from which repetition and differentiation will emerge in cell reproduction. (ii) Differentiation generates new generalities, from which new differentiations may emerge. (iii) Development depends on co-development. This apparent tautology means that the development of a system operates as a web of interdependencies. The process is open and intensifies the diversity of co-development into more numerous and intricate relationships, expanding these systems. Furthermore, her exploration of concepts such as 'critical mass' and differentiation evokes a spatial component already present in *The Economy of Cities*: the importance of the location of events that make up such processes – a material principle now also extrapolated to biological phenomena.

In her latest book published in life, *Dark Age Ahead* (2004), Jacobs somehow refrains from her

work as a theorist, to take on the role of 'critic of the times'. She was 88 years old. Even not appreciative of exercises in futurology, Jacobs sounds terribly premonitory in this particular book. For example, four years before the recent global crisis in 2008, which started in real estate financing agencies, Jacobs states that: "In any case, sooner or later [the house price] bubble must burst, as inevitably all bubbles do when their surfaces are not supported by commensurate increases in economic production" (Jacobs, 2004:148). She points out five tendencies of cultural crisis – no more restricted to the urban ethnographic universe, but to the trends of practices that, like small everyday events, build systemic relationships that go far beyond the local and contextual.

- *Community and family*: dominance of consumerism over welfare, indebtedness over the discipline of family budgets; search for individual tax advantages at the expense of community welfare.
- *Educating versus credentialing*: a university system more focused on providing credentials than high-quality education.
- *Science abandoned*: retreat of science as a construction of continuous and coherent bodies of knowledge; rise of economics as the main science to consider in making political decisions.
- *Governance practices*: governments are more focused on the interest of groups than on the well being of their

<i>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</i> (1961)	Theory of the successful neighbourhood	The role of block sizes in accessibility Architecture and safety
<i>The Death and Life of Great American Cities</i> (1961)	Theory of urban diversity	Diversity of activities as attractions to pedestrians Relation between buildings and economic activity Cities as living networks: complexity and self-organization
<i>The Economy of Cities</i> (1969)	Urban development and the division of labour	Inversion of origins agriculture x cities Cities and the evolution of the division of labour Cities, economic innovation and human creativity
<i>The Economy of Cities</i> (1969)	Effects of economic diversity	Theory of import replacement Theory of cyclic explosions of urban growth <i>Jacobs economies</i> : spillover effects between sectors
<i>Cities and the Wealth of Nations</i> (1985)	Cities as engines of the economy of nations	Rejection of nations as most salient entities in the economy The centrality of cities in the world economy
<i>Systems of Survival</i> (1992)	Moral foundations of social and political life	The drive to commerce, responsibility over territory, tradition and governmental organization as value systems and civilizing principles
<i>The Nature of Economies</i> (2000)	Relations of ecosystems and the economy	Common principles in the continuity of ecological and economic systems: differentiation, generality, codevelopment
<i>Dark Age Ahead</i> (2004)	Risks of cultural crises	Analysis of fragilities in contemporary societies in five tendencies of crisis

Figure 6 - Main theoretical contributions. Source: Author

populations. Modern political and economic ideologies are no different from those that dominated the past of Western civilization, such as Catholicism in the Middle Ages. Jacobs rejects the concept of ‘ideology’ for offering prefabricated responses, discouraging people from finding rational solutions and scientifically verifiable explanations.

- *Self-regulatory practices*: in opposition to self-observation, groups tend to exert conservative practices in their own preservation, in spite of ethical, collective harm.

This is neither a work of theory nor a normative political project. Here we have an informed analysis of events and volatile structures, and a clamour for attention to the fragilities of contemporary societies.

The economic development approach introduced in *The Economy of Cities* would be resumed in the next project, *Uncovering the Economy*, which we shall visit later. Taken together, Jacobs’s arguments went through markedly different stages, thematic expansion and progression, supported by preceding propositions. Each phase took years to emerge, which occurred during the slow production of the books themselves (figure 6).

## Jane Jacobs, theorist?

Theories and other abstractions are powerful tools only in the limited sense that the Greek mythological giant Antaeus was powerful. When Antaeus was not in intimate contact with earth, his strength rapidly ebbed. The aim of [...] this book is to bring rarefied economic abstractions into contact with earthy realities, meaning universal processes of development, growth and stability that govern economic life.

Jacobs, *The Nature of Economics* (2000:ix)

Because Jacobs had no academic training in the fields of urban planning, theory, or design, some rather elitist critics share the impression that she was not a systematic thinker. Her first book was criticized for being ‘unscientific’, ‘anecdotal’ and even ‘amateurish’.<sup>1</sup> However, the ideas I have summarized above would hardly

<sup>1</sup> Hospers (2006); Larice and Macdonald (2007); Harris (2011); see Marshall (2012).

support these impressions. On the other hand, exaltations of Jacobs as ‘a genius of the common-sense,’ as Lang and Wunsch (2009) put it, are not accurate either. Jacobs thought about ordinary life, but with a remarkable understanding of the invisible threads behind everyday events. She did not consider herself an abstract thinker (Jacobs, 2016b [2001]: 77), but invested much of her work in the pursuit of threads *beyond observation*: relations not entirely apparent to anyone, which must be reconstructed by imagination and abstraction.

Second, we need to state what is theory and how it is produced. A theory is a proposition of a coherent system of explanation of a phenomenon. It is not only produced in the classical hypothetic format, followed by empirical demonstration – the so-called *deductive* method. There are *inductive* methods, starting with extensive field observations followed by the explanation. Although her first work was largely inductive, Jacobs produced theory in both ways. Many critics seem to associate ‘theorizing’ with some formal method, such as mathematic ones. But of course this does not have to be the case. Theorizing may involve a range of languages, from verbal to quantitative ones. Jacobs explained phenomena such as urban diversity, the creation of cities, their explosions of growth, and the effects of diversity in fertilizing an economy. She did not propose equations for these matters (except for a small, elegant, probably rhetoric one, as we saw above). But this does not remove the explanatory function of her theorization. Jacobs believed that she operated *within* the scientific method (Jacobs, 2016b [1993]: 319) – but what can be fairly said is that she did not make use of the scientific method in its full extent. Theorizing, whether from observations or from hypotheses, is only *part* of the scientific method. Another part involves rigorous confrontation with the empirical problem – whether inductively, at the beginning of the investigation, or at the end, in the verification of hypotheses. She relied on observations in several cities she visited in the United States in the years leading up to *Death and Life*, and sought economic data support for *The Economy of Cities*. But Jacobs did not test her theories a posteriori. This practice is not uncommon in a discipline in which few theorists verify their ideas with empirical rigour. However, Jacobs understood the necessity of

observing the phenomenon before dictating how it should be in reality. She urged readers to keep a sceptical view of her ideas and confront them with their experiences, and she appreciated the use of evidence as an integral stage of the scientific method.<sup>2</sup>

In exploring both inductive and deductive propositions, Jacobs constructed a broad theory encompassing the ‘small’ and the ‘large’ conditions – from the microscopic events of urban life to broad propositions such as their role in generating an ‘organized complexity’. Jacobs’s theoretical ability involves deriving principles of abstract relations between events observed in detail, and then embedding them in chains of interaction. This is the spirit of a theorist in the broad sense of the word: someone who expresses herself through language as a way of constructing explanations. Jacobs was not afraid to take epistemological risks. Her theory was not centred on ‘localism’ or ‘communitarianism’, as some might think. It brought an organic view of spontaneous interactions and relationships that included the local but transcended it, building generalizations from observed cases – while emphasizing care in not replicating them without attention to context (Jacobs, 1993 [1961]: 575-6).

Jacobs was not alien to the importance of empirical evidence. She critically understood the relevance of statistics, but also noted that the technique captures correlations rather than causalities. She believed that ‘anecdotal evidences’ made more empirical sense to the reader, which was her great goal (Jacobs, 2016a [2001]: 376). This way of illustrating principles bares little relation to the technical procedures of research today, involving the necessity of demonstrating that an idea is empirically the case. She achieved a number of memorable findings probably because she observed dozens of cities, traveling as a journalist to study economic sectors in the 1950s, which led to reduced risks of error in inductions. But today, after decades of development in the discipline, a *modus operandi* based on ‘naked eye’ observations

<sup>2</sup> “Science is distinguished from other pursuits by the precise and limited intellectual means that it employs and the integrity with which it uses its limited means” Jacobs (2004:65; 66-71); cf. Jacobs (2016a [2001]:372).



cannot be considered sufficient as a method. In addition to the need for rigorous methods, Durkheim's (1984) maxim is worth noting: a few selected cases are not enough to demonstrate a theory.

Of course, a body of propositions of this ambition and impact would not be left without challenges. On the one hand, since Jacobs worked at the beginning of a field of knowledge and outside institutional or academic frameworks, some might think that it is not entirely fair to submit her ideas to empirical scrutiny. The studies mentioned below do not diminish her contributions by subjecting them to standards that were not even present at the beginning of her trajectory in the discipline. Jacobs was not a scientist, she was a theorist, opening doors to new understandings. On the other hand, no theory is above the need for verification. A theory might not be *verifiable*, if it deals with elements that cannot be directly observed. This is not uncommon in social theory and philosophy, which deal with things and relationships that often transcend concrete situations. For other cases, to submit a theory to rigorous examination is, in fact, a way of consolidating it. Therefore, let us see how Jacobs's propositions have been viewed empirically.

## Verifying Jacobs's urban theory

Jacobs's urban theory faced criticism, of course. Weicher (1973) and Schmidt (1977) seem to have made the first empirical clashes. They tested 'successful neighbourhood' variables identified in *Death and Life* as indicators of crime incidence (namely, juvenile delinquency), mental health (proxy for health, term used by Jacobs) and mortality rates in two American cities, Chicago (sixty-five areas studied by Weicher) and Denver (Schmidt). They also used urban variables like diversity of land use, block size, variation in the age of buildings, and density of residential units (representing sufficient concentration of people). These papers do not provide detailed descriptions of the areas themselves, but point out a number of flaws in the Jacobsian theory in predicting the effects of urban factors on crime, mortality, and health. Schmidt even found a negative relationship between density and diversity, which contradicts spatial economic theory from Alonso (1964) onwards.

On the other hand, Weicher found traces that large blocks seem to have negative impacts on diversity. A later study by Fowler (1987) found more support for Jacobs's theory in Toronto, although it did not confirm or refute the need for the four conditions of diversity (see Marshall, 2012).

The fact that Jacobs has not confronted her theory with the empirical world rigorously, with adequate methodological resources, exposes her theory to risks of imprecision. Yet testing the four conditions of urban diversity for successful neighbourhoods as a 'package' may not be the best way to verify her theory. The key point in any theory check is how to deal with the variables and relationships at stake. First we need to understand how much these variables represent the actual phenomenon. Perhaps the point is not to evaluate neighbourhoods as spatial entities in themselves and to confront them with variables such as crime or health, as Jacobs proposed literally. In order to understand the relationship between form and urban vitality, we should look for more microscopic factors within this package. Causations inferred by a theory may be out there in the real world, but they need appropriate ways to be recognized accurately, and here is the tricky part of making science. Finding the right spatial and social entities to capture meaningful relationships between the factors at play is the most delicate point for success in building a theory, and in its verification.

This is what a study of dozens of areas, seven hundreds street segments and eight thousands buildings in three Brazilian capitals (Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre and Florianópolis) attempted to do (Netto et al, 2012; Netto, 2017). It analysed urban form in a more analytical way than categories like 'neighbourhood' and general characteristics such as density. It focused on buildings and a way to

classify them into an architectural typology. As factors of a successful neighbourhood, the study used the number of pedestrians in the streets and the number and diversity of activities in buildings (ground and upper floors). In the three capitals, it found positive statistical correlations between vitality factors and buildings of 'continuous' type (attached to the neighbour, generating more compact blocks), which Jacobs associated with the traditional block, such as Greenwich Village. It has found negative correlations with towers or the 'isolated' type (Jacobs referred to the spaces between modern buildings, and the low occupancy rate, generating discontinuous and more rarefied blocks). Finally, it has also found strongly positive relationships between window and pedestrian densities, between commercial and pedestrian activities, and, to a lesser extent, between the presence of pedestrians and the diversity of activities. Jacobs did not use the concept of architectural types, but the spirit of her reading can be translated by this concept in a more analytical and precise way. The method has found statistical evidence of causality between characteristics of urban space and urban vitality, corroborating central substantive points in Jacobs' theory.

An important exception was the idea of positive effects of the age of buildings on vitality. In Brazil, age variation corresponds strongly with the variation of types: older buildings tend to generate more compact blocks; while younger buildings tend to create more rarefied ones. Age variation correlates negatively with the presence of pedestrians and with the diversity of activities. However, this difference seems to have more to do with the type setting than with age (age is a coincident factor). This could also be present in the case of the American cities observed by Jacobs, since modern buildings were already characterized by spaces in their

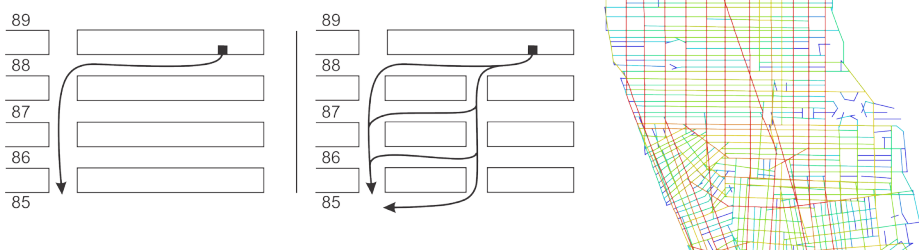


Figure 7 – The Jacobs permeability study (left and centre), and the analysis of topological accessibility in Manhattan (right). The red lines on this last map indicate streets with higher accessibility. Source: Netto and Cacholas, derived from Jacobs (1961) and Hillier et al (2012)

immediate surroundings. Jacobs probably wanted to emphasize the importance of varying the age of buildings as a way of generating variable real estate values and rents, allowing access to distinct incomes, and the opportunity to include young entrepreneurs with a tendency to innovate (“new ideas need old buildings” – Jacobs, 1993 [1961]:245). As we shall see, works in economics found positive correlations in American cities between what they call Jacobs densities and factors of innovation.

Another aspect in which Jacobs’s urban theory shows limitations on the morphological conditions of accessibility. The idea of urban accessibility emerged in those years in urban economics, namely in Hansen (1959) and Alonso (1964), but it would be explored more systematically later, through works on spatial interaction and configuration. Jacobs’s view on accessibility appears in inferences about *the effect of block size on microeconomic diversity*, taking Manhattan as a case: blocks with narrow faces on one side (70m), generating great permeability and pedestrian and commercial success, and with long faces of the other (280m), generally showing less commercial presence. From there, Jacobs apparently constructed the association between block size, permeability, and diversity (figure 7). However, size is just part of the problem. Jacobs did not take into account more systemic dimensions of urban form. The shorter faces of blocks lead to more connective streets. The idea of ‘permeability’ captures this property locally, and here Jacobs is correct. The long faces of blocks, on the other hand, cut across the island of Manhattan from north to south. This geographic condition generates an elongated network, further expanding the number of connections of these streets, and their weight in the accessibility of the entire Manhattan street network, therefore attracting more pedestrians, vehicles and businesses. By not taking into account accessibility as a whole, Jacobs reduced the problem of location of activities to local permeability. In the case of Manhattan, her success was a coincidence. These difficulties in Jacobs’s approach appear in a spatial understanding limited by the knowledge then available – but also illustrate the risk of approaches based exclusively on local observations of a few cases.

However, Jacobs’s ideas

are fundamentally correct as to *the effect of block size on accessibility*, something implied in her attention to permeability. Siksna (1997) found the benefits of smaller blocks (between 60-80m and 80-110m, below 10,000m<sup>2</sup>) for pedestrian movement in twelve American and Australian cities. He also identified that those blocks tended to maintain their configuration over time, unlike larger ones (over 20,000m<sup>2</sup>). Karimi (1997) and Hillier (1999) have shown that smaller blocks tend to be found mostly in central areas, and that they improve the overall accessibility of the city – not just local accessibility, as Jacobs and Siksna had seen. Studies in London by Chiaradia et al (2012) also can be interpreted as corroborating Jacobs’s proposition, showing that reduced block sizes reduce travel times. Analyzing a larger sample, from ancient to contemporary case studies, Porta et al (2014) also found evidence of smaller block patterns around main streets. Taken together, these findings suggest that when cities grow, blocks in their centres and around main streets tend to be smaller, creating a denser system, with beneficial effects on accessibility.

There are other factors, such as *safety*, and here the empirical findings in the recent field of urban crime research are still inconclusive. Let us examine the evidence available in light of three of Jacobs’s conditions for a successful neighbourhood (the fourth condition, the age of buildings, does not seem to me to have yet been sufficiently verified). Let us look at (i) the *concentration of people*. The study by Hillier and Sahbaz (2012) in an extensive area in London shows that residential density is the most important variable in the relation between crime and space. Burglary tends to fall with the increase in residential density. Hillier and Sahbaz understand this as ‘safety in numbers’.

The results on the effects of (ii) the *mixture of primary uses* have intriguing variations. Most studies indicate that the higher the number of residential units in relation to non-residential units, the lower the crime rate (Anderson et al., 2013). But the relationship is not so simple. Hillier and Sahbaz (2012) break the problem of crime into *robbery* and *burglary*. Focusing here on the first case, the authors show that there is in fact an initial tendency to reduce crime, when urban areas have more

residential use. Of course, streets with more pedestrians tend to have more crimes. Bettencourt and West (2010) saw this trend in population variation in cities around the world. But this trend finds a turning point. Exclusively residential areas also become unsafe. The proportion in which the number of residential units exceeds non-residential units is the critical point here. Hillier and Sahbaz estimate that pedestrians are 68% safer on predominantly residential streets than they would be on fully residential streets. The relationship between diversity and robbery, therefore, is not linear. And there is another important factor. The absolute *number* of crimes should not be confused with the *risk* of crime: if on the one hand, we naturally find more crimes where there are more pedestrians, on the other hand the individual risk tends to be lower – something that many studies seem to ignore. As Hillier and Sahbaz argue, the key point is to assess *risk*, simply because it indicates how safe people are.

Hillier and Sahbaz (2012) also evaluated (iii) the *effect of block size* using the street segment as spatial entity: the longer the block, the higher the number of robbery cases. Their high-resolution analysis allows us to understand that the use of average areas of blocks in a neighbourhood masks differences between different blocks, a methodological inadequacy in Weicher (1973) and Schmidt (1977). Summing up, residential density (concentration of people), the length of the street segment (small blocks) and the presence of non-residential activities (the mix of primary uses) show negative correlations with the occurrence of crimes in the streets. Examined in isolation, these conditions of successful neighbourhood resist as theoretical propositions. Findings on burglary, in turn, are more diffuse – and also inconclusive.

## Verifying Jacobs’s economic theory

Several studies have been dealing with the effect of diversity on urban growth and the development of economies that grasped so much of Jacobs’s interest. Central questions in spatial economics like what are the vectors that produce urban agglomeration also motivated her. Extending her emphasis since *Death and Life*, she advocated the importance of

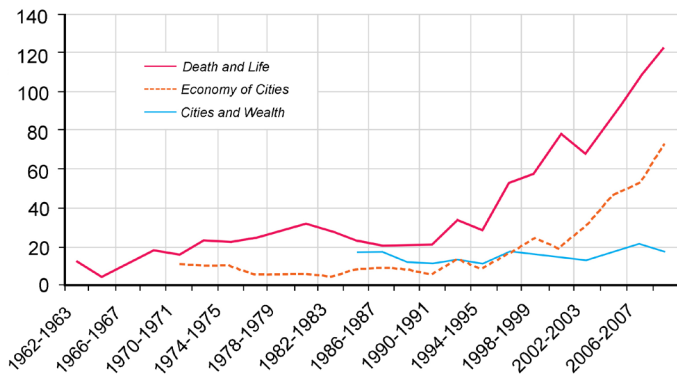


Figure 8 – The growth of citations of *The Economy of Cities*, compared to the classic *Death and Life*, and *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, according to the Web of Science. Source: derived from Harris (2011)

fertilization across sectors of the economy, animated by new activities and technologies multiplying the division of labour. Different forces can lead to the concentration of industries in specialized clusters and the concentration of activities in the same region or city (Rosenthal and Strange, 2004), and economists have different thoughts about the conditions under which this concentration occurs. According to Marshall (1890), Arrow (1962) and Romer (1986), agglomeration and its gains in the economy intensify with the location of companies of a same industry, generating regional or urban specialization. In contrast, Jacobs (1969a, 1969b) argues that *industrial diversity, usually called ‘urbanization economies’, promotes innovation and productivity growth*, because valuable knowledge transfers would occur across different industries through cross-fertilization of ideas and technologies.

In fact, the discussion of the roles of location (‘specialization’) and urbanization (‘diversity’) in spatial economics has been at times characterized as a confrontation between Marshall and Jacobs (e.g. Panne, 2004; Rosenthal and Strange, 2004). Evidence of the effects of both processes on productivity has been found. For example, doubling the size of a city by *grouping different industries would increase the productivity* of its activities by varying from 3 to 8%, as shown by Sveikauskas (1975), Moomaw (1981), Tabuchi (1986) and Rosenthal and Strange (2004), among others – corroborating Jacobs. Nakamura (1985) found evidence of the effects of size of an industry (specialization) in Japan, in the form of an increase of about 4.5% in productivity, and an increase of 3.4% in *productivity connected with the size of cities (a*

*proxy for diversity*). Henderson et al (1995) found that *employment growth is slow when a city is not diversified*, and that new industries thrive in large metropolises and, as they mature, decentralize into more specialized cities. Henderson (2003) found evidence of Marshall’s location economies for high-tech sectors, and of Jacobs’s urbanization economies for corporate enterprises in machinery manufacturing sectors. Nakamura (2008) points out that *sectors that receive positive returns from diversity have relatively smaller specialization economies*, and vice versa. Lee et al (2010) identified that firms in relatively *young industries rely more heavily on diversified environments that help them grow* (consistent with Jacobs), while firms in relatively old industries receive greater external benefits in the same industrial cluster.

Developing a measure of the diversity of industries in a city, applied in observations between 1956 and 1987 in 170 American cities, Glaeser et al (1992) identified that distributing the same type of employment in more firms increases local competition, and consequently, the diffusion of knowledge, a finding that supports Jacobs’s hypothesis that *local competition promotes growth* (also corroborated by Feldman and Audretsch, 1999). Still consistent with Jacobs, Glaeser et al attest that smaller firms grow faster, and that *economic sectors in a city grow faster when the rest of the city is less specialized* (see also Rosenthal and Strange 2004). Scherer (1982) presents systematic evidence indicating that about 70% of the inventions in a given industry are used in other industries, which supports the Jacobsian hypothesis of innovations via cross-fertilization. There are other studies seeking to

recognize the empirical effects of diversity on productivity, innovation and growth, leading to a significant increase in the number of citations of *The Economy of Cities* since the 1990s (figure 8).

One of the greatest recognitions that researchers can receive is to have a phenomenon with his or her name – for example, the Higgs Boson or the Doppler effect, in physics. The gains of diversity in the space economy have come to be called ‘Jacobs economies’, apparently suggested in Glaeser et al (1992). The authors argue that Jacobs’s dynamic externality theory is attractive because it attempts to explain simultaneously how cities are formed and why they grow (p.1128). Ikeda (2012) adds to this her emphasis not just on how economies grow or produce more, but develop and produce *different* and better things. Recently, using a more disaggregated, sub-city unit of population density to capture more of the differences in the ‘flat’ averages of variables across broad geographical areas generally used by economists, Gordon and Ikeda (2011) point out that the morphology suggested by Jacobs, capable of creating a diversity of attractors, enabling interactions and forming networks spontaneously, would further support innovation and diffusion, evaluated in numbers of patent records and professionals with advanced degrees, among other factors. They called this environment of maximizing the potential informal contact in public space ‘Jacobs densities’.

One important nuance in Jacobs is that she avoided demonizing the economy. In her early observations of New York, she was already interested in the material threads behind urban life, via ethnographic readings of microeconomic life. She realized how much our actions are linked to the activities and interactions that mediate our material survival in societies with a complex division of labour. Jacobs saw continuity between actions of association and actions of material reproduction. She realized that economic life does not exclude the heterogeneities of the social – rather, it creates the fabric that puts different social fields and classes in contact. Networks of exchange animate public spaces and mix groups that otherwise could be segregated. She was not based on an a priori rejection of the acceleration and standardization of

consumption, such as the taking of streets by chain stores that undercut microscopic networks of the local economy, making places more similar to each other. Jacobs knew that as a complex system, no entity could fully design the social and economic fabric, emphasizing the necessary adaptations between actors and the need for open interactions and change.

If the reversal of the importance of top-down dynamics controlled by a centralizing agent to the bottom-up processes emerging from the interactions of large numbers of actors had already been intuited in the economy since Adam Smith, Jacobs made this inversion in relation to the functioning of cities. Jacobs was not only a leader in grassroots political movements, but also in the understanding that societal processes are collective, rather than guided by the few. She saw a deeper order: that of profusion and complementarity along with the importance of unpredictability and the city as an open system. In her decades of activity, she theorized about systems – in streets, cities, economics and ecology – and on ‘organized complexity’. Jacobs was a theorist of self-organization *avant la lettre* fascinated by the evolving fabric of collective life, and a pioneer publicly opposing its destruction (see her 1958 essay, “A living network of relationships”, and the 1967 speech at the Royal Institute of British Architects, “The self-generating growth of cities” in Jacobs, 2016a).

Jacobs’s inferences have attracted, and for the most part, resisted the empirical test – a feat for any theorist, which sounds more striking if we consider that they were built up from local observations. My discussion of these studies should be seen as the beginning of a much-needed mapping of the verifications of Jacobs’s theories. That said, the importance of her theories goes beyond whether individual ideas are right or wrong: it lies in what they have opened as research agendas and planning practices.

## The last hypothesis

I have an entirely new hypothesis on how economics, macroeconomics, form themselves and organize themselves, and where this kind of life comes from. But it’s so different from the standard idea of economic life [...]. Everything in the hypothesis is out there, happening, and it accounts for so many things that are just slid over and ignored in regular

economics... I feel some urgency in my new hypothesis, yet I’m dubious it will be accepted”  
(Jacobs, 2016b:114-8).

Theorists know that insights are like jewellery: they come with great cost and immersion, and when they come, they illuminate things in a new way. Jacobs had more than her share of insights: there were many propositions throughout an intellectually restless career – since the uneasiness probably felt by the young girl who challenged the authority and conservatism of school life. Not converted to a book, her latest insight appeared in interviews in 2004 and in a chapter recently published in the recent commemorative collection of her one hundredth anniversary in 2016.

This is an economics textbook. It sets forth a new way of understanding macroeconomic behavior: how it organizes itself and operates at urban, national, continental, imperial and global levels, sustains – or fails to sustain – itself. Macroeconomic life is also large-scale in the sense of time. (Jacobs, 2016b [2004]:406)

The hypothesis ties findings from her earlier economics books of 1969 and 1985: the pattern of sporadic urban growth in *explosions of diversification and economic recombination, the import substitution process, and city import shifting*. These processes would now be integrated into one, which would also organize networks of macroeconomic activity in a chain reaction. The available text boils down to the introduction – possibly an outline. I interpret her reasoning by relating the aspects it brings. As ‘incidental fractals’ intertwine, networks would connect, crossing different scales: individual cities, city networks, rural spaces, regions... “self-organizing like a biological process” (p.430). Jacobs wanted to find the roots of macroeconomy in the actions of ordinary people, who act with the resources they have, from improvisation and creativity “as an integral part of innovation” (p.431). She was still looking for hypotheses.

## Conclusions: thinking with Jacobs, to go beyond Jacobs

There are many authors who seem to us to merge with their objects. They are authors who have unveiled the existence of entire phenomenal fields. Foucault rediscovers power in its microphysics, disciplining bodies. Chomsky identifies deep cognitive structures of the operation of mind and language. Weber describes the centrality of social action as the unit of production and interpretation of a society. Habermas reconstructs the place of communication and rationality in life and social reproduction. Jacobs does something similar with *the discovery of the effects of morphology* in instances more microscopic than the powerful centripetal forces known to economists. Her findings open the way *cities become mergers of material and social systems*. Urban studies as a discipline do not yet have the corpus of knowledge and recognition of areas such as sociology or economics – but if it ever achieves that status, Jacobs will be occupying a central place among its founders. While many struggle with obscure language and small additions, and their work remains ignored, we can say that the lady with no credentials has become the most quoted and important theorist of a discipline – and has gone beyond it. I cannot think of a story that shows more clearly the power of ideas.

Of course, it is hard to make justice to Jacobs’s intellectual trajectory in a single paper. If I were to try to summarize it, I would say that she was an iconoclast, demolisher of established assumptions and orthodoxies, who felt freedom to move smoothly between themes and fields. She had an independent intellectual posture, rejecting worldviews given as a priori, alternating moral responsibility and appreciation of the material world. She was a theorist with an eye for the small and ordinary, but capable of weaving them into relations that exist beyond observation – a thinker of *diversity as the engine of systems transformation, and of the autonomy and materiality of collective life*.

This article could not explore some of the limits of the Jacobsian theory, such as the problem of gentrification, or risks of material determinism. Nor was it able to explore possibilities for its expansion. What would

allow us to expand beyond the edges of her ideas? What are the directions, prospects, connections between Jacobs's themes and other approaches, extending the 'living networks'? In any case, the contributions of Jacobs, among those of other original authors, is a step in reinventing and deepening the discipline – thinking with Jacobs, to go beyond Jacobs.

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# The Public Space (In)Visible to the Eyes of Jane Jacobs

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**Abstract:** Everyday Everyday experience in the city is increasingly marked by indifference; by temporary consumption and a lack of the spontaneous and meaningful social interaction in which the public space becomes a social form allowing broad and unrestricted access to the most different voices and forms of appropriation (Sennet, 1992b; Delgado, 1999; 2008; Deutsche, 2007). It is in this context that we investigate how much Jane Jacobs's "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" – which was concerned with the everyday public space – is still relevant in conditions that are now so different from those that stimulated the writing of her study. Besides paying tribute to Jacobs, we intend to explore the connections of the main elements of her work, but also to recognize its occasional inconsistencies and omissions that require some contextualisations and different approaches, reconsidering her work by asking how and how much it is (or is not) still possible to call on her views when considering conditions for the production of public space in the contemporary city.

**Key words:** Public space, Jane Jacobs, Everyday, Diversity.

## Introduction

The public space has acquired considerable presence on the recent political and academic agenda, and is occupied by a wide range of social struggles both in Brazil and worldwide<sup>1</sup>. But this moment of inflection presents contradictions as well, when collective movements seem to be claiming the political dimension of the public space as a privileged locus for action and speech – in the sense put forward by Hannah Arendt

1 Global examples (on different scales and for different reasons): "Occupy Wall Street" - New York (2011); "Tahrir square occupation" - Cairo (2011); "Ni una a menos" - Buenos Aires (2016). In Brazil: "Largo Vivo" - Porto Alegre (2011); "Jornadas de Junho" - nationwide (2013).

and David Harvey –, at the same time our everyday experiences in the city are increasingly defined by indifference and the lack of more diverse appropriations.

It is important to note that we consider the public space here as a social and material form that privileges encounter, the interaction of differences, the possibility for varied uses, co-presence, conflict and dissent, with a collectively constructed symbolic system (ARENDR, 1998; LEFEBVRE, 2006; SENNET, 1992b; DELGADO, 1999; DEUTSCHE, 2007). But scenarios described by several authors lead us to consider that the ways of producing the public space seem to be increasingly narrow. Muñoz (2008) refers to

urbanalisation<sup>2</sup>: the city based on total domination of the image, existing for spectacle and imprisoned in the global network of planning programmes. For Augé, the city has been taken over by "blind spots" – spaces of alienation between city and citizens. Manuel Delgado defines this context as "anti-city"<sup>3</sup>, subject to urban ideologies that favour

2 Urbanalisation refers to how the city landscape is thematised and how, like theme parks, fragments of cities are now being reproduced, replicated and cloned in others (MUÑOZ, 2008, p.2).

3 "In this residual territory there is nothing, no past, no future, nothing but the present, designed by those who cross it" (DELGADO, 2008, p. 130).



themed spaces, deny functional and human differences and drain the history from public spaces<sup>4</sup>.

Our investigation of how much the legacy of Jane Jacobs can help us to explore and interpret the contemporary public space will begin with her work “The Death and Life of Great American Cities”, as an ethnographic portrayal that privileges observation of everyday socio-spatial relationships in the public space as the foundation of urban life.

However much we might agree with the validity of her arguments, it seems that the persistence of a general admiration of her diagnoses and solutions for the (American) cities of her times has transformed her ideas into a kind of panacea. We therefore intend to reconsider the reading and use of Jacobs’s work in the context of its creation, and go beyond the inappropriate generalisations of her study that are still so present. While we indicate how elements of this specific book are still valid for consideration of the public space, it also seems necessary to discuss the possible absences, omissions and/or contradictions in the work for the contemporary context. We will therefore find a position from which *Death and Life* can be valued as a cornerstone in thinking about cities, but not elevated to the level of a universal manual for the urban.

The first section – “Situating the viewpoint of Jacobs” – looks briefly at the historical-political context in which the book was written. Then, in “The everyday networks seen by Jacobs”, we explore connections between her key elements that still echo through discussions of the city today. Next, in an exercise rarely performed in the majority of studies based on her work, we attempt to illustrate “What the eyes of Jacobs did not see” in relation to the attributes and conditions of the public space. These considerations will seek a balance between moments when inconsistencies and omissions appear in her argument, either in the text or in a more underlying way, which need some attention to prevent use of her teachings being restricted to veneration or to simple and shallow interpretation. Faced with contemporary conditions that increasingly require an updated technical-scientific repertoire and “a (necessary) look beyond Jacobs”, we ask to what extent it is (or is

<sup>4</sup> These aspects are discussed further in: CRESTANI; ALVES, 2016.

not) still possible to call upon the views of Jacobs when addressing the conditions of production of the public space in the contemporary city.

## Situating the viewpoint of Jacobs

When Jacobs’s most celebrated book, “The Death and Life of the Great American Cities”, was published in 1961, her country faced several problems. Great North American cities like New York – the author’s home at the time –, Boston and Los Angeles were experiencing tension between different ethnic groups and migration of the white middle classes to the suburbs in pursuit of greater safety and comfort.

In response, planners of the period developed “Urban Renewal” strategies that involved demolition of old neighbourhoods for the construction of new apartment blocks; relocation of the existing population and expansion of highway access to the suburbs. Jacobs clearly opposed this thinking in her first sentence: “This book is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding” (JACOBS, 1961, p.1).

The author believed that such practices aimed “to organise everything” without making contact with the real city, and would be economically unsustainable, eliminating entire infrastructures to reconstruct others without meeting real needs. Jacobs considers an alternative urban planning, shifting the core of her observations away from an urbanist vision and towards the scale of everyday life on the streets.

## The everyday networks seen by Jacobs

The street is important to Jacobs as an anchor and active part of the production of the city as a social form, in which the metaphor of the “ballet of the sidewalk” is used to evoke and synthesize a series of ideas for rethinking the city, such as:

a. The **spontaneity** of the public space: “But there is nothing simple about that order itself, or the bewildering number of components that go into it. [...] They unite their joint effect upon the sidewalk, which

is not specialized in the least. That is its strength”. (JACOBS, 2011, p. 54). Silent, unprogrammed accords occur all the time, weaving an intricate web of relationships whose form and order are found in disorder itself.

b. The value of **co-presence** in maintaining the public space – the narrative of the “ballet” concerns the dynamic of a social space marked by the interaction of strangers in which individuals share a common experience of the world.

c. And **diversity** – the book’s central issue – as a necessary element for urban life, driven by a multiplicity of people and spontaneous informal relationships.

Jacobs’s concern for **diversity** is an extension of her criticism of the negative effect of planning definitions on cities: “...lively, diverse, intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration,” (JACOBS, 1961, p.448). Loss of diversity appears as a negative effect of large-scale generic urbanisation solutions, which neglect the particular features of each locale. In the second part of her book Jacobs indicates elements that she believed shape the physical conditions for its development, such as: different combined uses in the composition of neighbourhoods, ensuring the co-presence of people at different times; short blocks, which affect the frequency of opportunities for turning corners; places with different ages of buildings in different states of repair, which enable a range of economic income; and finally a sufficient density of people in the place, including residents.

This section of the book suggests a theoretical-practical idea of diversity that combines two dimensions – architectural and social: “The architectural dimension, in the variation of types of building, public spaces and of activities; and a social dimension, in the variety of subjects”, in the spontaneity with which that web of interactions is established (AGUIAR, 2012, p. 65). Jacobs considers the public space as a “backdrop”, playing a key role in forming collective interactions, which she sees as an active component of the socio-spatial networks that reveal diversity.

Furthermore, the four conditions merge together on the “ground” of **microeconomics**. The book refers frequently to the importance of commercial and service establishments along the sidewalks to stimulate a continuous

and dynamic “ballet” (JACOBS, 1961, p. 57). A place’s vitality will be activated by the presence of small traders (on the street or in buildings) because they offer settings that facilitate meaningful interactions.

Jacobs connects microeconomics and space – as a condition for diversity – again revealing the significance of the spatial (architectural) dimension in her support of everyday practices and appropriations responsible for the life of the public space. The first three aspects for the development of diversity (mentioned previously) guarantee the fourth element: density

A factor for diversity and vitality, density facilitates collective interaction and therefore public life: “The visitors sniff out where something vigorous exists already, and come to share it, thereby further supporting it” (JACOBS, 1961, p.149). Moreover, her praise of density is part of her criticism of modern planning strategies that stimulate the shift of the population to the suburbs and adoption of apartment blocks, prioritizing vehicle routes and consequently weakening collective interaction.

Such design stimulates the opposite of diversity: segregation, accompanied by a sense of insecurity in the public space. Jacobs introduces the concept of “eyes upon the street” as the spontaneous practice of vigilance accompanying appropriation, which is fundamental for informal public life.

Microeconomics and density are here combined in support of a lively, safe and diverse public life. Jacobs’s “eyes upon the street” are those of co-presence, of otherness, which is only noticeable on the micro scale of everyday interactions. The “other” is a fundamental part of the city described by Jacobs, becoming part of our urban experience and informing us of favourable conditions for the production of public life. “City people [do not] seek the sight of emptiness [...]. People’s love of watching activity and other people is constantly evident in cities everywhere”, (JACOBS, 1961, p. 37). The role of the “other” is important here as part of an always latent social interaction, of exchanges and socialisations that activate the public space.

Familiar figures – such as traders – help towards security by acting as observers in the public space, stimulating mutual trust and a feeling of protection. Security also

grows out of democratic self-control able to weave “a web of public respect and trust, and a resource in time of personal or neighbourhood need” (JACOBS, 1961, p. 56).

To summarise the book’s main contributions: the street is the scale chosen by Jacobs in a clash with modernist ideals; she makes us look at the everyday, at the “complex ballet” and what is driven by it – informal public life, the power of co-presence in maintaining street life. She sees microeconomics as a positive element for diversity that traverses and reconciles the architectural and social dimensions of the public space. We will now look at certain inconsistencies in her ideas, in an attempt to make critical progress into important issues about the public space that are either absent or incomplete in her work.

## What the eyes of Jacobs did not see

While Jacobs celebrates the **spontaneity** of everyday interactions in the public space, she also seems sometimes to invite us to question how much she values that same aspect. When she speaks of the “ballet” of Hudson Street in New York, she refers to a very specific setting: a community of white middle-class neighbours and traders, with customs that follow a particular pattern recognisable by all, which will ensure maintenance of the **order and safety** of the street.

She describes the dynamics of her street and neighbourhood, valuing the microeconomic life that supports vitality, and then refers to a population “alien” to this space, which visits it, uses or passes through it, but is not part of it. She mentions a degree of discomfort towards strangers in the street, stating that coexistence between community and outsiders can only be successful under certain socio-spatial conditions: “**Once a street is well equipped to handle strangers**, once it has both a good, effective demarcation between private and public spaces and has a basic supply of activity and eyes, **the more strangers the merrier**” (JACOBS, 1961, p.40, our emphasis). Here lies one of our first concerns: how much does the spontaneity advocated by Jacobs depart (or not) from a view of the ordering of space? How far can the exercise of spontaneity be associated with material conditions?

Jacobs considers familiar figures to be the sharpest eyes on the street because they are able to recognise changes in rhythm and disruptions of order, that is, **conflicts**. As we have seen, the possibility of conflict is a fundamental feature for the political production of the public space, which presupposes a platform open to variety, different modes of appropriation, and therefore allows dissent. Jacobs’s view of the possibility of multiple uses and appropriations diverges somewhat from these spontaneous collective practices: “All kinds of people can be present, but those who tum up for one reason at one time must not be sorted out in some totally incompatible fashion from those who turn up for another reason” (JACOBS, 1961, p. 163).

Jacobs’s argument seems therefore to leave little space for the possibility of difference. This contradiction sometimes derives from the fact that the neighbourhoods Jacobs uses as positive examples (such as North End in Boston and the West Village in New York), were at the time ethnically white neighbourhoods, whose blocks had already been partially modernised, socially homogeneous and formed of a select group of working middle class: generally journalists, architects and artists (GANS, 1968). These features are practically not contextualised by Jacobs or her followers, and largely explain why the image of the street ballet can be almost an excluding abstraction in the light of the socio-economic and spatial conditions of the streets of our own cities: “Jacob’s view perpetuates the image of the New York City block as a microcosm of social diversity. This is the block we know from films, [...] is just as much a social construction as the movie image of a New York City” (ZUKIN, 2010, p.17).

Berman addresses this somewhat acerbically:

If we look back a little sceptically at her vision of her block, we may see the trouble. Her inventory of the people in her neighbourhood has the aura of [...] a Hollywood version [...]: every race, creed and colour working together to keep America free for you and me. [...] But wait - here is the problem: [...] there are no blacks on her block. This is what makes her neighbourhood vision seem pastoral: it is the city before the blacks got there [...] There is nothing and no one above; what

matters more here, however, is that there is nothing and no one below (BERMAN, 1988, p. 324).

Jacobs's diversity can therefore be questioned on two levels: (1) How inclusive is the diversity she advocates (allowing coexistence of greater socio-economic and socio-cultural differences and their ways of appropriating the space)? and (2) how far does high density support a diversity that can feed the public space with different forms of socialisation? These questions clearly are not aimed at invalidating the book's contributions, and we are far from any conclusive answer. But we do have some questions about their directions.

Firstly, we believe that **diversity** alone (as a concept and guideline in the book) is not enough for the discussion and proposals of a public space in the sense considered here, and it needs to be necessarily articulated/revised alongside the concept of **difference**. Although diversity per se suggests a distinctive relationship between one element and another, it also allows different elements to be rationalised in large groups: we can talk of a "diverse group" and still celebrate the existence of specific features interacting within it. "Diversity" in isolation can become an instrument for exclusion and discrimination, and in terms of the sociology of the public space, a conceptual pitfall and political strategy for the erasure and/or mollification of difference and inequality:

Diversity erases difference because the diverse contains the idea of identities that relate to each other, that are composed and tolerate each other as if egalitarian dialogues could be established without power/knowledge hierarchies, when the very function of difference is to blur identities rather than to institute them. (RODRIGUES; ABRAMOWICZ, 2013, p. 3).

"Difference" – also a key concept for Lefebvre (1970) – is, in contrast, what allows us to recognise different values and release ourselves from homogenising patterns in the production of the spaces of life. Difference offers the possibility of the other, of incorporating the other sides of the city and valuing them as legitimates sides of our everyday existence.

Secondly, Jacobs points to density as a factor generating

diversity, facilitating proximity between groups, which might lead to co-presence between individuals. But we should note that although proximity enables significant interactions between individuals and between them and the space, it does not necessarily produce them. Coexistence of individuals and/or groups in a particular section of space does not predetermine co-presence, which implies cohesive and/or conflictive dynamics, deep interactions between context, the individual and group, and which therefore consists of social difference and its consequences (DOXA, 2001; NETTO, 2012). Thus we can say that it is the quality (not the quantity) of socio-spatial interactions that significantly differentiates some spaces from others: that is, **intensity**.

Considering that the public space is produced from collective experience that allows for difference, we need to question the extent of density as a concept/instrument. Intensity<sup>5</sup> is a measure of emphasis rather than volume; of interaction and not the mere coexistence of a number of people; of what is significant, acquiring meaning through contrast rather than what is homogenous and even. As Sennet says (1992a, p. 117): "Emphasis is an act that veers toward exaggeration. The italicized word, for instance, serves as a marker that it is important. Emphasis is a concentration of meaning". The means (aggregated or reinforced) by which as space acquires intensity are not neutral, therefore, and are determined by specific political-cultural content.

Density and intensity are complementary, but a fine line of differentiation is needed to prevent their weakening as instruments that affect different aspects of our perception/experience and reveal different processes developing in the city. Although density is an important element of vitality, it is not itself a characteristic of individual and/or collective actions that create ties of sociability and an urbanity of difference, interaction and communication. Jacobs offers us density as a powerful generator of a city's dynamism and diversity,

<sup>5</sup> The definition of intensity related to something that "is manifest or felt in abundance, vigour", "that exceeds the customary". So although the basis of density and intensity concerns quantitative relationships, intensity is a manifestation that is characterized qualitatively, containing within itself that prime quali-value condition: "is manifest or felt".

yet she does not consider the inter-subjective relationships of the production of the public space that might come from the study of intensity. In short: not every space is dense and intense, the opposite is also true.

Another issue concerns her advocacy of the need for clear separation between the public and private space as a way of maintaining security. Jacobs does not clarify this in depth, but states that the area to be monitored (the street) needs to relate to the clear physical boundaries between public and private space. Here again she is questioning one of the formal models of modernism, which for Jacobs interferes with the performance of "eyes on the street" and compromises the feeling of security. Agreeing with Jacobs that socio-spatial interactions tend to be weakened by the modern model of the city<sup>6</sup>, we still question her emphasis on the separation of private and public, which seems somewhat detached from the rest of her argument. Initially offering a more integrative approach – able to overcome dichotomies and find a possible reconciliation of spatial and social dimensions, connecting them to the micro economy – this later idea seems to resonate with a physical determinism that is far from that view.

Finally, we consider what Herb Gans and Sharon Zukin suggest as an "abstinence" of Jacobs in relation to the power of two important actors in the production of cities: the State and property owners. Urban planning is the State: it is part of it. The "death of life in the cities" weighs heavily on the minds of urbanists, who despite having some influence on the development of the city are a relatively powerless group against the political force of the interests of capital:

It is true that in the first half of twentieth century Le Corbusier and other architects popularized designs for superblocks and disdained narrow, crowded streets. But developers and state agencies built these designs, and, with her intelligence and progressive political activism, Jacobs should not have ignored the power of capital that they wielded (ZUKIN, 2010, p.25).

<sup>6</sup> Some studies investigate in more detail the effect of architectural morphology on the quality of interactions and vitality. See: NETTO, et al.(2012).

Jacobs's lack of critique of the interests of the State and capital – which drive out populations in pursuit of profit from exploitation of urban land values – is somewhat questionable, and needs to be addressed. (MARICATO, 2001; ZUKIN, 2010). Blaming planners for designing whole neighbourhoods as spaces that alienated the relationship between occupants and the city, she did not use the same force in discussion of the powers of capital and the State, which defined (and still do) what is and is not built in the city (ZUKIN, 2010). Silence towards these agents in some way authorised misappropriation of her repertoire (RYBCZYNSKI, 2010). Jacobs's rhetoric of stimulating continued vitality and dynamism of the urban space has today taken on a negative sense far from her original suggestions: in the form of a public space increasingly subject to market criteria, controlled and stereotyped in different modes of consumption and which falsely meet expectations of improvements to the city. Such expressions of a public space are exactly the opposite of those of Jacobs.

## Considerations – a (necessary) look beyond Jacobs

Jane Jacobs's work is one of the cornerstones in urban studies of the last century, bringing new areas into the academic and political discussion of urban planning and calling attention to the social web of everyday urban relations. Her work surpasses its literary quality to become a manifesto in favour of urban life, sparing no efforts in criticising modernist ideals and shaking up the status of planners and the rationalisation of their methodologies, which still echoes through urban planning today.

Her arena is the everyday public space. Readers' direct identification with her language is perhaps based on her position in that place: alongside the individuals and relationships she wished to describe, allowing the spontaneity and informality of the street to affect the style and flow of her critique and response, on each page encouraging us to observe the public space more closely and from within.

But her achievement merits

more than unquestioning reverence – on the contrary, she seems to have been concerned with shifting us into a more critical view about reflections and practices in the city. So, without detracting from the virtues of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, we also wish to look at the work with slightly more investigative eyes – a difficult exercise of self-control in face of the enthusiasm that we (like many others) sense when turning its pages.

In this work Jacobs acutely questions our roles as architects and planners in the design of cities and the impacts that might arise. But her political engagement against the proposals of Robert Moses seems to have overly affected her book's aims, so that other agents and processes in the shaping of cities are almost invisible in her reflections. The energy expended on this crusade – first and foremost as an activist – provides us with effective ammunition against Moses and the modern plan but does not reach other important targets. While the figure of the urban specialist suffers at her hands, the powers of State and capital seem almost untouched<sup>7</sup>, and yet they define the city in ways that contrast greatly with Jacobs's interests (whether in the present or when she was writing) in the preservation of the community, its authenticity and the maintenance of diversity and the spontaneity of public spaces. In this regard (at least in this book) Jacobs left us without a broader critique even for her times – since Robert Moses did not act alone, and was financed by federal and private funding and supported by the political platform of the local administration, in materialising his plan in North America. Jacobs therefore addresses the city from a considerably partial, disconnected reality, ignoring forces such as property speculation, demographic growth and even the internationalisation of New York.

We consider Jacobs's neglect of these aspects to be unsound, not just from the interpretative viewpoint (of the city as it is),

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7 Remembering that our focus is based on "Death and Life". It is important to recognise that criticism of the State appears in later works, such as "Dark ages ahead". But throughout her career of manifestos and political activism "Death and Life" might have been accurate and considered as a broader conjuncture between actors and powers of the forces that she discusses about the city.

but because at several instances her work presents a proscriptive approach (of the city that should be) and should therefore reveal the connections of forces that shape the urban space, which are not restricted to the planner's drawing board and pencil. In this respect the work fails to include a critique that is more technical than social:

Jacobs's critique suggests quite distinctive approaches to the form of planning the city. On the one hand the requirement for diversity as authentic and derived from the everyday is a strong argument against any kind of external intervention, principally by the State. [...] On the other, it is not really social criticism, but instead a criticism of the technical as the only legitimate criterion for decision making that affects people's lives (TAVOLARI, 2015, p.11).

We suspect that this omission is what makes her work accessible to a more divergent range of "tastes", turning it into a common discourse that is easily adopted by design practices that are totally antagonistic to her vision: "Jacobs's work has been unduly appropriated and romanticised by influential groups such as urban planners and administrators – groups which have an interest in the homogenisation of the spaces of the city" (LYES, 2016, p. 58).

Indeed it is not unusual to hear "Jacobs would say"<sup>8</sup> stated by actors in the production of an urban space totally alien to the real objectives that she was fighting for.

Much of this also seems to stem from a relatively one-sided and convenient appropriation of her advocacy of microeconomic life as a positive factor for the vitality and diversity of the public space. Although we agree about the value of Jacobs's argument here – and that it deserves greater consideration in studies about the public space – it has been attacked by some scholars with extreme views about its negative effects – which seems inappropriate. Of course this negative view is based on effects established in

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8 Her centenary was commemorated last year. At events we attended in New York we often heard this expression in highly controversial discussions of her legacy. Which is further evidence of the "common place" occupied by her work because of inaccurate consideration of her writings.

the city when the “discourse in favour of microeconomic life” has long supported developmentalist proposals which only break the city down into stereotypes of consumption according to market criteria and directed towards specific social classes, restricting forms of encounter and socialisation and creating exclusive spaces of segregation.

We know that Jacobs is careful not to generalise. Neither does she impose her work as a model! But her argument is constructed in a tone of recommending ways towards better cities: and herein lies the danger of accepting “what Jacobs said” as valid for every situation. The list of conditions for diversity, for example, chooses not to consider the specific relations of each context (be they spatial, economic or cultural) and forgets that diversity is sometimes not a positive effect on the space, depending on what lies behind it. It can be the effect of completely exclusive and selective changes in the urban setting. Harlem<sup>9</sup> in New York<sup>10</sup>, provides a clear example, when in 2000 it began to be adopted by different cultures from all corners of the world, driving out its **authentic** Afro-American population. The neighbourhood that had long been known as the “Mecca of black culture” is in fact today highly diverse culturally, yet extremely selective socioeconomically and considerably drained of its original population.

Of course, this also concerns gentrification – a phenomenon that was still embryonic in the United States and began to acquire greater and more deeply felt impact years after Jacobs’s book was published, and about which we can hardly demand she have some prior knowledge. Although Jacobs did not ignore the problem (of gentrification) in her later works (which are beyond the scope of this article), she could obviously not address all urban issues in a single study and did not have enough time before her death to respond to those who even singled her out as a gentrifier herself (a view we do not support).

Many of Jacobs’s ideas ultimately became general parameters for diagnosis and

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9 The neighbourhood is a current doctoral subject for one of the authors.

10 Such as: Gans, 1965; Zukin, 2010

solutions to American cities, over emphasising the attributes of space<sup>11</sup> on the quality of interactions. But we believe that there are inconsistencies involving the use of her work that are beyond her control – beginning with the actual translation of the title of the book into other languages, in which The death and life of great American cities “loses” “American” to become “Death and life of great cities”.

The importance of this should not be ignored, since the translation leads to a socio-cultural, spatial and political decontextualisation that hinders how the work is used by its readers. The absence of “American” in the title “authorises”, or at least provides a (negative) excuse for the undue use of some aspects of Jacobs’s reflections both by politicians and academics. Not to discredit the work of Jacobs, many of the references sought for understanding cities do not necessarily fit the historical, political, cultural etc. aspects of the formation of our cities, and are therefore unable to explain them in several respects. Her work is another of those omnipresent references that we (not she) have chosen to elevate beyond criticism, which impedes the development of theoretical and practical updating of the discussions of our urban problems today.

In terms of the public space, we have shown that several omissions need to be overcome in relation to Jacobs’s work. Singling out three: the first is the need to relativise her conditions for **diversity**, turning our attention also to the understanding and implications of considering **differences** in the study/design of the contemporary public space and recognising that – spatial or social – they are fundamental in the establishment of different intensities of urban experiences. Secondly, it is important to differentiate **intensity and density**, not just semantically but also because they are instruments that act in very different ways on our view of the city and the elements we value within it. It should be stressed that this does not mean choosing “a side”. Both are important and tenuously relate to each other, but intensity clearly touches on symbolic dimensions of the public space that density alone cannot if we wish to speak of a meaningful and genuine space of co-presence. Finally, it

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11 Such as morphology, age of cities, width of sidewalks and facade openings.

is crucial that we recognise and make our interventions (practical or theoretical) on the public space in the awareness that its **autonomy** (which allows for dissent, different appropriations and variety etc.) is a fundamental condition for its social and political form. Jacobs may have begun in that way with her praise of the spontaneity and informal life of the street, but she then focuses more on material conditions for social life, without concentrating the same effort on sensory aspects of the production of the public space, which cannot be retained by its material conditions.

In scientific terms, Jacobs offers instruments in the study of space that require some care/ updating, since her book presents no clear methodology. Her strategies concerning “successful neighbourhoods”, for example, were not carried out systematically, contained no random sampling and were not concerned with being representative according to a sufficient number of neighbourhoods (Saboya et al, 2015).

Her ethnography of the everyday has provided us with a scale of real understanding of urban life and invited us to leave our offices to make contact with the social relations that give life to the city. But in this book Jacobs avoids a broader scale (her critique of the modernists) and ends up concentrating on the other extreme – the scale of the city block. So the question is: what are the possible (physical and social) effects of her recommendations for the public space? If we were to follow the material conditions of her proposal, would a diverse city be guaranteed, one full of life, full of different and spontaneous appropriations? A hiatus remains in relation to the connection between the micro scale of interactions and the major infrastructures that ensure the functioning of the city as a whole, with costs on maintenance and economic accessibility, with direct effects on the quality of the urban space and its social composition, and therefore on the socio-spatial conditions shaping the ballet of the street.

This article does not aim to diminish Jacobs’s analytical effort and the important step it has allowed us to make towards the study of cities. But we do believe there to be omissions in the contextualisation of several dimensions in the reading and use of her text, especially if we are not to reduce the scope of

discussion of the public space. If we want to confront the “great plague of monotony”, as Jacobs describes standardised spaces that are without doubt segregated and excluding – the previously mentioned “anti-city” of Manuel Delgado and the “urbanisation” of Muñoz – we need to recognise and accept without too much sensitivity that there may be some limitations not just in her work but also in that of many others whose work we use to read the city.

In a climate of the continuous deification (because it dispenses with critical thinking) of works like *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, we urgently need to progress towards empirical-analytical-theoretical exercises that can question the conditions of producing the public space in the contemporary city, restore the gains brought about by reflections like those of Jacobs, update over-affected gazes and prevent so many repeated (and now unproductive) approaches.

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# Key note speakers





## Dirk Schubert

Dirk Schubert is Professor for Urban Planning at HafenCity University Hamburg. His research and publications are focused on Comparative Perspectives of Urban Waterfront Transformations and Urban Renewal Strategies including involvement of people and participation. This leads directly to Jane Jacobs, her work, publications and impact not only in North America, but also in Europe and other countries. Jacobs famous book has challenged the discipline of urban planning and led to a paradigm shift. Controversial in the 1960s, most of her ideas became generally accepted within a decade or so after publication.

Dirk Schubert organized an international conference in Hamburg in 2011 on the 50th anniversary of the famous book “Death and Life of Great American Cities” with international experts: “Queen Jane Jacobs. Jane Jacobs and Paradigm Shifts in Urban Planning and Urban Redevelopment”. Now, more than 50 years after her initial publication, in a period of rapid globalization and deregulated approaches in planning, new challenges arise. Of course it is not possible simply to follow Jane Jacobs’s ideas to the letter (“What would have Jane Jacobs said?”), but instead it is necessary to contextualize them, to look for relevant lessons for cities and planners, and critically to re-evaluate them and how some of her ideas might be updated.

Dirk Schubert has published two books on Jane Jacobs and several articles in German, English and Turkish and is also Chairman of the Fritz Schumacher Society (FSG) and President of the International Planning History Society (IPHS).

# “Anti-planner” or “urban visionary” – Paradigm Shifts and Jane Jacobs’s Paradoxes of Planning

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(City) planning was and is controversial in many ways. It contains normative elements and seeks to control spatial development with social implications. Jane Jacobs’s criticism was directed at urban planning in the USA in the late 1950s and the drastic area remediation projects at the time. Since then paradigm shifts towards an involvement of parties affected by planning developments have taken place, and not only in the USA. The theory Jane Jacobs developed about cities being organised complexity, the paradox of planning and non-planning, interdependence of chaos and order are still integral components of planning processes and the debate on the future of cities.

**Keywords:** Jane Jacobs, Paradoxes of Planning, Paradigm Shifts

## Introduction

Jane Jacobs is often called upon by neoliberal authors to depict urban planning as bureaucratic, top-down and essentially unnecessary. She discredited city planning as a “pseudo-science” and understood her iconoclastic book “Death and Life” as “an attack on current city planning and rebuilding” [Jacobs, 1962a: 3]. Current – this is important to note

– refers to the practice and situation in the USA at the end of the 1950s. Planning projects and developments extended over long time frames, were vague and too general, resulting in hidden conflicts which did not emerge until “practical constraints” had already arisen. This was and still is an important argument. Diverse circumstances, turning politics, new actors and changes in the housing and office markets can hinder the implementation of a development or

generate dramatic changes in the initial plan. But cities worldwide have benefitted even from minimal planning interventions for providing infrastructure, water supplies, sewer systems, streets and often building regulations. How can we best influence urban development, resilient and sustainable cities in the long-run, what degree of comprehensive planning is necessary, or would non-planning and abandoning cities to market forces and private devel-



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opers generate the best solutions? Incidentally, non-planning is also planning of a kind.

In general, planning and the participation of relevant stakeholders in the preparation of plans is linked in various ways to the history, culture and politics of cities, regions and countries and their regulatory regimes. This therefore touches upon the old issue of power and the structural problem of legitimacy: can planners act in the public interest, as it is defined, and how can poorer, disadvantaged groups be included. Jacobs already criticised participation [1962b: 1] as a “fashionable catchword”: “Urban renewal, in short, is not saving the people. Maybe, then, the people can save urban renewal and, thereby, save themselves”. Plans include many long-term dimensions while urban reality changes quickly, whether planned or unplanned. The only predictable aspect is its unpredictability.

Time and many side effects may influence the implementation of a plan. When everything seems to be plannable, controllable and calculable, the unforeseen side effects can be even more dramatic. The German sociologist Ulrich Beck talked of “risk-society”, referring to catastrophes like Chernobyl [Beck, 1986]. This implies the question of whether non-planning is in fact the best plan? “Does the unpredictable flourish best by refusing to look ahead?” [Hellweg, 2011: 107]. Beck suggests a typology of uncertainty and differentiates between temporary uncertainty, unaware uncertainty, intended uncertainty and inadvertent uncertainty. He quotes the Swiss author and dramaturge Friedrich Dürrenmatt: “The more planned the action of man the more unexpectedly he is struck by accident” [Beck, 2007: 242]. Beck distinguishes between not being able to have knowledge and not wanting knowledge.

“We live in the era of side effects. It is not means-end rationality but the side effect which becomes the engine of social history. Scientification undermines scientification. These determine those. Not knowing but non-knowledge is the medium of “reflexive modernity” [Beck, 1994: 25]. Loving paradoxes, Jane Jacobs might have said: Only planning ensures the preconditions for the unpredictable, only urban planning offers options for niches and spaces for flexible, temporary uses, innovations and can serve as an incubator for inventions. To summarise: “How, not whether to plan [...] The first – the most elementary – lesson for downtown is simply the importance of planning” wrote Jacobs already in the 1950s in an article on shopping centres [Jacobs, 1953: 122].

Jacobs is often accused of black and white thinking, of conceiving only “for” and “against” and denying nuance. Her sources were *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and a vast number of books taken out of the public library. She used observations, stories and anecdotes to make generalisations. Her early polemics were directed at planners [Jacobs, 1962b]. Despite a dearth of precise concepts, she provided an influential critique of the “omnipotent” planners who conceive their plans “from above”, from a bird’s eye-view and from the comfort of their “ivory towers.” She questioned the planners’ disciplinary identity, professional authority and vision, challenged the discipline’s self-image in the decades that followed [Glazer, 1974: 346] and criticised the “principles of sorting out” spatial functions [Jacobs, 1962b: 25], planners “think big” using deductive reasoning. “Most city architectural designers and planners are men” [Jacobs, 1962b: 83] and planning, in Jacobs’s view, was based on modernistic

planning approaches. She thought her adversary, Robert Moses in New York, exemplified that planning was often ineffective, inefficient and unsuccessful and, despite its visionary ambitions, had contributed little to the recovery and visual enhancement of cities. Moses’s projects were fully financed, agreed upon with politicians and investors, the land acquired and designs completed well before they were presented to the press and the bulldozers moved in. Who was to oppose “improvements” under those conditions? In her opinion, plans that had been drawn up with the noble aims of improving society by naïve functionalism and implementing “top down” efficiency had failed. These plans were not inductive but a kind of *gesamtkunstwerk* that did not relate to the urban context. Jacobs’s pro-urban attack on often anti-urban planners had a lasting effect. The bewildered planners needed to find new allies as they saw themselves increasingly confronted with critical questions from the “bottom up” for which they had no adequate answers. A discipline which had been on the road to being a profession found itself shaken to its foundations [Campanella, 2001: 146]. The strengthening of the position of campaigns and individuals connoted a weakening of professional competence and a “can-do” attitude.

## Looking back

At the end of the 1950s – when Jacobs started writing her book – a new, young squad of movers, shakers and technocrats sought to modernise the economy and society along the lines of the dynamic model found in the USA. Improving “sick cities” by urban planning, often a paternalistic notion, was considered a sign of progress, an orderly beginning of better times ahead, and pursued the worldwide task of providing adequate spatial contexts for the economy and



Fig.1: The former townhouse of Jane Jacobs in the West Village of Manhattan, occupied by Next Step Realty since 2015. Photo by author.

a growing population. In 1961, ageing President Dwight D. Eisenhower was succeeded by the young and charismatic John F. Kennedy. Slum clearance, later more optimistically referred to as urban renewal (coined as “negro removal” by James Baldwin), was considered by politicians and planners to provide an opportunity for improving urban living conditions. The migration of the white middle class to the suburbs (“white flight”) made space for lower-income households and population groups with an immigrant background. The future seemed plannable, and even a voyage to the moon was conceivable.

This optimistic period was followed soon by growing opposition to the ideology of growth and faith in technocracy, especially from the younger generation. Hippies and flower children “made love not war” under the gaze of a global television audience and advocated flower power. The demands of students, not only in the United States, for a “participatory democracy” promptly led to global protests against paternalism and the establishment, as participation seemed only a “mask of democracy”.

Behind this generational community there lay hidden a wide variety of commonalities, mostly anti-authoritarian, leftist and tied to issues of culture and lifestyle.

Residents, tenants and businesses began to show an interest in their surroundings and living environments, and became active campaigners. Top-down urban redevelopment projects to bulldoze the “hopeless slums”, implemented by means of divide-and-conquer strategies, were challenged. Resistance grew and opponents began to organise. The political climate saw a phase in which co-determination and participation were being demanded. New and relevant formats of co-determination and participation in civil society were sought in order to assert common interests.

The planners, who had previously referred only to the “facts” provided by engineers, traffic experts, statisticians and architects, now had to deal with economists, sociologists, lawyers and political scientists. Furthermore, these disciplines did not simply accept the planners’ arguments but increasingly subjected them to

critical scrutiny. The planners were held responsible for urban problems as well as many of the excesses of city redevelopment, and their core competency for the structural and spatial design of the environment began to be undermined [Campanella, 2011]. The casualties of redevelopment projects turned into experts, while the planners had the basis of their activities on behalf of the community withdrawn from them, and the legality of projects was questioned. The planning profession was imploding and demands were being made for the disempowerment of planners.

In many cities, the adverse consequences of urban planning and its “orgies” of demolition could no longer be ignored. The demands for participation, cooperation and co-decision making opportunities for residents and stakeholders became increasingly urgent. The objects of planning for urban renewal, the people, were, according to Jacobs, the experts for their neighbourhoods. In 1965, Paul Davidoff called for a debate about tangible alternatives instead of continued reference to “practical constraints”. He questioned the planners’ value systems and technical language and, referring to Jane Jacobs, did not accept that planners always had to stand behind state urban redevelopment programmes. Planners and tenants called for information, choice, the disclosure of (party) political interests and the involvement of stakeholders. “Who gets what, when, where, why, and how are the basic political questions” [Davidoff, 1965: 336].

Davidoff argued that in addition to its structural and spatial dimension, planning also comprised a social component. He discerned that planning was becoming politicised and emphasised that a change in planning practice necessitated a

different way of training planners and giving them additional qualifications. The delegation of responsibility and decision-making to the local level was thus accommodated and constructively turned into a top-down approach by critical, politicised planners. A debate about the self-conception of the planning profession and its effects had been invoked and would come to make itself felt across the entire globe. Referring to the old guard of “top-down planners”, Jane Jacobs paraphrased the German nobel prize winner Max Planck “Progress occurs funeral by funeral”. Platt [2015: 119] identifies in the period of 1960-1968 “the uprising against planning” and the “implosion of the planning profession”.

### A critique of planners and plans

Working as a journalist for *Architectural Forum* Jacobs approved of state-funded regeneration measures [Laurence, 2016: 134]. She did not criticise urban planning generally but discussed the practice of area remediation, bulldozing, tidying up and clearance, displacement, destruction of neighbourhoods and the dominance of car-friendly planning. Only once the consequences of the demolition orgies had emerged did her stance become increasingly critical. She believed in the self-healing properties of neighbourhoods and conceived top-down government programmes and grants to be counter-productive (“cataclysmic money”). Under Edward Bacon, the chief planner in Philadelphia, exemplary contextually sensitive, small-scale interventions were implemented, which would now be called “adaptive re-use”, “urban acupuncture”, “infill” or “tactical urbanism”. An article in *Architectural Forum* in April 1952 used medical metaphors, “clearing slums with penicillin, not surgery”. Her use of the term



Fig 2. The White Horse Tavern, where Ms. Jacobs posed for a photo in 1961, right after her book was published. Photo by author.

planner and the discipline of urban planning was rather unclear.

- Was she referring to the planning of blocks, neighbourhoods, cities or regions – ie which spatial level of planning did she mean?
- Was she referring “only” to public planners or also planners in private practice?
- How is the distinction between architects/planners defined? Were projects such as the World Trade Center in New York or Pruitt-Igoe in St Louis the work of planners or the work of architects?
- Why have architects been spared her criticism – considering that Jane Jacob’s husband was an architect?
- What is the distinction to the private property sector, in which architects and planners work?
- What is the significance of planning, plans and (non)implementation?

In the context of Jane Jacobs’s loose use of the term planner, Victor Gruen asked a counter question: “How would one classify Leonardo da Vinci? As an architect? A city planner? An engineer? A sculptor? An industrial designer? A graphic

designer? A transport expert? He had no title, no license, no academic degree” [Gruen, 1967: 12]. Cities, urban neighbourhoods and single buildings are generally perceived as the work of architects not (city) planners because the architect and client for single buildings are mostly known – at least within the profession – while in the field of urban and neighbourhood planning the reason, date, client and architect cannot be readily identified. Jacobs’s scolding also negates that the urban fabric is shaped by the actions of a diverse range of organisations and groups, private and public, largely outside the control of planners.

Criticism of radical urban transformation by area remediation was one of the central components of Jacobs’s work. According to this understanding, people are both subject and object in modernisation processes that are selectively asserted over time, regions, language and behavioural patterns [Berman, 1988: 5]. M. Berman described the forced reorganisation and brutal consequences of slum clearance by quoting Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*:

*Alle festen, eingerosteten Verhältnisse mit ihrem Gefolge von altehrwürdigen Vorstellungen und Anschauungen werden aufgelöst, alle neugebildeten veralten, ehe sie verknöchern können. Alles Ständische und Stehende verdampft, alles Heilige wird entweiht [...].*

[“All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, (...).” [Marx/Engels, 1970: 46].

Jacobs also opposed fixed, planned end states and finalised planning. “Death and Life” became the slaughterhouse for the holy cows of urban planning and triggered a paradigm shift in the discipline [Fulford, 1997]. For Jacobs, urban neighbourhoods were a form of living, culture and housing that had to be defended as a sustainable perspective. Accordingly, her ideas were and still are enthusiastically revived by neighbourhood initiatives. Her vision of a vital urban neighbourhood remains adaptable, is considered sustainable, does not seem to grow old but is ageless.

She was often the master strategist, often the public face of protest, an organiser, activist and a radical at the same time [Kanigel, 2016]. But her ideas must be contextualised and cannot be used as recipes for all planning problems around the world. She never was particularly interested in pushing one particular type of ideal city, in “Jacobsian Urbanism”. Instead, she preferred improvements, accepted changes, incremental measures, small plans prepared and implemented bot-

tom-up by neighbourhoods. This was a provocative concept in the 1960s when a regime of technicians dominated planning, and it was to become a challenge 50 years later in a rapidly globalising world, where real estate dominates cities. After the “crisis of the city” at the end of the last century, the 21st century will be the “millennium of cities”, which calls for (more) sustainable, dense, compact and mixed-use cities. In this rapidly changing world Jane Jacobs’s publications offer an abundance of ideas that we can use to make better cities, as complex systems in constant self-renewal.

## Paradigm Shifts

Referring to the [too] often quoted fight and misinterpreted “David against Goliath”, Jacobs was fighting against ideas and practices of planning that destroyed neighbourhoods [Flint, 2009; Brandes Gratz, 2010]. The well-known biography by “master builder” Robert Moses does not mention Jacobs even in a footnote [Caro, 1975]. She did not “wrestle” on an equal footing with Moses, but was later made an icon of resistance [Mennel, 2011: 629]. She was not concerned with Moses, the opposition against individual acting persons and their conduct but with the structures and strategies, values and paradigms that he, and others who acted similarly, embodied. She considered this the issue to be challenged and sought to develop alternative principles. She denied the idea of oversimplified pseudo-city planning, of copy and paste of models, of “best practices” implemented somewhere else [Schmidt / Hartmann, 2016: 46]. Not top-down planning from afar but recognition of local problems and involvement of neighbours is required. This opened up the question of civic participation, and she polemicalised against participation for often being nothing but a catchword that

had been degraded to acceptance management while the real issue was a revision of planning culture with a more direct democracy [Schubert, 2009: 179].

More than half a century later, an analysis of the great variety of participation and community driven planning examples shows a richness of diverse types and formats. “Success” is difficult to evaluate because it depends on its definition. Often the actual effect was limited, while eventual externalities were larger. There are many ways of multicultural community-based planning, but the best intentions may fail because the disadvantaged, poorer and powerless groups are more difficult to organise and often cannot be involved, as Wilson stated already in [1963: 245]. Through extended formats of participation local knowledge and “social capital” can be exploited, conflicts can be recognised earlier and, last not least, planning and plans have a wider legitimation and acceptance. Social capital [Bourdieu, 1982] and democratic competence can be extended although there are barriers of language, knowledge and education. But extended participation is not per se positive, it is often costly, slowing down decisions, sometimes inefficient and may just be symbolic politics [Schubert, forthcoming]. Paradigm shifts cannot be dated with equal precision for all the various national and local contexts discussed here. Dating must reflect the political parameters, complex ideological changes, different planning laws, diverse planning cultures and local configurations of stakeholders and problems. But the (planning) issues that drove citizens onto the streets were local. Citizens demanded that the structures of their built and social environment be drawn on to strengthen the local “endogenous potential”. The change in planning and planning models from the late 1960s onwards came about not

only as a result of pressure “from the outside” and “from below”; it also came “from the inside”, ie from within urban planning itself. Experts around the world were also raising issues about the democratisation of planning, and procedures were politicised and made more scientific. It is disputable whether the term paradigm is apt for an action science like urban planning which feeds from other disciplines, or whether it is a mere fad. While other academic disciplines can generally refer back to textbooks as the core of their thinking that interprets the central paradigms, urban planning and urban design cannot draw on such a secure stock of basic knowledge. Cerd Albers [1988: 17-18] noted that the “theory of urban planning” cannot rely on the same precision demands of scientific theories, that it is impossible to produce evidence by repeating an experiment under the same conditions at any time. However, Jacobs uses this analogy and challenges urban planners. “Cities are an immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city planning and city design. This is the laboratory in which city planning should have been learning and forming and testing its theories” [Jacobs: 1962b: 6]. She adopts the approach first developed by L. Fleck and later expanded by Kuhn [1970: 10] when sketching out the ideological transitions. “If a paradigm is truly obsolete, it must give way, discredited by testing of the world” [Jacobs, 2005: 70].

Rejecting a paradigm without replacing it by another means rejecting science [Kuhn, 1970: 92]. The process of paradigm shift takes place in several steps [Hollinger, 1973: 374]:

- “verified” findings and experience
- innovations and challenge
- disputes and coalitions of handed down or new paradigms

- confederacies of new paradigms

- new and other “verified” results and experiences.

Jacobs’s ideas did not attempt to plan final end conditions but sought to initiate a process which allowed cities and neighbourhoods, forever unfinished, to be continually changed and adapted through the participation of citizens. Planning processes rather than plans were increasingly becoming the focus of theoretical considerations and were being demanded “from below”. The era of “grand designs” and important planners seems to be over. The complexity of development projects requires the involvement of stakeholders and interested parties – and in this respect it would be unusual if there were a right solution and the plan, rather than a variety of alternatives that require careful consideration. Whereas “more science” was called for from a planning theory perspective, practice and policy required “more democracy”. This created new problems for urban planning; it gave urbanity a range of different interpretations. The term could not be translated into urban benchmarks, related to built and spatial structures as much as to people, and could not be generated on the drawing board. “Wicked problems” [Rittel / Webber, 1973: 161] encountered by planning originate outside and cannot be resolved with the relevant canon of prescriptions. Many examples attest to difficult implementation or failure of projects [which may or may not comply with the ideas of some of the population], and the immense balancing act between representative democracy and active citizenship is part of all Western democracies.

Against this convergent background, there were and are many nationally, regionally and locally divergent planning cultures with the power to promote or impede a “partici-

patory turnaround” in planning. “Hard” instruments have become less important than “soft” ones, and diverse new forms of negotiation planning, dialogue, cooperation and partnerships are being tested. The era of certainties, classifications and freedom from ambiguities in planning cultures is long past. Within the context of beliefs, values and alignments, it is important that the juxtaposition of diversity with the “synchronicity of the nonsynchronous” and changes in the cultures of planning and participation are reflected by organisations, legal and administrative structures, and by planning functions and projects.

## Density Turn

Jacobs was critical of many urban planning ideas, ranging from Ebenezer Howard’s to Le Corbusier’s concepts, for being anti-city. The “decentralists” like Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer and Clarence Stein misunderstood the essence of the city [Jacobs, 1962b: 28-29] and, using suburban principles, “countrified” cities. By pursuing anti-urban goals of decongestion, the characteristics of cities, such as compactness, diversity and density, would be counteracted. Less density was the unchallenged planning principle for slum clearance. High building and population densities were generally associated with high crime and high suicide rates, pointing at pathological conditions which had to be “healed” [Spiegel, 2000: 45]. This reasoning – according to Jacobs – would only lead to slums shifting. Since Unwin’s classic “Nothing gained by overcrowding” [1912], planners were merely discussing data for “acceptable” densities, while Jacobs [1962b: 210] considered density the essential precondition for mixed-use, diversity, vibrancy and rich experiences in cities. At the time of the Cold War such



decentralisation perspectives were fortified by the posited ever-present danger of air raids. Wherever opportunities for thinning-out and decentralisation arose they were to be implemented by means of shifting the population and industries into the periphery. Jacobs's take on the advantages of dense, mixed neighbourhoods seemed to be outdated and backward. At a time when the segregation of functions and clearly separated uses implied modernity and the modern world, complexity, mixing and backwardness seemed to be relicts of the past.

Only decades later did this tendency towards unambiguity give way to a recognition of the benefits of mixed-use, diversity and density [Roskamm, 2014: 90]. It is not a matter of oversimplified parroting of Jacobs's ideas from almost 60 years ago but of contextualising her ideas against a changed, diverse background of problems and stakeholders in North America and worldwide. Orientation is focused on the underlying principles shaped by error friendliness and imperfection rather than the city's final condition, so that the city is not understood as a finished result but as a continuous process of reorientation and restructuring [Schmidt / Hartmann, 2016: 44].

While density can be controlled by planning it does not quasi-automatically generate urbanity and diversity. Moreover, high densities are not caused by a paradigm shift in planning but driven by lack of space in inner cities, competition for uses and investors' interests. Planning perceptions of compact cities, smart cities and new urbanism fall short as they over estimate the significance of the built spatial environment. Jacobs's perception of the city as a natural ecosystem aims for complementary processes of appropriation and continuous bottom-up changes which open up diverse opportuni-

ties. "To see complex systems of functional order as order, and not as chaos, takes understanding" [Jacobs, 1962: 376]. Jacobs's city model is the unfinished city that consists of a complex natural ecosystem.

## Right to the City

The current "right to the city" movement offers another perspective of participation [Harvey 2008: 30]. It not only demands more democratic ways of planning and participation but a right for all people to live in the city and to fight against gentrification ("we will not be moved"). "Not a sparrow shall be moved" was the slogan of the "save the West Village" initiative which opposed the area remediation and displacement in the early 1950s, when Jacobs's neighbourhood was to be "refurbished". And when Moses planned to route a road through Washington Square Park more than half a century ago, Jacobs and others rallied opposition. A then unknown singer, Bob Dylan, was alleged to have [along with Jane Jacobs] addressed a song (never played by him) directly to Robert Moses.

*Its all about our neighbour-  
hood that you're trying to  
condemn,  
We aren't going to sit back and  
see our homes go down  
So take away your superhigh-  
way and keep it out of town.  
We won't be moved, buddy,  
we won't be moved  
We're fighting our rights and  
we won't be moved.*

[[http://gothamist.com/2016/05/01/confirmed\\_bob\\_dylan\\_did\\_co-write\\_a.php](http://gothamist.com/2016/05/01/confirmed_bob_dylan_did_co-write_a.php)]

These examples demonstrate the diverse, more or less radical ways and semi-legal strategies, like squatting, occupying and temporary uses of

public spaces and buildings, not only found in North America. Many of the various movements had not linked up, were not related to other superior movements and often focussed "only" on short-term issues relating to current local problems. The "right to sing" in Washington Square Park was another movement supported by Jacobs and a web of social relations in the neighbourhood [Petrus / Cohen, 2015: 115]. Often they pursued a defensive outlook of hindrance (NIMBY – not in my backyard; BANANA – build absolutely nothing anywhere near anyone) without having any pro-active, expedient perspectives for mediation between controversial interests or offering solutions to planning problems.

Within two decades after the publication of her masterpiece, most of her ideas had become generally accepted [Blessing, 2017: 85]. Planners and politicians started to take Jacobs's ideas on board, while in reality they pursued a more market-led perspective [Larson, 2013]. The bulldozer-approach to old buildings was reversed and transformed into an attitude of conservation which incorporated existing buildings. "Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings" [Jacobs, 1962b]. So Jacobs's mantra of three Ds, density, diversity and disorganised-complexity [Seamon, 2012: 142] can be achieved by urban planning, incorporating perspectives of uncertainty and unpredictability.

The concept of participation has also become widespread. Many of the disputes surrounding urban planning and participation were sparked by specific local projects. Jacobs warned against the "doctrine of salvation by bricks" [Jacobs, 1962b: 113], and the illusion of being able to causally influence social structures and coexistence by means of the built

environment. However, the issue is to decipher “the intricate social and economic order under the seeming disorder of cities” [Jacobs, 1962b: 15].

Maybe we can agree with Berthold Brecht “Go make yourself a plan / And be a shining light. / Then make yourself a second plan, / For neither will come right” [Brecht, 1928].

Current approaches understand planning by non-planning to be the flexibilisation of the planning system [Schubert, 2012: 36]. But non-planning destroys natural resources as experience has shown in many third-world cities with a lack of planning. The consequences of non-planning can be foreseen more easily and more reliably. Urban planning that includes local participation, offers flexibility and alternatives, leaves niches, supports diversity and mixed-use developments would be accepted by Jane Jacobs. But she’s no longer here to ask.

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## Susanne Komossa

“Jane Jacobs is probably one of the most important thinkers of the 20th century. Like Hannah Arendt, she felt obliged to think and investigate freely and without fear of being caught by conventions. Her critique of Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1938) is pivotal for our understanding of contemporary cities and the forces that drive change. Basically, she marks the transition from thinking and urban design based on large scale labor to – what we would call today – the creative and inclusive city that is characterised by the dynamics between small/medium and large companies and the integration and overlap of work, leisure and everyday life of citizens.

Jacobs discussed these issues not only in the book ‘*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*’ (1961) but also in ‘*The Economy of Cities*’ (1969) and ‘*Cities and the Wealth of Nations*’ (1984). For a long time, thinking ‘economy’ was regarded as minor to cultural or political engagement. However, Jane Jacobs taught me to jump over these gaps and to ‘observe’ and investigate the mutual relationship between these three within our physical environment, the buildings we design and the public realm of cities. I feel honored to elaborate these lessons I learned during the closing of the Jane Jacobs centennial year at the Faculty of AB+E and indeed: ‘Jane Jacobs is still here!’”

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# Lessons taught by J.J.; lessons learned by an architect

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**This article discusses the importance of observation in architecture and urbanism and subsequently, the hypothesis that decoding space through observation of form, use and design and typo-morphological research leads to an understanding of internal logic of spatial patterns instead of outer forms.**

## **Introduction**

Jane Jacobs is probably one of the most important thinkers of the 20th century. Like Hannah Arendt she felt obliged to think and investigate freely and without fear of being caught by conventions or institutions. Her critique of Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1938) is pivotal for our understanding of contemporary cities and the forces that drive change. Basically she marks the transition from disciplinary thinking and urban design based on large scale labor to - what we would call today - the creative and inclusive city that is characterized by the dynamics between small/medium and large companies and the integration and overlap of work, leisure and everyday life of citizens. These issues Jacobs did not only discuss in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) but also in *The Economy of Cities* (1969) and *Cities and the Wealth*

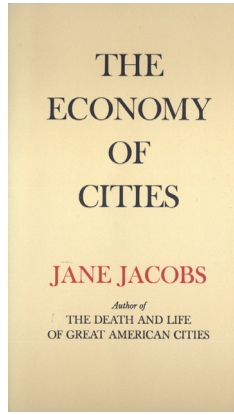
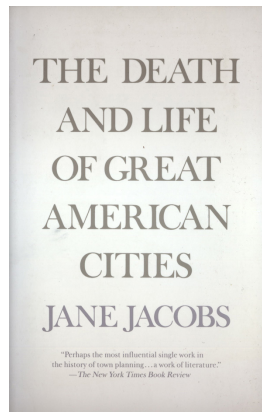
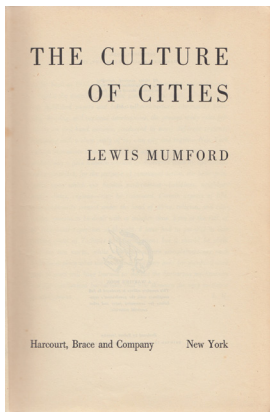
of Nations (1984). For long time thinking 'economy' was regarded minor to cultural or political engagement. However, Jane Jacobs taught us to jump over these gaps and to 'observe' and investigate the mutual relationship between these three aspects of society within our physical environment, the buildings we design and the public realm of cities. Basically, this article discusses the importance of observation in architecture and urbanism and subsequently, the hypothesis that decoding space through observation of form, use and design and typo-morphological research leads to an understanding of internal logic of spatial patterns instead of outer forms.

## **Observation instead of prefabricated recipes**

Basically, Jacobs' book *Death and Life* - dating from 1961- taught us as architects

and urban designers to actually observe everyday street life and to understand how it is mirrored in architectural and urban form. Jacobs saw the city as the laboratory and not as some ideal 'tabula rasa', on which policy-makers, urban designers and architects could freely project future ideals. This was, in fact, what representatives of the Modern Movement propagated. Taking the 'real' city as the object of study differed very much from Lewis Mumford's assumptions that interpreted the city as a construct on which ideas could be tested, and which could be completely planned as an ideal environment. Today we understand what the Modernists method meant: an endless series of trials and errors, which frequently led to failures. (Marzot 2017 p. 74-93) The Dutch housing area the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam, for example, was 30 years after its completion up to a complete remake. Moreover, *Death and Life* attacked anti-





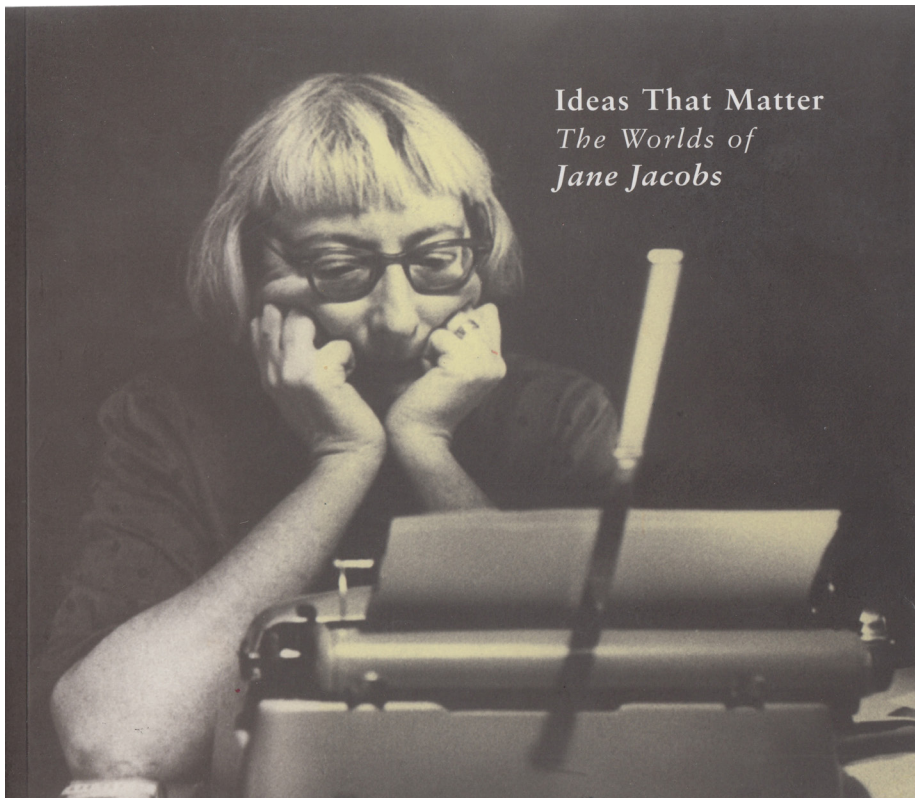
**Fig 1: ‘The Mumford Jacobs debate of Modernism’s anti urban doctrine’. Book cover The Culture of Cities 1938, The Death and Life of Great American 1961 Cities and The Economy of Cities 1969**

urban sanitary ideals of the urban zoning and division of functions. Instead, it pleaded for an overlap of functions. The period between World War One and Two and of the ending 40s and early 50s had been dominated by Modernist thinking. Taking the ‘city as it is’, with all its complexities and contradiction, was new and a radically different way of approaching.

In architecture and urbanism at the end of the 1950s when *Death and Life* was written a series of criticisms appeared which all focused in fact on actual or historical urban form instead of future ideals. To start with, Saverio Muratori (1959) studied in his book *Studi per una Operante Storia Urbana di Venezia* the history of Venice in its built

form. By drawing the morphology of the urban blocks, the *fondamente*, and their interior division, he was able to document the existing city in a very accurate way. Within these drawings he distinguished and ordered the individual houses and housing typologies, which shared certain characteristics in so-called *tabelloni*. From these series of comparable building types he distilled main types defining the typical lay-out of Venetian houses which could serve as a model for the next step in design history. So, basically Muratori states that ‘the city is the only model’ (Castex, 2013 p.19-41) and that the past already includes the future (building). This return to the city was followed by writings of diverse architects-

theorists, like Aldo Rossi (1966), Robert Venturi, (1972), Colin Rowe (1975), Jean Castex, Jean Charles Depaule, Philip Panerai (1977), and Rem Koolhaas (1978). The school of Versailles of Jean Castex cum suis, questioned specifically the relationship between the history of urban form and society. They state ‘The term architectural model makes clear that the development of form is not directly related to the translation of a social aim, but that during the development of the design, form uses mediations that are specific to architecture and whose history yet has to be written. In the distance between this unusual history (of form S.K.) and the more general history of society lays the potential input of the discipline: architecture, but also its limits.’ (Castex 1977, Dutch edition p.222) This citation implies the important statement of the inner logic that binds urban form to society; i.e. as architects we need to trace and understand the inner logic of spatial patterns and how they have been related to everyday life of the city during past and present.



**Fig. 2: ‘The Worlds of Jane Jacobs’, Book cover ‘Ideas that matter’**

### **Everyday life and public realm**

Jane Jacob was also one of the first authors calling for an approach to the public realm at the neighborhood or district level in which everyday lives of all those participating in urban life, whether children at play, shopkeepers, loiterers or businessmen, were important. For her, but also Hannah Arendt (1958) en Jürgen Habermas (1962), and later Henri Lefebvre (1970, 1980 p. 147, 1996 p. 205) and Richard Sennett (1991) and



**Fig 3:**  
 ‘The city is the only model’,  
 Jean Castex  
 2013. Book  
 cover Sacerio  
 Muratori,  
 ‘Studi per una  
 operante storia  
 urbana di  
 Venezia’, 1960.

in the actual use of the chosen (prototypical) urban blocks and buildings. With regard to the use of street photography as research tool we follow George Baird. He states that street photography is not only suitable for illustrative, but also analytical purposes to understand public space (Baird 2011 p. 58).

### Urban economy

Jane Jacobs was a pioneer to comment on the mutual relationship between physical structure of cities and the urban economy. She states ‘Cities are not chaotic. They have an order of economic development, but they work without ideology. Ideology only prevents us from seeing the order.’ (Allen 2011, p.23) In her book *The economy of cities* she distinguishes between corporate cities and innovative cities. According to her, corporate cities like Detroit are characterised by big scale labour; i.e. a limited number of businesses that fabricate a single product like cars. Already in 1968 Jacobs states that these businesses will have difficulties with innovation and therefore will be vulnerable in case of economic change. In contrast to these big scale labour cities that served as the model for Le Corbusier’s

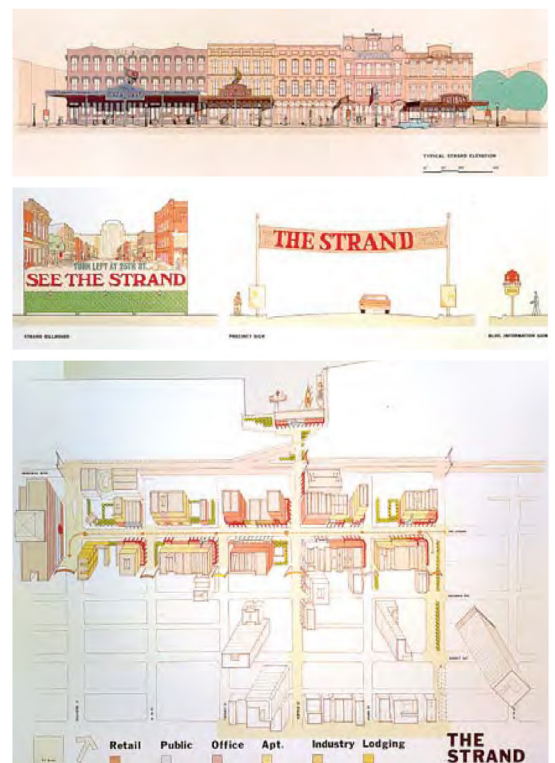
the notions of everyday life of city dwellers and the public realm are closely connected.

The everyday life forms in fact the link between city dwellers’ public and private life. For quite some part it takes place in the public realm as the physical domain where people go out, are in love or go to work, exchange ideas and form opinions but also are in conflict, pick up knowledge of all kinds, enjoy themselves, can see and be seen, and meet others. Or to put it in more architectural terms, ‘The public realm can be seen as a specific part of urban public space is closely related to the notion of the urban ‘public sphere’, for it is there that both the virtual and physical exchange of ideas, opinions, experience, knowledge, ideologies, goods and labor take place’, i.e. it is ‘the turf where strangers meet’ (Komossa 2010, p.37, Sennett, 1991 p. XVII).

### Urban Form

Following this train of thought, for us as architects and urban designers it is important to find how the relationship between the private space of a house or building and the public realm of the

city are actually composed. Basically this relationship is defined by the composition of the interior spaces as such, the access typology, and the elements that form the transition from inside to outside. Moreover, the qualities of the space around buildings and blocks, but also the way in which corners and stoops are designed inform us. There are different ways to analyse this relationship in drawings but also by using street photography. Typomorphological research provides us with the tool of drawing through scales; i.e. ranging from a scale 1:200 for sections and plans of the individual house or building to 1:5000 of a city quarter. To select, document and interpret areas this way renders information about the composition but also helps to detect and deal with the immanent contradictions of (today’s) architecture and built environment. In this research approach street photography is complementary and utilised to document changes



**Fig 4: Proposal for urban renewal of the Strand, Galveston, Texas, by Venturi, Rauch & Scott Brown 1975. Source: VSBA**





**Fig 5:**  
**Observation**  
 – Street: New  
 York, Park as  
 stage for urban  
 performance  
 Source:  
 Photograph by  
 the author

much more diverse palette of the service, knowledge and creative industries. In fact, following this development, the physical structure of blocks and buildings also had to change too to supply a smaller grain and small and big spaces, old and new ones, cheap and expensive ones to allow the start-up and growth of businesses. Moreover this structure will have to provide spatial coherence, the possibility to mix functions, the ability to allocate a high density of inhabitants and businesses, and the overlap of work and dwelling. If we look at Dutch cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam we can see that this shift starts being part of urban policies and design at the end of 1980s which actually was marked by a return-to-the-city that was advocated by Jacobs and in the above mentioned critical literature from 1960 onward.

### Conclusion

In Ideas matter Jacobs states ‘Change is so major a truth that we understand process to be the essence of things.’ (Allen 2011, p.165) This refers to the economical, social and cultural developments which continuously take place in cities. This changing use, architectural form and design are mirrored in the character of public spaces, specifically the urban public realm, buildings and urban blocks.

Decoding space through observation of form, use and design and typo-morphological research leads to an understanding of

plead for the division of functions in urban planning, innovative cities in her view are characterised by all kinds of businesses and spaces, and a vivid public realm to support the integration of work and leisure,

the exchange of knowledge and the spreading of risks between a series of smaller companies. Today, due to economic change and migration of work and people we witness this change from big scale labour to the



**Fig. 6:**  
**Market Hall**  
**Boqueria in**  
**Barcelona 2008.**  
 ‘The everyday is composed of a multiplicity of moments, such as games, love, work, rest, struggle, knowledge, poetry and justice, and links professional life, direct social life, leisure and culture.’ Henri Lefebvre. Source: Photograph by the author



**Fig. 7: Corners, early 20th century block combining shopping & dwelling. Café on the corner combining different worlds, Nieuwe Binnenweg Rotterdam Source: Photograph by the author. Manuel de Sola Morales A wide range of façades and people are found on corners, which produces innovation and stimulation. The “Cities, Corners” exhibition will show how the idea of corner extends beyond the purely geometric to become a vitalising principle and a genuine metaphor for the city. Forum Barcelona 2004 Source: [http://www.publicacions.bcn.es/b\\_mm/abmm\\_forum/131-134ang.pdf](http://www.publicacions.bcn.es/b_mm/abmm_forum/131-134ang.pdf)**

internal logic of spatial patterns instead of outer forms. Basically this understanding enables us, as architects and urban designers, to produce more adequate designs. Looking back, it took a long time before critical thinking of the 1950s, 60s and 70s became daily practice and for sure, this process is not yet finished.

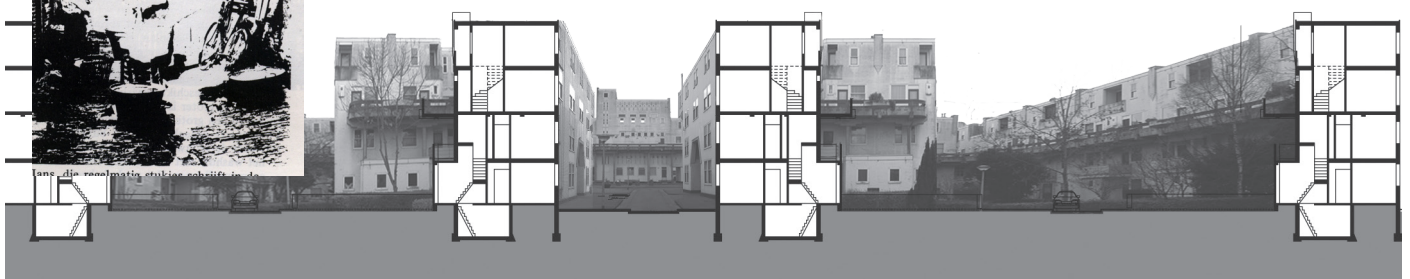
Moreover, Jane Jacobs like Hannah Arendt, triggered ‘unorthodox’ thinking by being a radical outside institutions presenting –at their time– uncomfortable messages. By doing so, she also made tangible the difficult relationship between academe and critical women. Even today we encounter qualifications and defamations vis-à-vis women

like ‘excusus truis’ (apology woman), suggesting a woman on a official board is not qualified but only be hired of her gender or ‘fish wife’, discriminating outspoken women who are ventilating their opinions in public. However, defensive reactions or calling thoughts ‘malapropism’ Allen, 2011 do not hold: the process of change has already started!

**Fig. 9: Access systems, architects have difficulties with the relationship between architecture and everyday life.**

Often we are still prisoners of CIAM Modernist thought and mobilise collective space as the ideal physical enclave.

Urban regeneration of the Oude Westen in Rotterdam 1970s and 1980s; the city as laboratory. Source: Photograph by the author



**Fig 8: ‘Women in public; collective realms are needed to avoid excessive conversations and neighbours’ quarrels’. Rotterdam, Spangen housing complex with collective facilities in its inner court 1919, perspective section, Tim Vermeend**



Fig 10: 17th century Amsterdam, typo-morphological drawings ‘through’ scales 1:5000, 1:500, 1:200 and perspective section, Tim Vermeend. Source: Drawings author c.s.

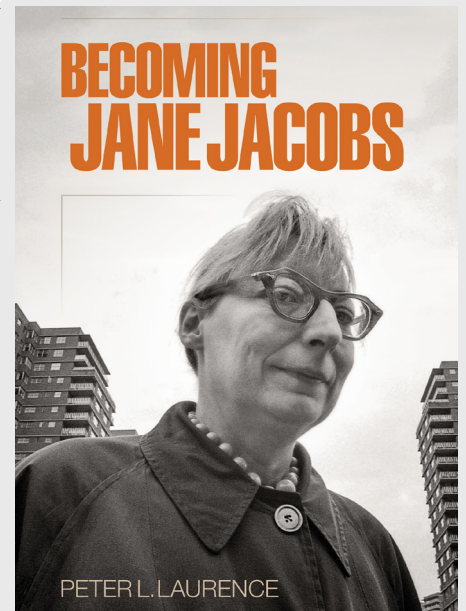
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## Peter Laurence

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# Jane Jacobs Was No “Saint,” “Great Man,” or “Ordinary Mom”

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**While Jacobs was no saint as a human being, nor was she a saint in ways more commonly suggested, in terms of having an all-seeing, supernatural intellect. As one would expect, her ideas, and her understanding of cities, evolved over time**

Jane Jacobs made grown men cry on a number of occasions. During the battle to Save Washington Square from Robert Moses’s plan to bisect the park with an extension of Fifth Avenue, she hammered so hard on a fellow committee leader about how a press release should be written that the man was reduced to tears. He was a good man, but a compromiser. She wasn’t. When it came to saving Washington Square, or the West Village, or stopping the Lower Manhattan Expressway, she didn’t compromise. She didn’t try to be a “nice lady.”

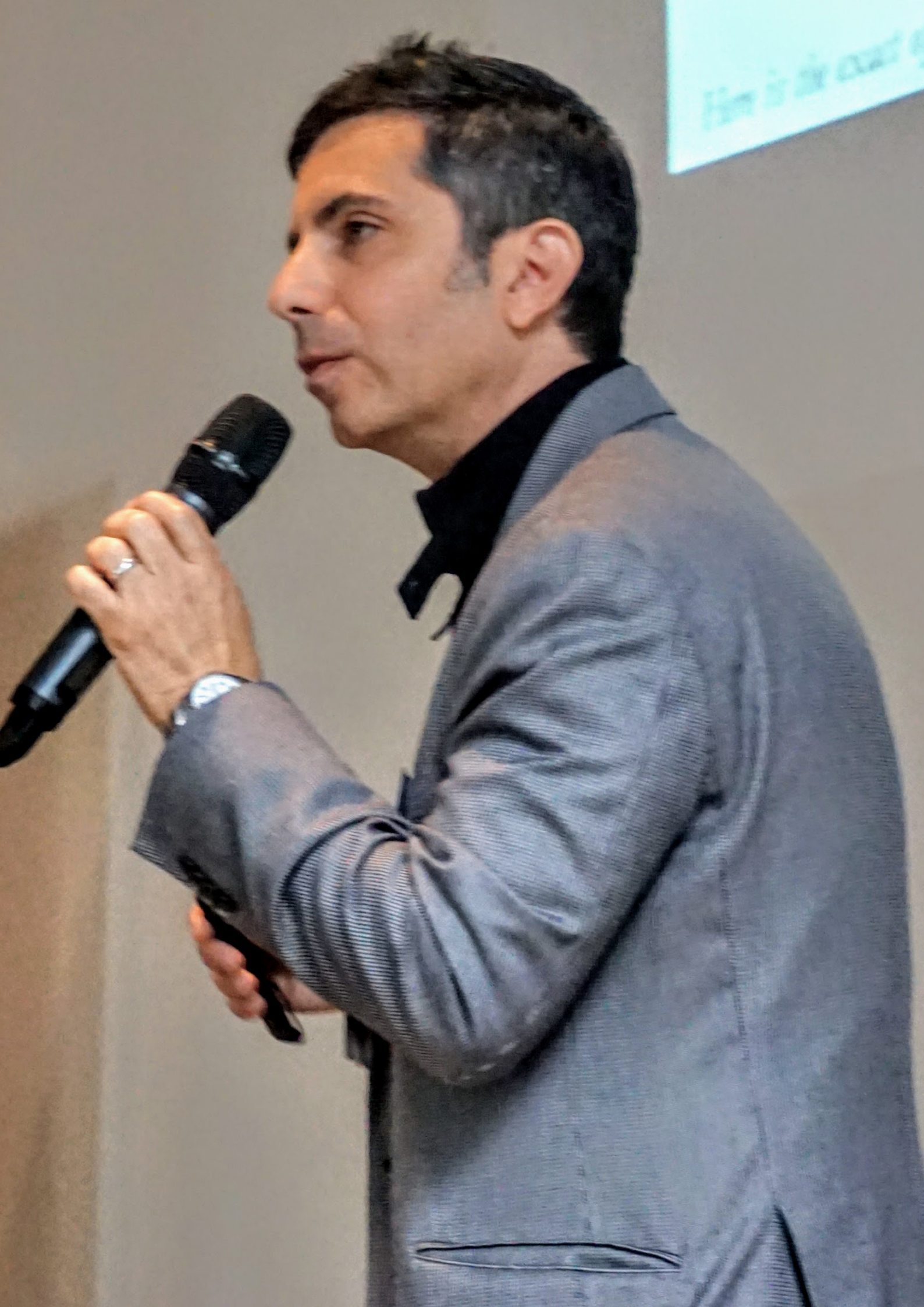
In a similar way, when one reads *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, it is not easy to see the influence of people who helped Jacobs to write the book. Yes, there are people named in the acknowledgments, but she harshly criticized some, including Lewis Mumford and her one-time friend Catherine Bauer, within it. When writing the book, cities and intellectual differences about cities superseded sentimentality. She took their ideas apart, despite the fact that they, along with a list of others little recognized, had written

enthusiastic letters to recommend her book project for foundation support, aid she was probably aware of.

While Jacobs was no saint as a human being, nor was she a saint in ways more commonly suggested, in terms of having an all-seeing, supernatural intellect. As one would expect, her ideas, and her understanding of cities, evolved over time. Yes, in her very first published essays on the city, written while she was in her late teens, we can see the interest in the intersection of geography, history, inhabitation, and economics that characterized her life’s work. However, in the early 1950s, when the nation was deciding between suburbanizing or modernizing its cities, she not only backed urban renewal, she wrote favorably about it. She praised city planning and suburban and urban redevelopment in ways she would unequivocally recant in *Death and Life*. As she wrote to a confidant in 1959, while she was writing *Death and Life*, she regretted beliefs she had held and things she had written some years earlier, feeling guilt for her personal involvement in the

impact on cities. Part of the anger in her book was anger at herself for having believed in bad ideas about cities and planning.

As for writing *Death and Life*, a project that transformed from a modest series of articles into a volume meant to offer nothing less than a new “system of thought about the great city,” the book was a struggle. Her ideas continued to evolve and develop as she wrote it. However, this does not change the fact that she had been following and writing about American urban redevelopment from at least the passage of the US Housing Act of 1949, a defining historical moment for cities, for many years, first for the State Department’s *Amerika*, and then for Time Inc.’s *Architectural Forum*. And during this decade of learning, when she became recognized as one of the nation’s most notable writers on cities (already before *Death and Life*), she absorbed ideas from many sources including those, once again, she later criticized. For example, in *Death and Life*, her criticism of Catherine Bauer and her comment, “Fry Bacon!,” a delicious recollection of



public sentiment about Philadelphia planning chief Ed Bacon, belies the positive influence that Bauer (for her criticism of various planning ideas) and Bacon (for ideas about urban redevelopment very similar to those she is now associated with) had on her thinking. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine her writing *Death and Life* without the experience she gained; the cities and projects she visited; and the people—architects, city planners, housers, city commissioners, and academics—she met and learned from during her years at Forum and as a Rockefeller Foundation grantee. The nineteenth-century “Great Man” theory of history, the story of godlike genius changing the course of the world without substantial effort, error, and the assistance of others, is no more true for Jacobs than other “Great Men.”

As for being an “ordinary mom,” as she was described in a centennial year essay, Jacobs could hardly be better underestimated. Both unconventional and a career woman, she spent her days and two decades in various office buildings as a professional writer; she spent her evenings and weekends in a home and neighborhood that even Jacobs herself then considered a slum. When many women stayed at home and lived in new homes in the suburbs, if not new apartments like those at Stuyvesant Town, she was hardly an ordinary woman of the 1950s. Yes, she had three children, but she also had hired help for childcare, which allowed her full-time work outside of the home, something completely unremarkable among households with two parents today but a topic of gossip and paternalistic comment then. So when it comes to describing someone who wrote one of the most important and enduring books ever written on cities, define her as an “ordinary mom” is, at best, remarkably anachronistic. (And when was the last time you heard someone notable called “an ordinary dad”?)

This kind of open sexism was commonplace in the past. In 1962, Lewis Mumford, furious at Jacobs’s blunt treatment, titled his *New Yorker* book review of *Death and Life* “Mother Jacobs’ Home Remedies for Urban Cancer.” The

title says it all: Jacobs was a woman and her best ideas were small-scale and domestic, the view of the street from the kitchen window. Within, his essay fixated on what Mumford regarded as the particularly feminine concern of personal safety; *Death and Life* was a woman’s view of the city. Meanwhile, Jacobs may have had some keen observations about housing, but this was acknowledged in the same way he might have praised her for housekeeping. Big ideas were for the big boys: “We’ll handle cities and their Urban Cancer, Ma’am,” was Mumford’s unsubtle, paternalistic, and condescending message.

For a longtime student and biographer, Jane Jacobs’s centennial in 2016 offered an almost ethnographic experience in viewing how the author-activist was now understood, as compared to when *Death and Life* was published in 1961, and when I started my research in the mid 1990s, and in the decades before and since. Certainly, much has changed since Mumford wrote “Mother Jacobs.” As reflected by her recent appearances in a graphic novel, an opera, and a rock-musical, Jacobs’s impact has only grown over the years, and therefore it was not surprising to find as many journalists as scholars weighing in about her ideas and legacy on her 100th birthday. Hagiography and historiography, clickbait and ad copy blurred together as articles and blogposts, which proliferated in the months before and after May 4, the date of Jacobs’s birth, ran headlines like “Jane Jacobs: The Greatest Thinker of the 20th Century” (*Los Angeles Review of Books*), “Jane Jacobs, the writer who changed the face of the modern city” (*The Guardian*), and “Who should star in a Jane Jacobs biopic?” (*Curbed*).

Many of these pieces were promotions, previews, or reviews of a new trade-press biography of Jacobs and a forthcoming documentary, and, as extensions of marketing operations, they naturally celebrated Jacobs’s accomplishments in hyperbolic terms, re-inscribing the “Great Man” and “Saint Jane” mythologies. However, some critics, and even some fans, displayed some far less easily explained opinions.

In “Jane Jacobs’s Street

Smarts,” an essay stunningly similar to Mumford’s from the title to the last word, Adam Gopnik told us he would “pay [Jacobs] the compliment of taking her seriously” and attempt to figure out what “rattled around inside” her head. Also published in *The New Yorker*, like Mumford, he says Jacobs is “obsessed with crime.” And as in Mumford’s piece, Jacobs, “St. Joan of the small scale,” is described as being at her best when making “micro-observations” and not “biting off more than she could chew.” Her thinking is described as “very simple,” and limited to “street smarts,” ostensibly in comparison once again to what men can think and do.

Ostensibly a review of *Eyes on the Street: The Life of Jane Jacobs* by Robert Kanigel, Gopnik’s essay is time-travels back to scholarship of the 1970s. With regard to the background description of Jacobs’s career, the facts are outdated. It is said that Jacobs came to her subject “very late... Only in the mid-1950s did she begin writing about urban issues and architecture, for *Fortune* [magazine].” In ignoring the fact that Jacobs’s first essays about the city were published when she was still a teenager, and dismissing her subsequent professional writing career, the point seems to retread a decades-old image of her as an uncredentialed housewife. As such, the essay differs little from those written by the likes of Ed Logue, whom Gopnik defends with equally anachronistic arguments.

With similar glibness, an entire epoch of American urban history is casually handled. Robert Moses and the Lower Manhattan Expressway project are described as not so bad because they were typical of the era when there were equally bad people and projects elsewhere. Actually, they weren’t; even city planning chiefs in other cities spoke of the “Bob Moses Approach.” But the trauma wreaked by the Urban Renewal Administration and other massive historical forces, such as segregation and redlining, that defined the time when Jacobs wrote *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* are glossed over. In this sense, Gopnik’s essay reveals the problem of celebrating and defining Jacobs through her battles



with Moses. Jacobs's critics think to themselves that defending the Power Broker may be a good way to get even.

With eminent domain's compulsory sales and urban renewal's bulldozers long forgotten, they can get away with it. To be sure, the enduring impact Jacobs's writing on cities has long made her the target of some specious arguments and dogwhistle attacks. Remarkably, Kanigel's derivative and poorly cited biography, which was rightly described as "casually sexist" and "infantilizing of its subject," only contributed to these. Beyond describing Jacobs as "fat and dumpy" and "never beautiful," Kanigel carelessly painted Jacobs as something of a racist on the one hand, and for falling for the "Physical Fallacy" on the other hand. In *Death and Life*, Jacobs wrote, "our country's most serious social problem [is] segregation and racial discrimination"— among other notable observations on race, segregation, and discrimination, particularly the segregation and discrimination suffered by African-Americans. She wrote of Americans' "tendencies toward master-race psychology" and of housing discrimination, noting that "colored citizens are cruelly overcrowded in their shelter and cruelly overcharged for it." She wrote of credit "blacklisting" (aka redlining), the denial of mortgages and business loans to minorities and African-Americans in particular. And she explicitly rejected the "Physical Fallacy," when she wrote, "I do not mean to imply that a city's planning and design, or its types of streets and street life, can automatically overcome segregation and discrimination. Too many other kinds of effort are also required to right these injustices." Yet *Eyes on the Street* has an entire chapter titled and dedicated to Jacobs's alleged belief in *The Physical Fallacy*, while portraying her as a casual racist. This poor reading of Jacobs's ideas and work led Gopnik to remark that Jacobs celebrated "her own privilege" and it led another reviewer, Lev Bratishenko, to write in "Jane Jacobs's Tunnel Vision" (*Literary Review of Canada*) to state, "Her inattention to racism, whether in form of American housing markets

or in official policies like redlining, is well known." Of course, Gopnik and Bratishenko could have read *Death and Life* more closely, but when a biographer makes the case in such a convincing, albeit flawed way, it can easily lead someone to rhetorically ask, as Gopnik did, "Are there black folks on Hudson Street?" As a matter of fact there were, and in 1964 Jacobs joined them in a street protest against a plan to segregate the public school that her children attended.

Similar claims and rhetorical devices shape the theme of Jacobs and gentrification. In these, Jacobs is described as a gentrifier because her West Village home became very, very expensive the half-century after she bought it in the late 1940s. Since then, every time 555 Hudson Street goes on the market, we can expect to see a new clickbait headline suggesting that Jacobs, rather than being a pioneering theorist about city dynamics and gentrification at a time when people were leaving the city, is somehow profiting on each resale of her old storefront building. Like Gopnik, these critics would like their readers to believe that Jacobs's idea of "unslumming" was to make a neighborhood "appealing to new settlers," while ignoring her ideas about the "self-destruction of diversity," "cataclysmic money," and her other critiques of real estate and other capital markets.

Apart from weaponizing sensitive contemporary concerns, attacks on Jacobs as a racist and gentrifier ultimately feed (subtly sexist) claims that Jacobs "missed the big picture." In "What Jane Jacobs Missed" (*Governing*), for example, Alex Marshall accused Jacobs of having had nothing to say about infrastructure, as if streets and sidewalks, and the space in cities given over to cars, which she wrote about at great length, had nothing to do with infrastructure. In Gopnik's essay, Jacobs is treated similarly. He grants her two important ideas, recognizing her principle about city streets as a network, not just infrastructure, and some aspects of her more complex concepts about diversity. But this is followed by a list of "big picture" critiques that may seem compelling to those who haven't read *The Death and Life of*

Great American Cities lately and those who don't know much about postwar American urban history.

We are told that those massive urban redevelopment projects that Jacobs didn't like were needed to create lots of housing. In fact, this was obvious to all who lived through the postwar housing shortage, and it was of course obvious to Jacobs, who was part of a team to improve a public housing project in East Harlem, who later developed West Village Houses, and who wasn't simply against housing.

We are told that capital and markets influence cities. Yet, having written a couple books about cities and economics, Jacobs didn't need Gopnik, or critics like him, to explain to her that, "The butcher and the locksmith on Hudson Street were there because they could make a profit on meat and keys."

We are told that self-organization isn't enough, that we need some centralized planning in the form of government and policies, difficult though their maintenance may be. Yet, Jacobs wasn't a libertarian or anacharist and she discussed new ideas for rent control and zoning among other "top-down" policies. One has only to read *Death and Life* to see that she had much to say about governing cities in *Death and Life*, including concepts for reforming city governance and even expanding it into metropolitan government.

Condescended to along with her, Gopnik and other such critics tell us that the conflicting demands of liberty and equality can't be easily resolved, and that politics isn't a ballet. This, of course, is directed at one of the twentieth century's great activists. Streetfighter that she was, Jacobs knew perhaps better than anyone that politics wasn't a ballet.

Finally, we are told that cities change over time. Gopnik, like Joel Kotkin in an essay titled "What Jane Jacobs Got Wrong About Cities" (*New Geography*), would like to convince us that because *Death and Life* was written in a time when people were leaving the city, her ideas do not hold up for a time when people, particularly middle class people, are returning to it. In a version of the gentrification critique, Kotkin believes that what

Jacobs got wrong about cities is that they can only be afforded by the wealthy and middle class, ignoring her various critiques of “white flight” and the departure of middle class for the suburbs that Kotkin prefers. And as for Gopnik’s bizarre charge that Jacobs overlooked the fact that cities change over time. Meanwhile, there is a hint in *Death and Life*’s title that Jacobs thought about how cities change over time, and only those who can find only two big ideas in Jacobs’s writing on cities could believe that she didn’t think a lot about “the tragedy of time and change.”

It would have been reasonable if Lewis Mumford had written that he was unsure if Jacobs had “a rich, original mixture of ideas or merely a confusion of notions decorated with some lovely, observational details.” Indeed, he wrote very similar words. But these words were written five decades later, by Adam Gopnik, and they represent an extreme version of the critic who has read an outdated, secondhand account of Jacobs’s ideas and life. They show that Jacobs’s centennial year was an especially good opportunity to write some very shallow things about her. Yet Jacobs received more than a few harsh reviews and “corrections” in four decades of book publishing, and we shouldn’t expect these to stop just because she died. However, thoughtful work, which recognizes that Jacobs was no “saint,” no “Great Man,” and no “ordinary mom” either, but a thinker fully capable for taking in the “big picture”—including concerns with race, capital, and power—will continue to be read long after today’s quick-takes are forgotten.





## Arnold Reijndorp

Professor of Urban Sociology Arnold Reijndorp has received the Rotterdam-Maaskant Price for his work and research activities in the field of urban sociology. In his research Reijndorp analyses the practice of everyday life in urban environments. He is highly respected because of his efforts to connect theory and practice and also to connect professionals and policymakers with inhabitants.

Between 2006 and 2016, Arnold Reijndorp hold the Han Lammers Chair at the University of Amsterdam at the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies; the chair is dedicated to socio-economic and spatial developments of new urban areas. Reijndorp – trained as an architect at the TU Delft – chose early in his career for a socio-economic focus in his analysis of the city.

\*The Rotterdam-Maaskant Price is a biennial price for persons who have distinguished themselves in special degree in the field of the reflection on architecture, urban planning and landscaping by publications, education and/or research.

# Each city district was once a suburb, every great city a new town

Arnold Reijndorp

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**How many of the heirs of Jane Jacobs are willing to apply the way she tried to discover what goes on in 'the seemingly mysterious and perverse behavior of cities' (Jacobs 1974, p. 23), to those newest neighborhoods and cities that seemingly do not hide any mystery and seem to behave very neatly? Until they begin to urbanize socially and their classification changes in a blow from boring suburbs in unattractive problem-areas.**

Jane Jacobs was an advocate of the big city and – thus - a fierce critic of urbanism and urban planning. She saw in her own neighborhood how planners and designers in an attempt to save the city actually were busy to destroy it. Her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* is a philippic against 'the pseudo-science of planning', sometimes unsubtle, but more often with striking observations and solid arguments. She characterizes the sum total of what modern urbanism until then had produced as concepts nicely and ironically with *Radiant Garden City Beautiful* (Jacobs 1974 (1961), p. 35). These concepts from around the turn of the last century - *Cité Radieuse* of Le Corbusier (France), the *Garden City* of Ebenezer Howard (G.B.) and the *City Beautiful* movement (USA) - intended to be an alternative to the expansive, crowded and chaotic city, where the masses were seized in overpopulated tenement blocks and poverty, disease and crime

flourished. In contrast the new urban planning models offered a gorgeous perspective of living in prosperous and harmonious communities, in balance with nature, surrounded by beauty and fulfilled with civic pride. Jacobs saw the danger of these pretentious and naive utopias. They posed a serious threat to the vitality and the self-regenerative potential of cities, which, in her opinion originated precisely from the apparent chaos of those dense and diverse urban districts. That's important: Jacobs' endeavor was not to defend sociability, community, neighborhood life, or architectural heritage as such. The effort was much greater: saving the city as a unique, innovative, emancipating and vital form of living together.

The emphasis on saving the existing urban neighborhoods with their blend of dwellings, shops, pubs, restaurants and businesses, without high rise so that there is more contact with the street, with a

mixed population by age and way of living, with permanent eyes on the street creating a feeling of safety, and with wide pavements encouraging children's play and encounters, also appears to provide a recipe for building new neighborhoods. At least it seems to be conceived in this way by many urbanists and architects who aimed in the renewal of older urban districts for small scale, a mix of functions and pedestrian friendly streets, but also used the same principles in designing expansion areas and entire new cities (for an example see Sucher 1996). Actually this cannot be written fully to the account of Jacobs. As Klemek shows in Europe and Canada her ideas were not only followed but also anticipated by architects, urbanists and planners. In Great Britain the *Architectural Review* welcomed Jacobs' message as 'a warm but high wind across the Atlantic and (one hopes and believes) a handshake' for the *British Townscape* movement (Klemek 2007, p. 52).

Already in the 1950s editors of the *Architectural Review* advocated a human, picturesque variant of modernism for London. (ill.) Jane Jacobs was well aware of the efforts of these like-minded critics at the other side of the ocean, considering her praise (in a footnote, but nevertheless) of the ‘two remarkable books on design in English cities, towns, and countryside, *Outrage and Counter Attack*, both by Gordon Cullen and Ian Nairn.’ (Jacobs 1974, p. 404; actually both books are by Nairn 1955 and 1956; for Cullen see Cullen 1961). In Germany the chief-planner of postwar Hamburg and Hannover responded to *Death and Life* with an essay titled (translated in English) *From Ebenezer Howard to Jane Jacobs – or: Was it all wrong?*. He visited Jane Jacobs in Greenwich and invited her to tour his projects for the reconstruction of the bombed districts. Jacobs accepted and actually liked what she saw: ‘In Hannover I actually see the kind of planning, all built, actually executed! that I have recommended! But this is not because of my book. It is because of Prof. Hillebrecht, the planner from here who came to see us in N.Y. He did it beginning in the late 1940s and early 1950s’ (cited in Klemek 2007, p. 58; Hillebrecht 1965). (ill.) In the Netherlands the call for a more humane modernism resulted in a change in urban renewal strategies aiming at the conservation of the existing urban pattern, renovation of the building stock and designing new dwelling in a more popular architectural style. The exhibition *De Straat – vorm van samenleven* [Street – form of living together] in Museum Van Abbe in Eindhoven in 1972, in this period famous for its avant-gardists approach, was an important catalyst in the debate, bringing together architects, urbanists, sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, artists and activist. Application of the principles advocated by Jane Jacobs in the extension areas of cities produced residential neighborhoods which were called *woonerven* that also form a large part of the Dutch version of the New Town, the *Groeikernen* [‘Growth Centers’]. Paradoxically these efforts in translating the body of

thought of Jacobs and like-minded critics of modern urbanism in architectural projects in both urban renewal districts and suburban areas were soon criticized by protagonist of modern architecture as well as fans of Jane Jacobs. The question if those architectural an urbanistic attempts really resulted in the vital urbanity that Jacobs had in mind and justified the principles as she formulated seems however far more imwhiportant then the criticism of architectural style.

### **New urban areas**

Jacobs herself did not consider her observations of the big-city district as a recipe for other, more or less urban, suburban and semi-suburban environments. She emphasizes that she writes about great (large and grand) cities and especially about the inner city areas because they are underexposed in planning theory; and to be honest, she adds, because she loves dense cities best and cares about them most. She hopes no reader will try to transfer her observations into guides as to what goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs which still are suburban, because: ‘Towns, suburbs, and even little cities are totally different organisms from great cities. We are already in enough trouble from trying to understand big cities in terms of the behavior, and the alleged behavior, of towns. To try to understand towns in terms of big cities will only compound confusion.’ (Jacobs 1974, p. 26) And that has turned out. We can perceive this confusion everywhere: in the former urban renewal districts of big cities, the newly built ‘*woonerven*’-neighborhoods of the seventies and eighties and recently delivered, residential areas, themed like a traditional small town, as for example *Brandevoort* near the city of Helmond in the south of the Netherlands.

However Jacobs considered her research into the vitality of urban areas, not of null and void for the newer urban areas and suburbs. But not when they were built. Only after several years, it would appear that they had the capacity to become real urban areas or not. Many parts of major cities that are

nowadays listed as derelict areas have been not so long ago suburbs or dignified, quiet residential areas. Every neighborhood - problem area or not - once was a suburb. In this respect the question is not how to build interesting, vital, lively urban areas at the outskirts of the city or somewhere in the pasture. The interesting issue that Jacobs almost accidentally adopts is: how do we build new neighborhoods that, if they take over time in socio-economic and socio-cultural respect more urban characteristics, also provide space for this form of ‘urbanization’, which is accompanied by differentiation of the population and new social and economic dynamics? In her own words: ‘Eventually many of today’s brand new suburbs or semi-suburbs are going to be engulfed in cities and will succeed or fail in that condition depending on whether they can adapt to functioning successfully as city districts.’ (Jacobs 1974, p. 26)

### **Suburbs in decline**

The hope that in the course of *Death and Life* we will get an answer to the question into the spatial and other conditions under which suburbs may become successful city districts ends in disappointment. Older former suburbs, according to Jacobs, sometimes appear to have the ability to adapt to urban areas. Most, however, do not and contribute only to the further development of the gray belt around the big cities. Jacobs calls two neighborhoods in New York, which serve as an example. The Bronx (once a Manhattan suburb), with currently a population of 1.5 million people, according to the author of the *New York City Guide New York Places and Pleasures* knew only one restaurant worth mentioning (Jacobs 1974, p. 161). Another former suburb, Brooklyn, loses employment to newer suburbs further away because of the lack of modern, representative business space for growing businesses. However, countless startup companies that are precisely targeted at the older, cheaper business buildings that Brooklyn has in abundance occupy their place (Jacobs 1974, p. 209). Brooklyn succeeds where the Bronx fails, but why is not entirely clear.

Contemporary suburbs and new towns are only raised by Jacobs to underline the importance of real urban city-districts. Suburbs and New Towns have too low density to develop a diversity of residents, amenities, businesses and a lively street life. For example, Jacobs quotes from an investigation into American suburbs and British New Towns, concluding that by the thin spread of the population, the demand of the majority is the only effective economic demand. For more specialized stores and other facilities, there is no support (Jacobs 1974, p. 212). The conclusion is clear and simple: no diversity, no vitality. Point. The first part is still true. But of the second part we cannot be so sure.

In this way, the argument ends in a fierce charge against the further outgrowth of suburbia. On the one hand because of the destruction of nature arising from a sentimental attitude towards nature, which turns it into 'green': '...it is a sentimental desire to toy (...) with some insipid, standardized, suburbanized shadow of nature – apparently in sheer disbelief that we and our cities, just by virtue of being, are a legitimate part of nature too, and involved with it in much deeper and more inescapable ways than grass trimming, sunbathing, and contemplative uplift. And so, each day, several thousand more acres of our countryside are eaten by bulldozers, covered by pavement, dotted with suburbanites who have killed the things they thought they came to find.' (Jacobs 1974, p. 458-459) On the other hand because of the – supposed - lack of vitality and self-regenerative ability. What was an interesting question at the beginning of the book is now an unequivocal conclusion: 'The semi-urbanized and suburbanized messes we create in this way become despised by their own inhabitants tomorrow. These thin dispersions lack any reasonable degree of innate vitality, staying power, or inherent usefulness as settlements. Few of them, and these only the most expensive as a rule, hold their attraction much longer than a generation; then they begin to decay in the pattern of city grey areas.' (Jacobs 1974, p. 459) For this hard-core conclusion, however,

little or no evidence is given.

### Way of looking

The judgment about the future of the suburbs is unfortunately not based on the kind of research with which Jacobs showed that the city neighborhoods that she loved so much were not the dispersed areas of trouble that could be better demolished today than tomorrow. The evidence for that was collected by sharp observations and the use of unusual sources, such as a restaurant guide. With respect to the suburbs, she has the same blind spots and uses the same kind of generalizations as the planners and urbanists she criticizes. About whom she wrote earlier: 'The pseudo-science of city planning and its companion, the art of city design, (that) have not yet broken with the specious comfort of wishes, familiar superstitions, over-simplifications, and symbols, and have not yet embarked upon the adventure of probing the new world.' (Jacobs 1974, p. 23)

The suburbs and new cities cannot count on that other, unscathed way of looking at the life that is happening there. That other look does not tend to rapid generalizations, but is interested in the far-reaching exception and in the numerous seemingly banal events, to see if there are certain urban planning principles to be distinguished therein. Just this other way of looking, throwing a new light on city districts with a 'bad name', makes *Death and Life of Great American Cities* a great book. Whoever sees the book as a paean to neighborhoods like Greenwich Village and the principles discovered by Jacobs as a town-planning or place-making program of requirements, disregards its commitment.

Many of the neighborhoods that Jacobs defended against the negative appreciation of planners and urbanists in the sixties are currently among the most sought after of the major cities. That is true for her own Greenwich Village. Since the appearance of Florida's hymn to the creative class, in which he identified just these types of neighborhoods as a setting factor for creative knowledge workers, they

have become a symbol of the revival and international competitiveness of cities (Florida 2002). In the lee of high-rise downtown areas, some of these neighborhoods are not only attractive to young creators, but also to the slightly older professional urban middle class with children. Thus, in these city districts the kind of exuberant street life that Jacobs describes for the Village and similar neighborhoods seems to return. The newly discovered urban villages, of which in the Netherlands the Jordaan and the Pijp in Amsterdam are the most pronounced, fully comply with the four principles that Jacobs formulates as conditions for diversity as the most important factor for the vitality of cities. But how diverse are those neighborhoods actually? This question is not unimportant because these neighborhoods are the measuring rod to judge the vitality of newer areas, including the districts built in the decades after the Second World War.

### Urbanity and suburbanity

In a critical review shortly after the appearance of *Death and Life* New York sociologist Herbert Gans already noted that city districts like Greenwich Village compared to the urban population as a whole actually house a fairly homogeneous population (Gans 1962; 1991). At that time this was the case for some of Greenwich Village's neighborhoods, with mainly Italian or Irish inhabitants, but also for specific parts where intellectuals, artists and bohemians occupied the places of the white working class that had moved out of the area. Abundance street life, small shops serving traditionally ethnic groups and cultural minorities, and the exotic atmosphere of the neighborhood attract visitors and tourists, which in turn contribute to the liveliness of the neighborhood. The resulting mix of life-styles creates an eye-catching vitality. Please note that this comment was written in 1962. In an after-word at the occasion of the reprinting of this article, Gans mentions as one of the reasons that *Death and Life* thirty years later is still unprecedentedly popular, that the urban way of life that Jacobs encountered in Greenwich Village

- which she spelled out in her book with fervor - has become very popular. It has spread far beyond the boundaries of The Village and the handful of other neighborhoods that she mentions in her book, with the remarkable consequence that the social diversity of these types of neighborhoods decreased even further. Jacobs described, according to Gans, both the lifestyle of an essentially white working class and that of the upper-middle class and it is the last variant that has become very popular (Gans 1991, p. 41-43).

The criticism of Gans did not concern the way of seeing which Jacobs introduced. At the contrary he is full of praise of her meticulous observations and descriptions. His criticism concerns she puts a particular kind of urban life a par with the urbanity of the big city. This criticism he would formulate broader a few years later in a review of one of the classic texts of urban sociology, *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, written in 1938 by Louis Wirth, one of the leading sociologists of the so-called Chicago School of urban sociology. In *Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life*, Gans argues that the Chicago School's findings relate mainly to the urban areas directly adjacent to the center, and even there the lifestyle of different groups only meets the descriptions of Wirth and other sociologists of the Chicago School to a limited extent (Gans 1991, p. 51-69). City and suburb are often only seemingly different in physical and other terms, and those differences are sometimes of little importance to the ways of life we find there. Within the city or region there is a large differentiation of ways of life, but that differentiation is much more spread across different environments than the contradiction city versus suburb or urban versus suburban district suggests. In his review of *Death and Life*, Gans already pointed to the treacherousness of the visible vitality of the neighborhoods described by Jacobs. Newer, middle class neighborhoods may not know her praised street life, but they need not necessarily be less vital. That vitality can very well hide behind the facades of private and the hedges of collective domains. Those who want to make statements about

the vitality of parts of the city and the urban field will therefore have to look better and not fixate to the first impression. This applies both to the newer areas, where significant social changes are now taking place, as well as for the inner-city neighborhoods where Jane Jacobs wrote about. The first have taken over the role of ugly duckling from the last.

### **Public and parochial domain**

The urban districts Jacobs was writing about are nowadays a model for urban public space; places where urban society presents itself in all its varieties. Here cultural exchanges take place that are essential for the creative and innovative power of cities. City air makes free, free from traditions and worn patterns. The public domain is eminently the domain of reflection and reconsideration (Hajer & Reijndorp 2001). Sometimes the city is described as a bazaar that offers an unprecedented choice of ways of life (Langer 1984, Reijndorp 2009). Unlike Jacobs and many of her followers, those qualities of the public domain are not always served with overwhelming diversity. Social and cultural diversity can also lead to distrust and indifference. Difference may also lead to indifference as Richard Sennett points out following a walk through the same district where Jacobs lived and observed. (Sennett 1990, p. 123 - 132). Besides, according to recent publications by Sharon Zukin (2004) and Michael Sorkin (2009), they like to walk a bit, some of New York's intellectuals, and often in neighborhood, the southern part of Manhattan around Union Square, Washington Square and Tomkins Square Park. And with research-results that are impressive and comparable with Jacobs'. Again, the problem is not the method, research by walking, but it should be practiced in a far wider part of the city (for an excellent example see Helmreich 2013).

Herbert Gans points out that the kind of urban publicness described by Jacobs is only one variant of a much more differentiated public domain of the city. In the terms of another urban sociologist,

Lyn Lofland, these urban areas form a parochial domain, an environment where a particular group of like-minded people push their mark, both by the type of amenities, like shops, galleries, cafes and restaurants, and the forms of social interaction and the use of public space (Lofland 1989). In the case of the urban village, this is the parochial domain of the creative class, the knowledge workers and symbolic analysts or how they are referred to further. A part of the professional middle class, in short, that has a clear preference for this differentiated, but also domesticated form of urbanity. In addition, the city knows other parochial domains, from other groups, from garden district to posh-quarter and from slum to outlet center. Together the overlapping parochial domains form the public domain of the city as an urbanized field (Hajer & Reijndorp 2001). Those parochial domains are not fixed but shifting in time. Greenwich Village and other urban villages like De Pijp are excellent examples of these developments. These changes happen not without conflict: the symbolic economy, as Zukin calls it, like the 'real' economy knows winners and losers (Zukin 1995). The appropriation of a part of the city through one group is at the expense of the parochial domain of another. Diversity is not always pleasant. As Gans noticed in the early nineties, some of the professional middle classes accept other groups only if they share something of their own middle-class lifestyle, or at least keep discordant behavior strictly invisible (Gans 1991, p. 42). The parochial domain of the creative class is also a globalized domain. Indeed, it extends far beyond Greenwich Village and now spans the entire globe. In every city it can be found and when you are there, there is no doubt that you have found it. The symbolic economy is as globalized as the real economy. In this sense, the so-called cosmopolitan inhabitants are new provincials who feel at home everywhere their creative province has stretched out. The real cosmopolitans are the less educated labor migrants who again and again have to deal with unknown territory (Hannerz 1990).

Gentrification has since the

1990s become a policy objective in many North American and European cities. Not control, but its promotion is on the agenda of urban renewal. The efforts to attract the creative knowledge workers, again overlook what is actually developing in different urban areas, especially so-called deprived districts. Not in the least because of the creative class often not meeting the image that municipal councils have, starting with the level of their income (Van der Zwaard 2008).

## **Public domain in the suburbs**

Had Jane Jacobs left the question of whether new neighborhoods have the potential to develop into real urban neighborhoods and instead of answering her question in a negative way, called to investigate the developments in those newer, more suburban areas in the same unscrupulous and careful manner as she had done with the older parts of the big city. Then her followers had at least no excuse to approach postwar areas, which everywhere in Europe were the results of the contested concepts of planners and urban designers, with an equally prejudiced look and the same easygoing generalizations and reconstructing them according to generic models.

Now it is called that these monotonous and socially homogeneous neighborhoods should be differentiated. Almost nobody looks at the way in which social differentiation has been developing for some time already. The same goes for the way in which new social-spatial practices practically and symbolically push their mark in these neighborhoods, both in the form of new shops, facilities and businesses, as well as in the public life of the streets and squares. New social dynamics are described only in negative, generalizing terms as expropriation, displacement, decline and decay. Just as happened to the urban areas for which Jane Jacobs took fifty years ago. Then planners and designers also did not consider the self-diversification that occurred in those districts: 'It is curious that city planning neither respects

spontaneous self-diversification among city populations nor contrives to provide for it. It is curious that city designers seem to neither recognize this force of self-diversification nor to be attracted by the aesthetic problems of expressing it. '(Jacobs 1974, p. 303) How many of the heirs of Jane Jacobs are willing to apply the way she tried to discover what goes on in 'the seemingly mysterious and perverse behavior of cities' (Jacobs 1974, p. 23), to those newest neighborhoods and cities that seemingly do not hide any mystery and seem to behave very neatly? Until they begin to urbanize socially and their classification changes in a blow from boring suburbs in unattractive problem-areas.

Who takes 'Death and Life of Great American Cities' seriously, focuses today on these new 'problem-areas' with a professional attitude that Jane Jacobs has described very precisely in three points: (1) to think about processes; (2) to work inductively, reasoning from particulars to the general rather than the other way around; and (3) to seek for 'unaverage' clues involving very small quantities, which reveal the way larger and more 'average' quantities are operating (Jacobs 1965, p. 454).

The Atlas van de Westelijke Tuinsteden. De geleeftde en de geplande stad (Atlas of the Western Garden-cities. The lived and planned city) is the result of such research into the socio-spatial developments in the huge post-war extension on the west side of Amsterdam (Nio et al 2008). Based on observations, interviews, group discussions, mental maps and using unusual research material such as advertisements, flyers, guides and local newspapers, next to statistics, the different living worlds - the parochial domains - of old and new groups are literally mapped. In the terms of Jane Jacobs we looked at unaverage amenities, in the same way as residents see them as clues for what's going on, what's up with their neighborhood and how it will develop. Planners overlook or ignore them: 'They have inevitably come to regard 'unaverage' quantities as relatively inconsequential, because these are statistically inconsequential. They have been trained to discount what is most vital.' (Jacobs 1965, 457)

With this material we examined how under pressure of increasing social and cultural differentiation, the meaning of the collective domain, the common green spaces so characteristic of this type of urban design, changed; and how new values can be assigned, including collective maintenance. The urban structure offers space for both the planned and the spontaneous revitalization of these neighborhoods. Social-housing blocks were broken down, which are largely replaced by new apartments and row houses with a mix of social and private housing. Whether it is always necessary and adequately done is subject of discussion. Eight years after our first research we got the opportunity to make an update of the original Atlas and to focus more on the spatial and social effects of the urban renewal strategy. Did New West become a Park City in accordance of the ambitions formulated in 2001 or a City District that we saw develop already in 2008 (Nio et al 2016)? To answer this question, reviewing the social effects of urban reconstruction policies is crucial. Did those measures create space to accommodate the growing socio-cultural and socio-economic differentiation? And maybe even more important: did they support the integration and emancipation of immigrant-groups in the city?

Canadian journalist Doug Saunders states in his book 'Arrival City' (2010) that the greatest economic potential lays in the second and third generation of migrants in the cities of arrival and the neighborhoods where they settle. 'A successful city of arrival should not only show a high concentration of human activity but also provide space for spontaneity. In a new-migrant community, a given patch of land might need to be a residence, a shop, a small factory, a gathering place, a place of worship, or any combination of these from time to time, and it needs to change and evolve.' (Saunders 2010, p. 298). From this perspective Saunders is quite negative about the Slotervaart district, a large part of the New West area, because this district does not meet the conditions for a real city district and therefore impedes the emancipation of migrants. In his description of the spatial conditions



for spontaneity and change possible, Saunders follows Jane Jacobs. These are the characteristics of the neighborhoods, built up to the end of the nineteenth century: streets and plots of land forming city blocks with space for shops and businesses on the ground floor and dwellings above. Already our first Atlas of the Western Garden-cities questioned the assumption that the post-war housing schemes did not offer space for spontaneity and change. On the basis of the socio-spatial practices of different groups of residents (long-term residents, new 'urbanites' with higher education and immigrants from different countries) how they appropriated the district's space. We considered the growing heterogeneity of the population of the Western Garden-cities as urbanization in a socio-economic and socio-cultural sense. In this respect the discussion that Saunders and many other critics of the products of modern town planning raise are certainly relevant, namely whether the spatial structure of these neighborhoods is capable of providing space for such social and cultural urbanization in a manner that we can speak of a successful arrival. The answer to that question, however, cannot be found simply by looking at the spatial and physical structure of a district. We need to see whether, how and in which measure the existing – and the transformed - spatial structure is adjusting to social and cultural developments. The answer to that question determines whether a neighborhood is a city-district – and thus an arrival-district - or not. With our second Atlas, *Nieuw-West: parkstad of stadswijk. De vernieuwing van de Westelijke Tuinsteden* (New West: Park-city or City-district. The transformation of the Western Garden Cities of Amsterdam), we tried to give an answer to those questions (Nio et al 2016).

A combination of maps, statistics, interviews and focus groups reveal how in these districts, which design is based on a concept of residential community and collective domains, new urban public domain arises where the parochial domains hit and overlap. The first Atlas showed already how urbanization in socio-cultural terms economically resulted in countless

immigrant companies, which in many cases exceed the district level. The second Atlas reveals the changing character of these shops and business. A growing number is no longer just focusing on the own group of immigrants, but on a far more diverse public. Several shops, restaurants are now catering for the new middle class that is developing among the different immigrant groups, grew up in the area, and now has found residential space in the new built apartment complexes and individual dwellings. This is not only proof of the emancipatory abilities of the urban space; it also enriches the classification of the population with new, more 'hybrid' groups that escape the divisions between settled and newcomer, locals and cosmopolitans, immigrants and urbanites. In the meantime new immigrants are arriving from the eastern countries of the EU, students of the Amsterdam's universities are moving in and international hotel chains provide new influx of tourists and business people. Of course the emancipation and integration of the different groups is not the result of the changes in the physical structure of the area. Social policies played a crucial role. But the physical transformation helped to call an end to the general idea that 'moving up socially means automatically moving out spatially'. There is a reverse side of these positive developments: the concentration of poverty in the remaining social housing schemes. In different ways the former suburbs become more and more part of the city and - in terms of Jane Jacobs - 'adapt to functioning successfully as city districts' (Jacobs 1974, p. 26).

### **New glasses**

Urban renewal strategies are in need of a new narrative, in which the 'disadvantaged neighborhoods' are incorporated into the story that the city likes to tell about itself, that of the creative, innovative, tolerant and diverse city. The "self-diversification" of neighborhoods does not always occur in the places designated by the planners and urbanists for the desired diversity. The new social and economic dynamics often do not display the image of urban vitality that policy makers and professionals identify

with the specific liveliness of the urban villages elsewhere in the city.

The same applies to the new cities that developed in the Netherlands since the mid-1970s, including some larger ones as Almere, Haarlemmermeer and Zoetermeer, and smaller as Spijkensse, Nieuwegein, Capelle aan den IJssel, Houten and Purmerend, and the lake recent urban extension areas like the so-called Vinex neighborhoods. The first had to become complete cities, and in a sense they are so, but in addition, they have a pronounced suburban character. In these new cities too – more or less spontaneous - a diversification of the population is going on. In some places, this may lead to urbanism à la Jane Jacobs. That will depend more on the rules about what and what not is allowed and where than the architecture of the buildings. At the both the levels of the new city and the larger urban field this diversification leads to more distinct urban and suburban environments (Reijndorp 2016). In the Vinex neighborhoods, new forms of public domain emerge in unexpected places. But, of course, you should see that. The professional look needs new glasses. Jane Jacobs had such new glasses, but sometimes even she forgot to put them on.

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# All papers presented at the conference

## TRACK 1: Jane Jacobs, ethics, and the just city Questioning and understanding Jacobs

- 15:00-15:20 Stefano Moroni Urban density: Is it really desirable (and why)? Is it effectively manageable (and how)?
- 15:20-15:40 Marguerite van den Berg Jane Jacobs's "Death and Life" and the genderfication of the city - Understanding Jacobs's contemporary popularity through a gendered lens
- 15:40-16:00 Jess D. Linz Emergent Exclusion: How Visible Assemblages Produce Alienation in Gentrifying Neighborhoods of Cincinnati, Ohio

## TRACK 2: Street Spaces. History, heritage and memory

- 15:00-15:20 Azadeh Arjomand Kermani Jane Jacobs and the Theory of Placemaking in Heritage Context
- 15:20-15:40 Ashwathy Anand Unwrapping the urban imagery: A study of social, cultural and spatial integration within the old city streets of Bhopal.
- 15:40-16:00 Maier Yagod Mémoire en route: Jerusalem's Route No. 1 a study in motion
- 16:00-16:20 Bedour Braker, Ph.D. Hussien Al-Mimar Street, The tale of a restricted space

## TRACK 3: Jane Jacobs and the dynamics of neighbourhoods

- 15:00-15:20 Yara C.L. Baiardi The design of public space in stations areas of São Paulo: how to connect it to the neighborhood as urban ballet?
- 15:20-15:40 Fateme Sharifnia Revisiting Jane Jacobs's ideas on urban parks: Evidence from users' perspective
- 15:40-16:00 Ryanne Flock Public space for the people? China's „human centred“ cities and public order in Guangzhou
- 16:00-16:20 Jannes van Loon How cataclysmic money destroys the urban fabric, or, why 'Jacobian' urban design fails to be truly 'Jacobian'

## TRACK 4: Jane Jacobs and the reshaping old urban fabrics in Chinese cities

- 15:00-15:20 Yanliu Lin An incremental approach for the sustainable development of “villages in the city” in China
- 15:20-15:40 Mengyi Fang Research on Urban Village Reconstruction Based on the Current Situation and Demand of New Immigrants : Case Study of New Immigrant Enclaves in Hangzhou, China.
- 15:40-16:00 Lei Qu and Xiaocun Ruan Former public housing areas in Beijing as the New Urban Heritages
- 16:00-16:20 Anne van Stijn China’s crumbling high-rises: Understanding the interests and possible roles of stakeholders in the rehabilitation process of the early high-rise housing of Beijing.
- 16:20-16:40 Jie Guo Industrial area renewal and China’s neoliberal governmentality: the rise of alliance-based governance and its limits

## TRACK 5: Jane Jacobs and organized complexity

- 15:00-15:20 Francesca Froy, University College London Are new jobs really built on old jobs? And what does this mean for the spatial organisation of economic activities in cities?
- 15:20-15:40 Adrian Vickery Hill, OSMOS Network Import replacement for local economies: How Jane Jacobs’ concept of a local economy based on import replacement and the emergence of new technologies can breath resilience and confidence in European cities. “
- 15:40-16:00 Kisanphol Wattanawanyoo, University College London, UK. Reading/Understanding Bangkok’s organized complexity: The role of informal street market and street vending in shaping/making the urban complexity.
- 16:00-16:20 Deng Xiaofan TU Delft Urban organisation and complexity: Making the organisation in organised complexity urban, and operationalising urban complexity in design and planning.

## TRACK 6: Jane Jacobs and Safety in the Public Space

- 15:00-15:20 Letty Reimerink From gang turf to playground: How public space in Medellin’s most violent neighborhood Comuna 13 was reconquered
- 15:20-15:40 Muhammed Fatih Çetintaş Public space and perception of terror
- 15:40-16:00 Bilal Çalışkan Local Stores and Their Long Tenant Ship Effects on Safety in Public Spaces: A Case Study in A Central Anatolian City (Sivas)
- 16:00-16:20 Rafael da Silva Verissimo Public space and urban safety: The conditions for city diversity as tool from crime prevention
- 16:20-16:40 Bedour Braker, PhD Women in Egypt: The myth of a safe public space

**24 MAY TUESDAY 17:00-18:30**

**TRACK 1: Jane Jacobs, ethics, and the just city: Embracing different perspectives**

**17:00-17:20** Rachel Granger **The Sharing Economy as a Platform for Just Communities**

**17:20-17:40** Sarah-Maria Schmitt & Thomas Hartmann **The clumsy city by design: a theory for Jane Jacob's imperfect cities?**

**17:40-18:00** Emma Puerari **Spontaneous Actions or Opportunity for Collaboration: How Civic Activism is challenging the Idea of a "just" City**

**18:00-18:20** Marleen Buizer **"Seeing like a City" through Jane Jacobs' eyes; Political Practices Justice and Urban Space in Laak and Binckhorst, The Hague.**

**TRACK 2B: Street Spaces. Urban strategies at street level**

**17:00-17:20** Dick van Veen M.Sc. Eng, M.Sc. Arch. **Shared Space: Traffic engineers finally entering the Post-Modern era.**

**17:20-17:40** Ailish Killilea **Public Spaces as part of the City Ecosystem: Exploration into the role and relevance of public spaces within the modern city fabric**

**17:40-18:00** Antje Steinmuller **(Un)Natural Proprietors in San Francisco's Alleyways**

**TRACK 3: Jane Jacobs and the dynamics of neighbourhoods**

**17:00-17:20** Georgios Chatzinakos **Mapping the neighbourhood: Problems, suggestions and approaches to urban futures**

**17:20-17:40** Chris Jacobs-Crisioni **Jane Jacobs tested: Cell phone data proof that dense, mixed-use patterns are associated with lively activity patterns**

**17:40-18:00** Fred C. Sanders **Exploring an 'Acupuncture' of neighbourhood citizen meeting-places by Jane Jacobs Walks in the Netherlands.**

**18:00-18:20** Xiao Xiao Mo **The practice of community building: putting Jane Jacobs to work**

**This report contains a number of full papers  
submitted**

**Track 1**

**Jane Jacobs, ethics and  
the just city**

# Critical Voices from the 1960s

## Jane Jacobs and Epistemological Critiques to the Technocratic Planning Model

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**Abstract**-During the 1960s, different critical voices emerged with regard to the main gaps of rational comprehensive planning, or as we will define it, technocratic planning (what Jacobs calls 'modern, orthodox city planning'), voices highlighting the oversimplifying epistemological approaches that had been characterising planning in the first half of the Twentieth century. Jane Jacobs' thought has been of paramount importance in influencing planning and urban discourses worldwide, but she has not been isolated: in the same years, other critical voices have been shaping a critical thought and fostering debate, on both sides of the Atlantic. Among them, Paul Davidoff, appealing for advocacy planning in NYC, Giancarlo De Carlo, proposing a sharp critique of architectural and planning education in Italy and Reyner Banham and his group, advocating the (paradoxical) possibility of non-planning in the UK. The paper proposes to identify an important common feature across their positions in the connection between epistemological and political critique; as Jane Jacobs, many critics of traditional technocratic planning underline the inappropriate and ineffective mechanisms of knowledge production and use in urban planning: if cities are characterised by organised complexity ('intricate social and economic order under the seeming disorder of cities', as Jacobs puts it), then it is not possible to reduce them to 'simple problems'. These authors develop their interpretative discourses in different ways, and advance different proposals to bridge this gap, combining in original ways the epistemological dimension with a political and a cultural one.

**Key words** – technocratic planning, epistemology, knowledge production, process planning

### Introduction

Jane Jacob's position on the use of rationality (Jacobs, 1961; Callahan and Ikeda, 2014) and on the over-reliance on scientific and technical reasoning in urban planning and urban regeneration policies has been of great importance for its consequences on the planning and urban studies debate, but it is by no means isolated in the 1960s. Interestingly enough, different scholars and activists from quite different disciplinary and political backgrounds expressed quite similar critiques to the knowledge-action connection in the traditional technocratic planning model, contributing with their arguments to pave the way for a sort of epistemological 'revolution' in planning theory and practice in the subsequent decades, anticipating to some extent the scientific and philosophical critiques to positivist epistemology that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (Palermo and

Ponzini, 2014). Also thanks to Jacobs and other critics, in recent years there is a shared awareness that

"The problems of architecture and urban planning today relate primarily to ends and effects rather than to technique (and the main limit is not the eventual lack of scientific background). These positions are supported by the evolution of epistemological thinking that has long since abandoned any pretence of absolute foundation to recognize the cultural, ethical and social grounds that contribute to the formation of judgments of truth" (Palermo and Ponzini, 2014, p. 61).

Among the vast array of emerging voices, focusing on the epistemological gap that

characterises much planning theory and practice in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century we will focus in the paper on the positions and arguments of Paul Davidoff in the US, Giancarlo De Carlo in Italy and Paul Barker and Reyner Banham and a group of other intellectuals in the UK. Their positions appear quite interesting in relation to Jacobs's one, because they share some relevant elements with her critique, but each of them introduces a specific and contextual angle to their argument.

There are two main elements in common among the different positions: the critical discussion of the intrinsic limits of positivist rationality, especially when it is applied to contexts such as urban planning; and an attempt at disclosing the opaque connection between epistemology and politics in policy making and planning.

Jacobs very clearly highlights the point introducing the 'organised complexity' concept, which calls for a completely

different knowledge production and mobilisation compared to the ones target simple problems, or problems of disorganised complexity (Jacobs, 1961). Impinging on Weaver's examination on the evolution of natural sciences in the preceding half century (Weaver, 1958) she proposes to decisively go beyond the traditional epistemology of simple problems connected to Newtonian physics, and to the statistical approach to disorganised complexity, to move to a perspective nearer to the life sciences ('organised complexity'). From this attention to the life sciences derives the metaphor of the city as an organic being, useful to understand how the city develops and therefore to identify the possible directions in a normative perspective.

"Cities present situations in which a half-dozen or even several dozen quantities are all varying simultaneously and in subtly interconnected ways. Cities, again like the life sciences, do not exhibit one problem in organized complexity, which if understood explains all. They can be analyzed into many such problems or segments which, as in the case of the life sciences, are also related with one another. The variables are many, but they are not helter-skelter; they are interrelated into an organic whole" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 433)

One first step in this argument is the acknowledgement of the different sources of urban knowledge, and of the fact that they are necessarily dispersed among a large number of actors, all potentially users and designers at the same time. As noted by Moroni when discussing the relationship between knowledge and markets 'it is impossible to intentionally concentrate the dispersed knowledge that enables complex economic systems to function' (Moroni, 2014, p. 15), because this knowledge has three fundamental features: it is *situated*, therefore specific in space and time, it is *tacit*, which means that it is acquired through forms of learning-by-doing and not formally codified, and thirdly it is *dynamic*, which means that it changes over time; the impossibility to intentionally concentrate and make this knowledge 'public', calls for more direct forms of societal involvement

and direct experimentation (*ibidem*). In a wider perspective, Palermo and Ponzini observe that

"the experience of modernity has revealed ambiguities and paradoxes in the traditional aspiration to scientifically establishing public action. The modern project has lost its radical desire for the emancipation and development of human capabilities; what has remained instead is the social reproduction of various rationalization technologies (Palermo and Ponzini, 2014, p. 61)

Secondly, whereas one of technocratic planning's fundamental tenets was the declared 'neutrality' of technical decisions vis-à-vis the complexity of society (be it read as an interest-based pluralist society, or in other perspectives), Jane Jacobs and the other authors in the 1960s, insist on the inherently political dimension of planning choices (and, more in general, of policy making) and on the limits of the instrumental use of technical expertise, which contributes to distort information and knowledge and to impose simplistic solutions to complex societal problems. The unveiling of this power connection is very clear in Paul Davidoff's call for openly partisan planning positions, as well as in De Carlo's oriented critique of the role of architecture and planning knowledge in society, and therefore of technical education.

Thus the epistemological critique becomes also a political critique, even if this dimension is differently present in the critical discourses. The positions are nuanced in the four authors, and the political side to the critique might emerge more or less explicitly, while for instance it is frequently implicit in Jacobs, who manifests an interest in urban economic and social vitality from a substantive point of view, more than a specific interest in the decision-making and process dimension.

In the following paragraphs the paper will first highlight the main recurring features of the technocratic planning model, looking in particular at the knowledge-action nexus and at the ambiguities in the relations with the political dimension (§ 2), and then it will focus on the nature of some

'critical voices' of the 1960s, trying to identify the most significant commonalities and differences with Jane Jacob's thought (§ 3). Finally, the Conclusions will summarise the previous arguments also in the light of some recent developments of planning theory *vis-à-vis* the mentioned critiques.

## Emerging features of technocratic planning in the first half of the 20th century

Under the rather wide and comprehensive definition of *technocratic planning* we can gather a number of theoretical and practical positions, emerging in Continental Europe in the last decades of the 19th century and in the US around the first decades of the 20th century (Benevolo, 1967; Boyer, 1983), aiming at establishing the (public) legitimacy and setting the ground rules and specific guidelines for urban planning, as an activity and a discipline separated from civil and sanitary engineering on the one side and from *Beaux Arts* and monument design on the other. Technocratic planning has been having a significant and long-lasting influence on urban planning and design throughout the 20th century, notwithstanding a series of well-argued and, from a certain point in time, extremely popular critiques.

Since its development has followed slightly different paths in European and American cities, due to their different cultural, political and institutional conditions, we will recall some of the fundamental tenets of technocratic planning in the US, using the works of some pioneers such as Lewis and Howe, even if some of the issues are present across both contexts.

First, planning can be conceived at the same time as 'foresight' or 'remedy', as proposed for instance by Lewis (1916) in that it should be an anticipation of the inevitable accumulation of negative externalities deriving from the uncontrolled growth of the industrial city, or it can be conceived as a correction, an ex-post attempt at minimising the worse (public) impacts of such evolution. 'City Planning is simply the exercise of such foresight as will promote the orderly and slightly development of a city and its environs along rational lines'



(Lewis, 1916, p. 11). Or, according to Howe, City Planning ‘anticipates the future with the farsightedness of an army commander, so as to secure the orderly, harmonious, and symmetrical development of the community’ (Howe, 1913, p. 1).

To work in this direction, the city comes to be considered as a tool, as a machine useful for the production process: ‘The process of planning conceives of the city as an instrument of capitalist development. Now the nature of the city is to be a functional tool, a machine useful to the process of production’ (Boyer, 1983, p.66).

Secondly, sometimes in open opposition with the previous city design, technocratic planning legitimises (albeit not without contention) public intervention also on private land, and therefore the possibility to dictate rules and restrictions to private owners, in the form of zoning (firstly concerning heights, setbacks and building ratios, then also land-uses). This is a huge discontinuity with the past, and one of the elements of recurring critique along the subsequent decades. On this point Howe observes: ‘City planning, in a comprehensive sense, is only possible where the city has authority to control private property in the interest of the community’ (Howe, 1913, p. 2).

In intervening on the city, technocratic planning introduces a new epistemology, based on the idea that the production and elaboration of knowledge should precede action, in line with the positivistic epistemology gaining ground in many scientific fields in the same age: this traditional knowledge-action connection has had a long lasting and enduring influence over planning throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it somehow resists post-positivist critiques still today.

On this point, Howe very clearly states: ‘City planning involves a new vision of the city. It means a city built by experts, by experts in architecture, in landscape gardening, in engineering, and housing, by students of health, sanitation, transportation, water, gas, and electricity supply’ (*ibidem*).

This simplification of the knowledge-action nexus and the rigid model of rationality that crystallises in planning thought is at odds with the recognition of multiple forms of rationality which has been one of the interesting discoveries of modernity: ‘the discovery of multiple forms of reason was an

achievement of modernity obscured, however, by the widespread search for a dominant form of rationality’ (Palermo and Ponzini, 2014, p.61).

One typical example of the use of technical knowledge in simplifying the inquiry about cities is the emerging attitude to break down cities, and therefore planning processes, into systems, firstly those concerning public activities and initiatives, and then also those concerning the ‘private’ city. Authors in this period mention the transportation system, the street system, parks and recreation facilities, public buildings and civic centers, the railroad system. In subsequent years, also the residential system, the production system, and so on, will be identified as the foundational bases of ‘scientific’ planning.

As far as the physical dimension is concerned, specific choices concerning the adoption of the grid or not, the different densities, the debate about compactness or lower densities approximating the ‘garden city’ model are much more place-specific, and they tend to be therefore differently interpreted in Continental Europe, in the UK and in the US.

## **A new connection between epistemology and politics in the 1960’s critiques to planning**

In the years after the publication of *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, different critical voices within and outside the urban planning field critically discuss the points highlighted so clearly by Jane Jacobs, in some cases in direct connection to her thought, in others independently: among the many interesting ones, we will discuss in particular Davidoff’s, Barker and Banham’s, and De Carlo’s ones.

Paul Davidoff’s very famous and extensively quoted article on advocacy and pluralism in planning, appeared in 1965 in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. Its content is significantly influenced by the racial and class tensions that had been crossing American society and politics in the first half of the 1960s, as well as by classical pluralist thought (as expressed for instance by Dahl, 1961), and it was published the same year of Alan Altschuler’s

critique of planning theory and practice in the US (Altschuler, 1965). The core of Davidoff’s critique to technocratic planning is at the same time epistemological and political, or to put it more clearly, it is political insofar as it is epistemological. Davidoff criticises traditional planning based on the development of different alternatives by a planning office, because each alternative course of action should be connected to underlying goals and value systems: ‘Appropriate planning action cannot be prescribed from a position of value neutrality, for prescriptions are based on desired objectives’ (Davidoff, 1965, p. 331).

The pretended neutrality of the rational model, based on the production of knowledge on urban issues and problems, the development of a set of alternatives and the choice of the best alternative according to sets of ‘technical’ criteria unveils here its intrinsic political dimension: if values are not made explicit, they will tend to correspond to the value systems of the government or public agencies. Hence, the proposal of an adversarial planning system, in which plans are prepared on the basis of explicitly different interests and values, and are subsequently compared and defended in a public discussion arena: ‘In plural planning the alternatives would be presented by interest groups differing with the public agency’s plan. Such alternatives would represent the deep-seated convictions of their proponents and not just the mental exercises of rational planners seeking to portray the range of choice’ (Davidoff, 1965, p. 333).

The intrinsic quality of each different plan proposal would be much higher, because they would be the result of specific decentralised knowledge gathering and elaboration efforts, thus relying on the mobilisation of situated, tacit and dynamic knowledge (to use Moroni’s criteria), and because they would propose solutions consistent with the underlying value systems of different actors, so that goals would be connected explicitly to the means employed to reach them.

A quite different stance characterises the *Non-Plan* proposal, advanced in 1969 on *New Society* by four British intellectuals active in the fields of sociology, architecture, urban design and geography. The style of the article is ironic and paradoxical, as the proposal advocated is to leave parts of the

UK territory unplanned, and to subsequently check, after some time, the results in terms of quality of the built environment and quality of life of local communities. Such an idea is to a certain extent extreme, but the core point of the argument stands out quite clearly:

“... physical planning, like anything else, should consist at most of setting up frameworks for decision, within which as much objective information as possible can be fitted. Non-Plan would certainly provide such information. But it might do more. Even to talk of a ‘general framework’ is difficult. Our information about future states of the system is very poor” (Banham et al., 1969, p. 442).

The critique to the actual epistemology of planning clearly emerges here, but the evaluation of the very poor results of planning control in the UK brings the authors one step further, to question the legitimacy of (urban) planning at all, and to ask themselves if lifting planning restrictions and leaving land use and design decisions free would in the end produce an environment worse than the one they were witnessing. After a fictional application of Non-Plan to three actual areas, the final part of the article summarises the main lines of critique to technocratic planning, as it has been developing in the UK in the interwar period and after WW2 (especially after the 1948 *Town and Country Planning Act*). The main critique here is about the pretension of planners to impose value-based and aesthetical judgements on other people’s decisions: such imposition is problematic, because even planner’s judgements are approximate and not founded on sound and reliable evaluations. Reflecting on the effect that Jane Jacob’s positions on the rigidity of technocratic planning should have had on planning culture in the UK, but in fact had not, the authors thus observe:

“The planning system, as now constituted in Britain, is not merely negative. It has positively pernicious results. The irony is that the planners themselves consistently talk – since the appearance of Jane Jacob’s *Death*

and *Life of Great American Cities* – about the need to restore spontaneity and vitality to urban life. They never seem to draw the obvious conclusion – that the monuments of our century that have spontaneity and vitality are found not in the old cities, but in the American west” (Banham et al., 1969, p. 443).

Perhaps surprisingly, in the defence of the spatial and formal effects of the diffusion of pop culture, the example mentioned is that of Las Vegas, three years before the publication of Venturi and Scott Brown’s pamphlet (Venturi, Scott Brown, Izenour, 1972).

Going back to re-discuss the Non-plan proposal after thirty years, and re-examining the main features of the British suburban landscape in a Non-Plan perspective, Paul Barker confirms the validity of the original approach when he writes:

“I have increasingly come to endorse the conclusions we came to, all those years ago. Growth that happens without too much prescription is best. It is, of course, fine to lay down some very basic negative rules, and Non-Plan was never hostile to this; for example, this belt of land shall not be built on; or no building in this city centre shall be higher than ten storeys.

But, outside that, as little should be done as possible. Positive planning is all too often a disaster. For a start, it is usually based on incorrect forecasts about the future. No one is clever enough to know, in advance, how cities will grow” (Barker, 1996, p. 108)

Here again we can find echoes of the post-positivist epistemological critique that so many authors have been proposing.

Finally, Giancarlo De Carlo in a 1969 conference (later published in English) (De Carlo, 2005), vibrantly criticises the social role and the technical legitimacy of architecture (and hence urban planning), paying a specific attention to the educational dimension. De Carlo belongs to a quite heterogeneous group of architects and planners who worked through the 1960s to a critical approach *vis-à-vis*

mainstream urban planning in Italy; among them we can also mention Ludovico Quaroni and Giuseppe Samonà both of whom tried to introduce innovations and different angles in planning, mobilising different knowledge forms, paying attention to the societal aspects and entertaining a stricter relationship with the urban design dimension (Di Biagi and Gabellini, 1992).

Uprisings and revolts in universities, common across the Atlantic in 1967-68, had been in fact anticipated in Italian Schools of Architecture as early as 1964 (De Carlo, 1968; Granata and Pacchi, 2009). This anticipation can be connected, according to De Carlo, to the lack of legitimacy that architectural knowledge had in the eyes of students in the 1960s, due to two unsolved problems: the substantial failure of a never perfectly matched merge between *Beaux Arts* academic education and technological training on the one side, and the very old and conservative attitude of such schools, which resulted in their inability to tackle the most pressing emerging societal problems on the other.

The main point of De Carlo’s critique focuses on the artificial and oppressive distinction between designer and user, both at architecture and urban planning scale ‘Architecture has become too important to be left to architects’ (De Carlo, 2005, p. 13). Such distinction should be blurred in a very different design process, able to actively involve a variety of actors and stakeholders:

“But identifying with the user’s needs does not mean planning ‘for’ them, but planning ‘with’ them. In other words it means enlarging the field of participation through the definition and use of the plan, introducing into the system a whole set of complex variables which could never be composed into balanced situations except with procedural systems based on a continual alternation of observations, propositions, and evaluations; i.e. the use of scientific method” (De Carlo, 2005, p. 15).

At the heart of De Carlo’s proposal there is an idea of process planning, based on complex and iterative interaction patterns between designers and users, with

the objective to blur this divide and more effectively (and justly) develop design proposals. The relationship between technical knowledge and other knowledge forms (milieu, local, daily knowledge) can be described here as a continuous tension between different polarities, very different from the traditional technocratic models as well as from the most banal interpretations of participatory planning.

## Conclusions: Elements of lasting influence on the planning debate?

Looking back at Jane Jacobs ideas and at other important critical voices after fifty years, we can ask what the planning discipline has learnt from them, in which way their first intuitions and suggestion have become nodes of theoretical reflection and in which directions they have been further elaborated. In a short paper as this one it will not be possible to consistently list and discuss all the new directions in planning theory which can be directly or indirectly connected to these voices: we will therefore pick up a couple of points, very quickly (and somewhat arbitrarily) identifying some interesting developments, and leaving the wider questions open for further discussion.

Reflecting in perspective, two issues seem to emerge as particularly relevant: the core of the epistemological critique, underlying the problems inherent in recurring to simplifying versions of technical and scientific rationality, and the ambiguous relationship between technical rationality, knowledge production and politics. Both are the object of in depth reflections in Innes and Booher's book on the relationship between planning, decision making and complexity (Innes and Booher, 2010), so we will refer to their interpretations of the debate to bring the line of argument one step further.

On the first point, following Jacobs, the oversimplification in the explanations of causal links in urban analysis ('simple problems') leads to oversimplifying the proposed solutions, and to the dominance of a technical solution-driven approach over a thoroughly critical perspective. In this sense, 'there is no need to appeal to 1970s "negative thinking" to recognize

that instrumental reason alone cannot drive social evolution towards sustainable and progressive targets' as Palermo and Ponzini (2014, p. 61) put it. Jacobs and the other authors we discussed anticipated to some extent, in relation to urban planning issues, philosophical critiques to traditional positivist epistemology that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (Bernstein, 1991).

Moreover, complexity studies (Stengers, 2000) significantly put the accent on the importance of learning processes (single and double-loop, individual and collective), thus introducing a dynamic dimension in the production and use of knowledge, which both Jane Jacobs and Giancarlo De Carlo advocated for planning processes. The mobilisation of different knowledge forms in complex iterative processes, at the basis of many developments in planning thought in the 1980s and 1990s, finds here one of its roots (Innes and Booher, 2010).

On the second point, collaborative planning theory has since long elaborated and looked deeply into the very initial intuition that the neutrality pretence had an intrinsic oppressive dimension, related to systems of power, proposed by Jacobs and other critical voices in the 1960 in a somewhat less systematic way (Forester, 1989; Healey, 1997; Fainstein, 2000).

As John Forester would summarise a couple of decades later, 'The planners' speech acts perform both technical and political work' (1980, p.278). According to Forester and others, the pretention to neutrality becomes problematic because either planners and technical experts are aware that they're not being neutral, or they do not acknowledge the limits of technocratic rationality: in Forester's words, this has to do with two typical forms of communicative distortion, which negatively impact on the *sincerity* and on the *truth* of the planning debate (*ibidem*). In turn, this type of discursive distortions are intrinsically political, in that they are connected to specific features of the planning process, aimed at excluding dissenting voices: 'Echoing the work of Karl Mannheim and John Dewey, Habermas' argument implies that such distortions are increasingly likely in planning if planners become more removed from a democratic planning process' (Forester, 1980, p. 281).

Innes and Booher call for the

exploration of forms of alternative rationality in collaborative planning, on the basis of three main arguments, deeply connected with the epistemological and political accents of the critiques we've been discussing. The first point is that collective processes aimed at building collaborative rationality increase the chances of triggering forms of learning, which in turn can guarantee a stronger resilience of decisions in the face of complex and 'tragic' problems of collective decision (Innes and Booher, 2010, p.9).

The second element focuses the attention on how collaborative decision making processes are designed and managed, thus trying to identify some basic, common criteria against which to distinguish the appropriateness and effectiveness of different approaches

Thirdly, Innes and Booher argue that collaborative processes can trigger double-loop learning and can thus have positive effects on the wider decision making context in which they take place, again positively impacting on the overall resilience of decisions (p. 10).

The authors underline 'how know-how – even the presumably objective, scientific kind – is constructed through a social process' (Innes and Booher, 2010, p. 23), but this is not enough to ensure that social processes *per se* are able to guarantee sound and legitimate knowledge production with regard to choices in the public realm. Again, the reference to the Frankfurt school, and the constant attention to the way power relations shape 'understandings, theories, assumptions, and language' are but a first step to overcome such inherent distortions and to more firmly ground planning processes in democratic environments

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# Social Inclusion and Space in the Contested City

An investigation between spatial configuration and conflict reduction in the context of Belfast

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**Abstract:** This paper aims to uncover the relationship between spatial configuration and conflict reduction in the context of the city of Belfast. Since the signing of the Peace Agreement in 1998 brought an official end to a period of conflict in Northern Irish society, commonly referred to as the Troubles, attempts to bring about reconciliation between the two main communities in Northern Ireland are often concerned with a reduction of spatial segregation. It is probed here that policies that seek to encourage social mixing in space are in itself not a sufficient factor in reducing intercommunity tensions, and that instead more focus should be put on analysing what role spatial configuration might play in sustaining inter-community antagonism. Space Syntax modelling and mapping of statistical data will be used in order to clarify the link between spatial configuration and conflict reduction. The initial findings suggest that the nature of the spatial configuration can work to obstruct full participation in society of some of its residents by influencing their movement patterns, thereby preventing a meaningful reduction in inter-community antagonism.

**Key words –** conflict, spatial configuration, social inclusion, physical mobility

## General introduction to Belfast: background to the conflict

The 1960s, a period that was one of the most transformative in Northern Ireland's recent history, saw simultaneous processes of social and economic change that led to growing tensions between the Catholic and Protestant communities that culminated in the outbreak of the Troubles in 1969. This was the period in which the government accepted the inadequacy of the old industry as main economic base of Belfast. The Matthew report (1963) specifically recommended the development of satellite towns that could attract investment of multinational capital and thereby act as new employment centres. These efforts in directing investment and population away from Belfast were accompanied by comprehensive physical redevelopment of housing and road networks within the city itself. This process of economic and spatial restructuring directly affected Belfast's traditional role as

major economic power base of Northern Ireland, a process that was reflected in major changes in the socio-spatial structure of the Belfast region. The social impact of this haemorrhaging of the city's economic and social base was felt especially in the inner city areas of Belfast, where deindustrialisation meant that the traditional employment bases were eroded and unemployment and poverty became more prevalent. The exodus of people with continued employment to the new satellite towns left behind impoverished communities unable to escape their deteriorating socio-economic situation. It was these deprived inner city areas where social and economic insecurity led to proliferation of traditional inter community rivalries. The gradual rise of a Catholic middle class that profited from a new post-war educational system and that was able to articulate its demands for Catholic

emancipation through the Civil Rights Movement unsettled many within the Protestant community, which traditionally dominated the political establishment and certain employment sectors. Housing allocation was at the centre of the Civil Rights Movement, and the distribution of housing settlement remains at the heart of the conflict (Gaffikin and Morrissey 2011, p.80). Issues of space and territory became readily entangled with the ethnonationalist contest over land ownership and sovereignty.

## Developing patterns of spatial segregation

Since the outbreak of 'The troubles' in 1969, Belfast has seen the erection of an extensive network of barriers, commonly referred to as

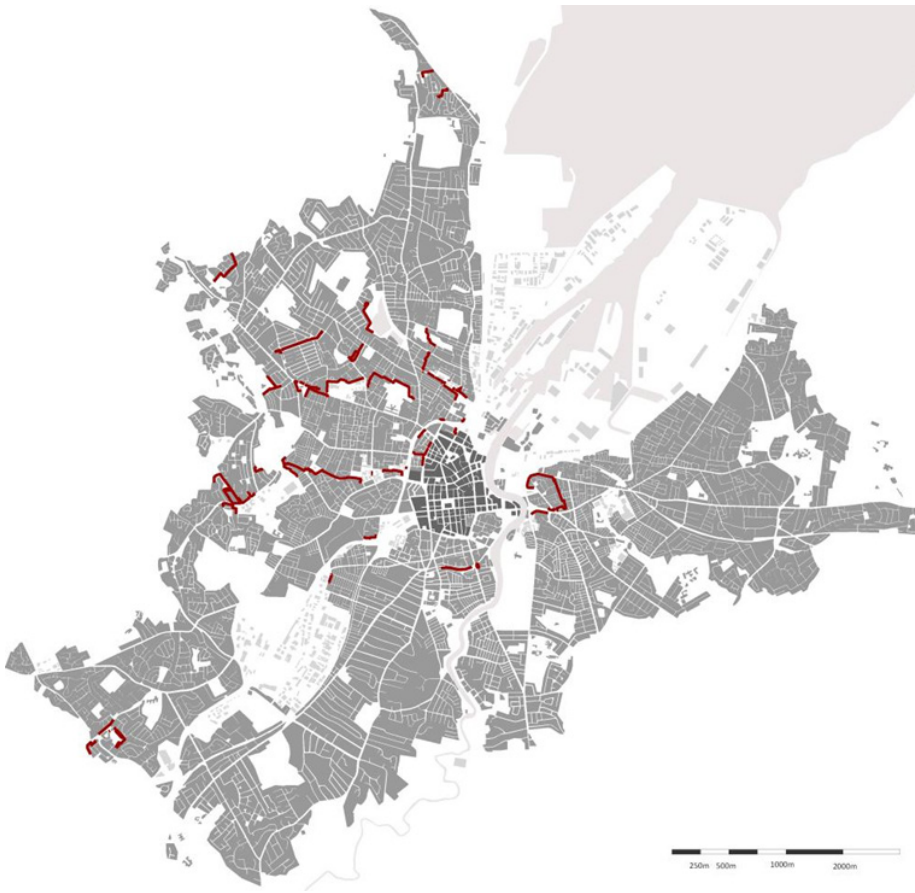


Figure 1: Map of Belfast showing the location of major Peacelines Graphic produced by author.

Peacelines, which separate Protestant and Catholic communities (figure 1). Enforced forms of spatial segregation based on community background through intimidation and violence was a sad but often occurring reality during the worst years of the Trouble. Physical barriers in the form of Peacelines were originally erected by the British army as temporary structures for the military purpose of controlling and containing the inter-communal violence that took a heavy toll in the city.

Despite the end of violent conflict, the Peacelines have become an enduring feature in the urban landscape of West and North Belfast. Consequently, they have created a spatial fix for both Protestant and Catholic communities, effectively hindering any spatial reintegration of large parts of the city. Although there have been improvements over the last decade or so in terms of desegregation, partly due to increased levels of immigration, segregation based on community background remains an integral part of Belfast spatial layout, with a substantial part of Belfast's population living in an area that is dominated by either the Protestant or Catholic community in 2011 (figure 2).

In the years since the signing of the 1998 peace agreement, some efforts have been made to enable a more pluralist use of space (often referred to as 'shared space') throughout the city, which, it is hoped, will facilitate positive cross-community contact and dialogue. The basic idea behind this policy is that exposure to social difference encourages contact between antagonistic social groups with positive effects for conflict reduction in the long term. The Northern Ireland government's current efforts on encouraging conflict reduction build on this assumption and seem to focus on encouraging social mixing by pursuing the gradual removal of peacelines and the launching of 'shared housing' schemes, as expressed in the latest good relations strategy "Together Building United Communities" (OFMDFM, 2013). However, very limited evidence has been presented up to date into the social impact that might be generated by such interventions.

### Intergroup contact theories

In recent decades, governments in countries around the world have adopted and implemented housing policies that primarily aim to desegregate lower income groups in the expectation to fight negative prejudice towards certain social groups and improve intergroup animosities, for example

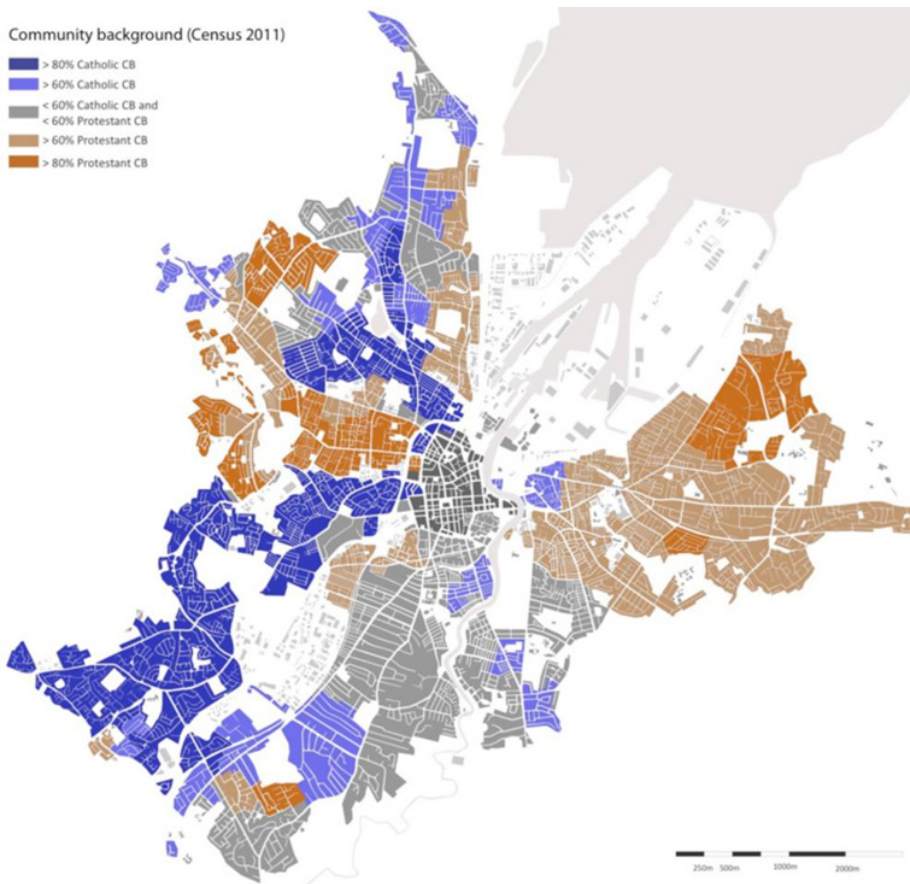


Figure 2: Map of Belfast showing community background in Belfast based on super output areas. Data source: Census 2011. Graphic produced by author.

through ‘multicultural planning’ in the Netherlands (van der Horst & Ouwehand, 2012; Duke & Musterd, 2012). An important feature of these policies is the conviction that through residential proximity regular intergroup contact will lead to the establishment of meaningful contact between different social groups, which in turn will ultimately lead to reduced prejudice levels, a line of thought that was first articulated by Allport in his ‘contact theory’ (Allport, 1954) and that has since then been picked up and reworked by several influential scholars such as Pettigrew (1998). However, at the same time, a plethora of studies have indicated that regular contact between social groups can also reinforce negative prejudice and increase antipathy towards others. This paradox is candidly acknowledged by Yinger & Simpson, who write that “prejudice is sometimes explained as a result of the lack of contact with members of a minority group and sometimes explained as the result of the presence of such contact” (Yinger & Simpson, 1973, p. 117).

In order to counter this paradox, Allport developed a set of conditions under which intergroup contact should occur for meaningful positive contact to be established. The situation in which contact occurs assigns equal status to both groups, and is characterised by institutional support. In addition, individuals must work together in the pursuit of common goals, and the contact is of a sort that promotes the idea of common interest and common humanity of the two groups (Allport, 1954). A range of scholars have added other conditions to this list to an extent that the theory is in danger of being overburdened by its content (Pettigrew, 1998). Not only that, a common critique of the theory is that even when positive intergroup contact occurs between individuals, it does not necessarily generalize to the social group as a whole (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Individuals with whom such positive contact is exchanged may be experienced as special cases that are not representative of the social group, which allows negative prejudice towards the social group as a whole to remain in place.

Another critique of the theory is that interaction is described in categories that do not reflect everyday encounter properly. “There is a stark gap between the idealized forms of contact studied by social psychologists and the mundane interactions that characterize ordinary encounters” (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005, p. 31). Indeed, everyday encounters in the context of the residential neighbourhood do not often extend beyond the polite nod or the banal everyday contact and informal acts of care

or civility (Elias, 2000; Valentine, 2008; Amin, 2002). Recent studies on the links between social diversity and the nature of intergroup contact confirm this notion. Vervoort, Flap and Dagevos (2011), for example recorded a decrease in contact between Dutch natives and members of ethnic minorities in socially more diverse neighbourhoods in their comprehensive study of a wide range of neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. In her study of a socially diverse neighbourhood in Rotterdam, Van Eijk (2012) found that neighbour relationships develop on the basis of chance encounters and norms of good neighbouring, but that good neighbouring does not equate with respect for difference. Valentine and Sadgrove (2014) put forward the notion “that individuals can separate out their moral beliefs (for example, in terms of our shared understandings of how we should live, who is good or bad, how we should treat others/be treated by them) from their personal conduct”. The very relevance of good neighboring itself can be questioned altogether, with modern society relying less and less on physical proximity for maintenance of social contact, an idea that is reiterated by Forrest and Kearns:

“Information technology, a new virtuality in social networks and a greater fluidity and superficiality in social contact are further eroding the residual bonds of spatial proximity and kinship. Social networks are city-wide, national, international and increasingly virtual” (Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

Similarly, in her study of the neighbourhood of South End in Boston, Tach (2014) reveals that despite the positive associations made by residents about living in a socio-economically diverse area, little meaningful intergroup contact exists. Proximity to diversity did seem to make residents more tolerant towards difference. However, the existence of tolerance towards the other is often a far cry from positive intergroup contact. In their discussion on the foundations of urban tolerance, Bannister & Kearns (2013) emphasize that, in its ‘purest’ form, tolerance often implies disapproval of social difference combined with an attitude of non-intervention. Similarly, in her convincing account on the concept of tolerance, Wilson states that narratives of tolerance “document its unsuitability to projects of equality and justice and at times highlight how a politics of tolerance might actively work against them” (Wilson, 2014).

All in all, policies that rely on the notion that residential desegregation alone will lead to more meaningful intergroup contact can be considered

highly questionable. This idea is also reflected in Ruiz-Tagle (2013) useful conceptualisation of socio-spatial integration, in which he proposes that integration between different groups works on multiple dimensions, whereby physical proximity features as only one of the four dimensions. According to him, functional, relational and symbolic dimensions also need to be included, for example through the consideration of access to opportunities and services, social hierarchy of groups and the (non) existence of a common ground. This conceptualisation takes into account elements of Allport’s contact theory, but seems to complement his theory with the incorporation of patterns of everyday life activities. Indeed, previous studies have suggested that positive intergroup contact might be particular to a certain spatial context, and won’t be replicated in other spatial contexts (Leitner, 2012; Valentine, 2008; Valentine and Sadgrove, 2014), whereby the importance of private or institutional spaces above public space has been probed (Hemming, 2011; Valentine and Sadgrove, 2014).

Understanding segregation not only in terms of the residential space of individuals, but also in terms of their everyday activity space opens up another way for probing the relevance of residential segregation for improving positive intergroup contact. Valentine & Sadgrove (2014), for example, put forward the question in what context contact with different social groups reduces negative prejudice by highlighting the importance of “everyday social normativities in the production of moral dispositions”. According to them:

“[individuals] can describe changes in the attitudes towards particular social categories—minority ethnic groups and disabled people—when mobility (socio-economic or geographical) places them in new spatial contexts, populated by different people and governed by new social normativities. Exposure to different ways of seeing the world can facilitate self-reflection about (one’s) own life and encounters with specific ‘others’ such that (people) intentionally produce and embody new dispositions towards these particular social groups”.

A similar notion is reflected in Amin’s focus on ‘micro-public spaces’ such as the workplace and places of education, sport and other social activities as the context in which positive intergroup contact might prevail (Amin, 2002). In many ways, Allport’s conditions for positive intergroup contact put forward in his contact theory can be

met in such context, such as an equal status of all individuals, the existence of institutional support, team working in order to achieve common goals and the existence of a common interest. With this in mind, physical mobility becomes an important consideration in any theory that aims to explain how intergroup contact can lead to conflict reduction.

## Mobility and social inclusion

Even though much significance should be assigned to micro-public spaces as contexts for improving intergroup relations, access to employment and education have become indicators for the level of social inclusion in general. According to the UK's Social Exclusion Unit, social exclusion, here taken to mean low levels of social inclusion, "refers to more than poverty or low income, but it is closely related to them. It is used to describe a number of linked problems such as unemployment, poor educational achievement, low incomes, poor housing, physical barriers and bad health, which tend to have a cumulative and reinforcing effect on each other, preventing people from participating in society (Social Exclusion Unit, 2003). Preston and Rajé (2007) postulate that "social exclusion is not due to a lack of social opportunities but a lack of access to those opportunities". According to them "social exclusion is a constraints-based process which causes individuals or groups not to participate in the normal activities of the society in which they are residents and has important spatial manifestations." An important element of this is the physical access, whereby "one of the key arguments of the mobilities paradigm is that people's mobility practices are embedded in their spatial, cultural, political, economical, social and personal context" (Manderscheid, 2013).

If this idea is acknowledged then the promotion of social cohesion, here defined as low levels of social exclusion, depends for a significant part on the ability to provide access to micro-public spaces such as sites of employment and education, making sure that all individuals have sufficient opportunities and incentives to reach such spaces. According to Miciukiewicz and Vigar (2012), "mobility opportunities that are broadly distributed across social strata may strengthen not only the social inclusion of individuals, but may also foster the social cohesion of the urban whole, which, in urban societies, is "organised around distance and circulation" (Urry, 2007, p. 52)", whereby Church, Frost and Sullivan (2000) provide a sevenfold categorisation of the ways in which

mobility issues can encourage social exclusion and thereby hinder social cohesion on the city-wide level. Bonss and Kesselring (2001) acknowledge the importance of movement and mobility for increasing "individual freedom, independence, access to work, education, health and leisure and thus as prerequisites for intragenerational and intergenerational social mobility in the broader sense". In this view social exclusion prevents individuals from reaping the benefits of full participation in society, most essentially upward social mobility. According to Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye (2004), "the majority of modern social theories favour fair accesses to opportunities and, thus, propose maximal social mobility as the most effective mechanism for a just, efficient and stable society". The relationship between low levels of physical access to education and employment opportunities on the one hand and levels of social exclusion have been acknowledged for several decades, going back to Kain's concept of 'spatial mismatch' (Kain, 1968), and more recently, in the concepts of 'geography of opportunity' (Galster & Killen, 1995) and the 'splintered city' (Graham & Marvin, 2001). The link between an individual's physical mobility pattern and his or her ability to participate in society has more recently been described as 'motility' (Kaufmann et al., 2004) or 'spatial capital' (Rerat and Lees, 2011), concepts that not just measures mobility opportunities available, but crucially, also takes into consideration the degree in which one makes use of these mobility opportunities.

## Social inclusion and space: towards a more elaborate understanding of the social impact of space

While spatial capital can be used to indicate one's capacity to physically access employment, education and other services, it is also linked with other forms of capital that might influence one's ability to fully participate in society. For example, the level of spatial capital seems to influence the level and nature of social capital:

"people's movements are about social relationships, forming and maintaining social networks of various kinds with places and people who are not necessarily proximate, such as family members and relatives, friends and partners, employers and work colleagues, institutions and services,

etc." (Manderscheid, 2013).

Here, I refer to social capital as any network of social contacts that allows individuals to acquire advantages in life. Social capital is "what we draw on when we get others, whether acquaintances, friends, or kin, to help us solve problems, seize opportunities, and accomplish other aims that matter to us" (Briggs, 1998). Social capital is usually regarded as combining two types of social ties, or networks: intimate or strong ties are linked to emotional aid and other social support. Such ties to kin and friends are known to be especially important to the survival or coping strategies of poor people (Hannerz 1969; Liebow 1967; Stack 1974).

On the other hand, "weak" ties or acquaintances "are often key sources of everyday favours, an important type of instrumental support, and for some people, such ties are the most important sources of job referrals and other forms of leverage resources" (Briggs, 1998; also see Campbell et al., 1986; Granovetter, 1973; 1974; Lin et al., 1981). Briggs proposes an alternative definition that is especially useful when considering the extent to which the two types of social capital can boost an individual's prospect for social mobility: "social leverage—social capital that helps one 'get ahead' or change one's opportunity set through access to job information, say, or a recommendation for a scholarship or loan; and social support—social capital that helps one 'get by' or cope".

Axhausen (2007) argues that where an individual lives might have profound impact on both movement and social patterns and are reflected in the spatial extent of one's social networks. According to his preliminary results from travel surveys undertaken in Switzerland, when movement patterns are obstructed, one develops more knowledge about the local contacts in a social network. At the same time it becomes more likely that members of one's network are being linked directly through multiple networks, which can be described as the spatial density of one's contacts. Dense social networks increase the social supervision of the local environment, thereby potentially regulating the opportunity for making new social contacts through the enforcement of social norms.

Hillier and Hanson (1984) go further and infer that co-presence in space is conditioned by the urban configuration. Hillier's concepts of 'generative' versus 'conservative' space are especially noteworthy, since this distinction emphasizes that certain forms of urban configuration of residential space can encourage or prevent movement patterns. Changes in



spatial configuration of street patterns produce, quite systematically, different natural patterns of presence and co-presence of people (Hillier, 2005). He puts forward that users of space make inferences about co-present people from the configuration of the urban environment. An environment's spatial configuration therefore creates a pattern of normal expectation about the people living and passing through that environment. These expectations guide our behaviour. The co-presence of people does not constitute a community in itself, but does constitute the raw material for community, which can be activated if it becomes necessary. This 'virtual community' in a given area is no more nor less than the pattern of the co-presence influenced by the spatial design and other related aspects of space use (ibid.). Through its impact on movement and co-presence, spatial configuration can be planned and designed to generate human encounters and thus giving rise to a virtual community, but on the other hand, spatial configuration can be used to restrict or discourage human encounter in space. This is the syntactic distinction between generative and conservative space, and it is one of the foundations underlying urbanism in that urban space manifests itself in two distinctive forms: spaces that maximise encounter and gives rise to social differentiation within the city; and spaces that minimise encounter and thereby conserve existing social structures.

Another way of understanding the social implications of 'conservative' residential space is to look at these spaces through the lens of Foucault's idea that physical space can direct individuals in it to 'self-internalise' their social behavior, for example because they feel they are intruding space and their behavior is being screened as a result. Individuals feel forced to comply with pre-existing social norms as expressed in that space, thereby preventing social change from happening.

## **The case of Belfast: testing the potential of space for the purpose of conflict reduction**

According to Massey, space is a fluent entity, never a finished or static product. She emphasizes that an inherent quality of space is that it acts as a platform for social change itself (Massey, 2005). If this is indeed the case, the distinction made by Hillier (2005) between generative space, in which potential for the emergence of new social structures is created by

using space to encourage movement and encounter, and conservative space, in which existing social relations and statuses are structured and reproduced by using space to discourage movement and encounter, should be possible to highlight by tracking how social change is manifested within the city of Belfast. In this way, we can verify if and how spatial variances in processes of social change occurring in Belfast are related to spatial configuration.

Initially, patterns of social change in Belfast have been analysed by making use of census data from the 2001 and 2011 UK censuses. From this analysis, it has been observed that, in general terms, the population of Belfast has become less religious, more ethnically diverse, younger, and higher qualified. This is in line with social changes occurring in many urban centres across the world. The next step has been to identify to where conservative and generative spaces occur within the city of Belfast. For this purpose, a Space Syntax model of Belfast was created. Within this model, every street in Belfast is translated into a line segment. The software model then is able to calculate the distance from every segment within the model to every other segment within a specified metric radius. The distance between each segment and each of its neighbours is calculated in three ways: metric, that is the distance in metres between the centre of a segment and the centre of a neighbouring segment; topological, assigning a value of 1 if there is a change of direction between a segment and a neighbouring segment, and 0 if not; and angular – assigning the degree of the angular change of direction between segments. In this way, the linearity of spaces, and thereby the potential amount of movement and co-presence a space generates, can be captured (Hillier, 2009). The sum of all the shortest distances between every origin and every destination is defined as the Mean Depth.

The model shown in figure 3 highlights in colour the Mean Depth values of Belfast within a local radius of 400 metres. This radius was selected in order to draw out potential patterns of pedestrian movement. Generative spaces, where movement tends to be encouraged because of the linear nature of space, have low Mean Depth values and are shown in red in the model. Conservative spaces, where movement is restricted because of the non-linear nature of space, are shown in blue. Of course, caution should be taken when interpreting the Space Syntax model. As with all research methodologies, Space Syntax modelling has its shortcomings. First of all, the segments in the model are based on road connections only, and the

model thereby inevitable ignores other segments such as footpaths, bicycle lanes and unofficial tracks that might influence the Mean Depth of surrounding segments significantly. It also means that road users are disproportionately overrepresented in the model. Secondly, the model assumes that movement is essentially rational; any movement is based on taking the most linear route. Consequently, social factors such as fear of moving through certain neighborhoods are not included in the model. This is a particularly relevant issue in the context of Belfast, where an ongoing legacy of 'the troubles' is what might be termed an "in-built psyche" of 'knowing how to traverse the city' (Hackett et al., 2012).

Two neighbourhoods in Belfast have been selected as case study areas in which processes of social change will be examined further. These are the Ballynafeigh area in South Belfast and the Lower Oldpark area in North Belfast. Both neighbourhoods are located similar distance away from the city centre and originally displayed similar urban configuration patterns. But the two cases study areas show significantly different levels of intercommunity antagonism as measured in the amount of sectarian crime recorded in these areas (figure 4).

The two case study areas appear to have quite different values of Mean Depth in the Space Syntax model. Based on this model, the Lower Oldpark area might be characterised as a 'conservative space' that works to limit movement patterns, thereby potentially preventing social change from happening in this area. The different 'speeds' of social change is quite apparent, and resonates with those scholars that have described Belfast as a 'twin speed city' before (Murtagh, 2008). As highlighted before in the Space Syntax model, the spatial configuration of the two case study areas is quite different, with the lower Oldpark area registering higher Mean Depth levels. The differences in spatial configuration become clearer when looking at the figure ground maps of the two case study areas that showcase their respective streets networks. (figure 7 & 8).

The Ballynafeigh neighborhood is characterized by a network of interconnected streets, which is a spatial configuration very typical for late Victorian / Edwardian neighbourhoods. This spatial configuration has been altered relatively little over the last half century (figure 7). In contrast, whereas the Lower Oldpark area was characterized by a similar spatial configuration in the past, redevelopment in the 1980s has introduced a lot of cul-de-sac streets and loops into the area's urban fabric in line with the urban planning principles of 'defensible urbanism' (Newman, 1973)

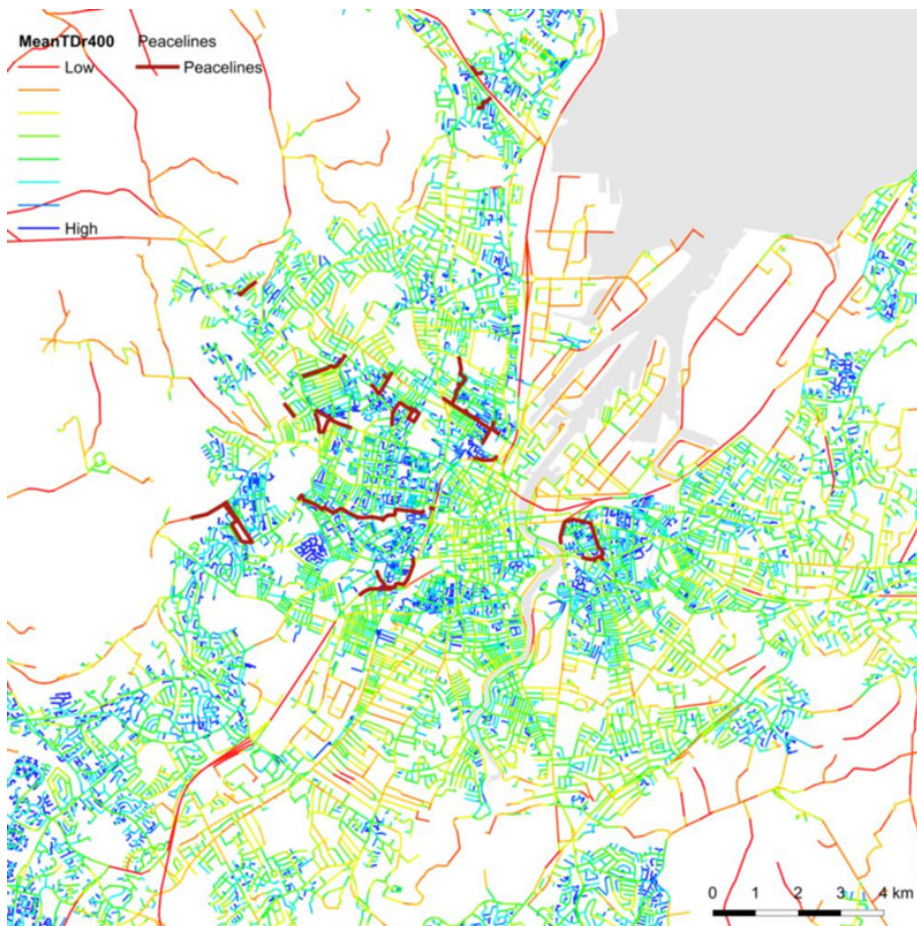


Figure 3: Space Syntax model (400m scale) showing generative and conservative spaces in Belfast. Graphic produced by Laurens Versluis

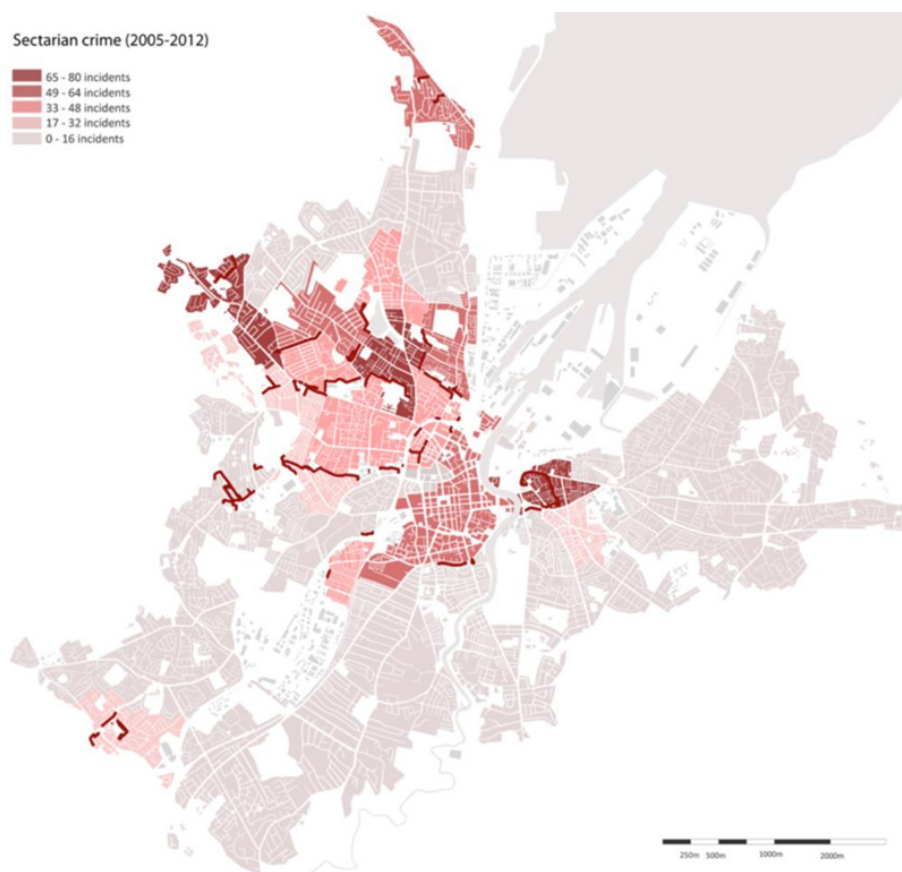


Figure 4: Map of Belfast showing recorded crime incidents with sectarian motivation based on super output areas. Data source: PSNI. Graphic produced by author.

that were commonly applied in those times. The subsequent erection of a peaceline has since reduced the number of linear connections by blocking off streets (figure 8).

When examining the results from the Space Syntax model and the case study maps indicating processes of social change, there seems to be a link between spatial configuration of an area (as measured in Mean Depth) and the extent in which residents are able to participate in wider society (as measured in the 'speed' of society-wide processes of social change occurring in the area). This supports the theory that spatial configuration can act to obstruct wider participation in society and thereby act to preserve existing intercommunity antagonism. Of course, this suggestion is based on the investigation of two case studies only. More research needs to be conducted in order to be able to verify these findings.

## Conclusions

Despite the official end of the violent conflict in Belfast, spatial segregation between Catholic and Protestant communities has not dramatically decreased. The implementation of a range of peace-building initiatives has generally failed to bring about real change in the Belfast's intercommunity relations.

One of the core findings presented in this article is that spatial configuration is related to the extent to which people engage with 'the other' by influencing one's participation in wider society. The spatial configuration might play a part in facilitating conflict reduction by determining to what extent people are able and willing to move around in order to access employment, education and other resources or to meet with family, friends and other acquaintances. It is this ability and willingness to move around that influences to what extent individuals can experience social mobility, and ultimately, to what extent positive social change can occur within antagonistic communities. Conservative spaces (often characterised by cul-de-sac configuration) might limit the ability of its residents to fully participate in society by prohibiting the establishment of social networks outside the local community.

Such layouts might strengthen local community ties (social support), but at the same time is likely to limit the social leverage in such communities. It also supports the idea that the less likely one is to venture out from his or her residential territory, the more likely the network of social contacts is supportive, for getting by in everyday life, instead of providing social leverage, for getting on with life in terms of finding good



Figure 5: Maps of the Ballynafeigh case study area indicating social change between 2001 and 2011 based on Output Area (2001) and Small Area (2011). Data source: Census 2001 & 2011. Graphics produced by author.



Figure 6: Maps of the Lower Oldpark case study area indicating social change between 2001 and 2011 based on Output Area (2001) and Small Area (2011). Data source: Census 2001 & 2011. Graphics produced by author.



Figure 7: Figure ground map of the Ballynafeigh case study area in 1960s (left) and 2014 (right). Graphic produced by author.



Figure 8: Figure ground map of the Lower Oldpark case study area in 1960s (left) and 2012 (right). Graphic produced by author.

employment etc. It is this engagement in education, employment that provide the best contexts for encouraging meaningful intergroup contact. Addressing spatial configuration therefore becomes an important condition for any wider strategy that aims to achieve conflict reduction.

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## **Track 2**

**Jane Jacobs and Street Spaces.**

**Streets as public places**



# Hussien Al-Mimar Street

## The tale of a restricted street

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**Abstract** - In her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs identified four urban preconditions for creating streets as active public spaces: high densities of population and activities; mixtures of primary uses; pedestrian-friendly blocks and the retention of old buildings mixed in with new. A fifth element however, ought to be considered, "accessibility control". I first went to explore Hussien Al-Mimar Street in Downtown Cairo back in 2008, when I heard about a vibrant cultural complex called "Townhouse" full of activities and art performances. The street was the living manifestation of Jacobs' four elements. Chaotic mechanic garages were next to a theatre; a traditional cafe opposite a library and a residential building facing a modern art gallery. It was a bohemian thoroughfare frequented by activists, artists and politicians meeting to discuss issues related to economic difficulties and substantial ideas. During the uprising in 2011, the street served as a refuge for protestors, leading it to be under several attacks by the state since then. The 'open street' became 'militarized' by the police in the name of security. This paper investigates Al-Mimar Street as it evolved from an active public node into a restricted unsafe space. The objective is to discuss to what extent Jacobs theories can be applied on cities under state restrictions like in the Middle East.

**Key words** – Jane Jacobs, Cairo, the street, townhouse, accessibility control

## Introduction

'Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull.' (Jacobs 1961, p.37)

Over the history of civilization, streets were always considered as one of the main public domains of the city. In some cases, they function as connectors between public spaces and the urban form of the city, whilst in other cases they are the main public space itself. Within them, as platforms of public interaction, people get to engage in a diverse array of socio-economic and recreational activities. The streets however do not operate on their own, they need the sidewalks as their arms reaching out for pedestrians to enter and activate the function of the street as a public space. Together, they provide a setting for a healthy range of active and passive social behaviours. Sociability within the domain of public streets is not only a result of the physical environment. It is rather achieved by the cross-relations between the physical settings and the activity; the edges of the space hosting certain types

of activities; the management of the space and the location to which people might associate special meanings. (Hemeid 2012)

Without spaces for active and passive socialization, with no opportunity for casual and formal interactions, our streets would be no more than agglomerations of privatized spaces within buildings, devoid of the opportunity for the individual to reclaim the right of the physical space. (Mehta 2013).

Giving a closer look to what is going on in a dense city like Cairo, it is evident that the modes of production of urban spaces today have shifted from being initiated by institutional and formal production entities into the hands of the community and entrepreneurs. This change is physically represented in "lost spaces" that have developed in alleys within inner streets, or under bridges and flyovers or even in neglected courtyards. This informal communal act united the society in most cases and allowed its inhabitants to reclaim public spaces according to their rules and preferences.

The chosen case is a street located in Downtown Cairo called Hussien Al-Mimar Street. It is physically based on allowing small

informal subdivisions to thrive each within its own definition of inclusion; access and connectivity to the society, yet working together in a harmonized setting. As a preamble for this investigation, the following discussion will review an array of literature varying from redefining the public space and its parameters to the powers that govern the space and its accessibility modes. This will give a brief idea on the nature of Downtown Cairo as the prominent context of the chosen street pre and post 2011 revolution.

The objective is to revisit Jacobs's definition of the street as a successful public space and see if her theories can be implemented on congested developing cities like Cairo, in the light of the current political tension between the state and the people which plays a visible role in redefining the use of the space and its accessibility.

This paper will compare between the type and amount of activities that have been performed within the chosen street before 2011 as an accessible space, and after 2011 as a restricted space. It will question if the reproduction of streets as public spaces can be driven by the community utilization of lost pockets in the city? To what

extent can the community defend its identity and freedom of expression within the domains of these informal encroachments? And in case of political conflicts, can we consider a restricted/militarized street as an active public space?

The outcome of this study reveals the importance of understanding the needs of the people and their aspirations for spatial representation through safe accessible architecture.

## Literature on streets as public spaces

According to Tönnies, the physical space was non-negotiable in the past, where the individual was part of the group sharing the same public space and activities whether it was a square or a street. Reality, however, shows that the term community is now manifested in these small informal clusters of spaces emerging whenever it is possible within the street's domain (Tönnies 1957). Lefebvre, also confirms that every society produces its own space. This production of the urban space with its settings and structure requires a background of culture and identity to maintain its existence. In other words, it reflects the effect of physical boundaries, the external limitation of expansion, areas and volumes, the internal activities versus the external and the performed functions. (Hemeid & Kamel 2013).

On the level of social and political dynamics, Castells argues that the space should not be limited to the control of the state institutions alone. It is rather revealed by the quantitative and qualitative development of urban social movements. Movements of protest to organize and mobilise populations; to transform relations of force between different classes; to innovate cultural models and to become one of the essential axes for a balanced social change (Castells 1980).

On the other hand, two urban theorists contributed to a new line of thought and practice for urban space effectiveness in the city and community juncture. Gehl has been always interested in how people would move between buildings and the way they communicate with the form in-between those buildings. He calls for an understanding of the subtle, almost indefinable qualities, which have always related to the

interaction of people in public spaces. Gehl states that in recent years, residents of many cities have become very active in crying out for people-oriented city planning (Gehl 2010). Going along with that line of thought, Trancik focuses on finding what he calls “the lost space”, he argues that several fundamental principles of the structure of traditional urban space has been lost or ignored in most modern cities, resulting in what he refers to as “antispaces”. He suggests accordingly ways for the designers to restore traditional values and reclaim meaning to the urban open space (Trancik 1986).

Streets as public spaces however will not function properly as inviting urban spaces if the fear dimension pervaded the perception of these spaces. Davis addresses the issue of fear through his theory “Militarization of the City,” where he discusses a new urban fact around isolating some groups behind barriers guarded by private security and electronic surveillance (Davis 1990). These architectural representations of spatial accessibility control are perceived differently between various groups of people, influencing their sense of safety.

In that regard, Jacobs called for a bottom-up approach, where power being exercised by individuals or people in small groups rather than big governments and corporations.

To her, most problems can be solved not by the elaborate schemes of experts and authorities, but by the spontaneous interventions of community citizens. She explains how the ruling authorities tend to dominate the society through all available means, one of those being knowledge, as the relationship between knowledge and power is a crucial factor for the ruling groups (Jacobs 1961), and since knowledge serves power; if knowledge is controlled, power is obtained.

“Accessibility control” is a fifth element that needs to be added to Jacob’s four urban elements of creating an active public space: high densities of population and activities; mixtures of primary uses; pedestrian-friendly blocks and the retention of old buildings mixed in with new.

## The ambition, success and failure

In 1872, Ismail Pasha, the khedive of Egypt, sought to change the nature and typology of Cairo as a medieval city, famous for its compact structure with short walking distances, squares and market places. He commissioned Haussmann to replicate his Parisian model in an unoccupied zone northwest of old Cairo and directly east of the Nile banks.

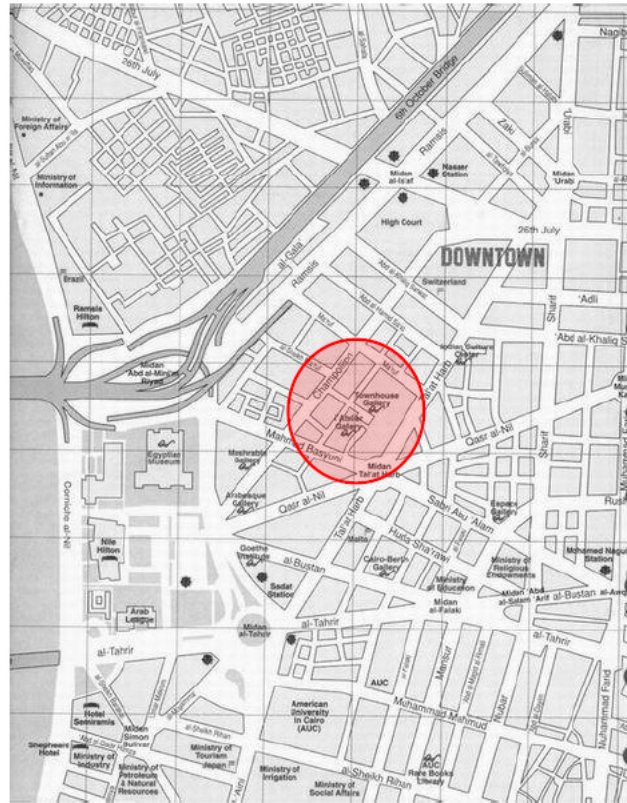


Figure 1: Map of Downtown Cairo Source: egypt.com

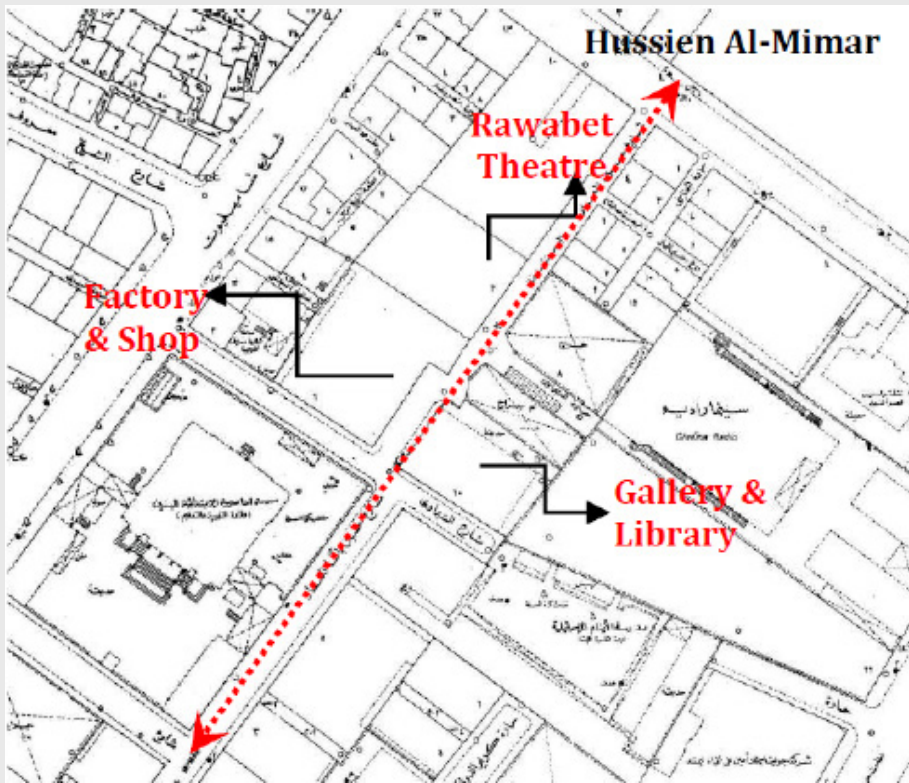


Figure 2: Al-Mimar Street zoomed-in location. Source: Hemied, B 2012

The Haussmannization process, as it was commonly called, is one of many westernization movements to modernize the urban fabric and increase global competitiveness of cities at that time (Attia 2012). The idea goes back to the late 19th century, when countries such as France began to demonstrate the rationality of their government through space and urban planning. Policing the city became increasingly important at this point. It is perhaps here where the rationale of Haussmann's straight line comes into play. The visibility and span of the extending boulevards of Paris helped in facilitating control over the city, something that couldn't be achieved through the old narrow streets.

The idea, however, behind Downtown Cairo was totally different and derived from an aesthetics perspective, achieved through a very expensive effort to persuade the world that Egypt was one of those modernised countries. A new centre was created as a platform for a special "boulevard culture" that sprouted promenades and café life along the new city's wide streets.

Over the past 50 years, Downtown Cairo has fallen into decay after the government embarked on a nationalisation programme in the 1950s. As Cairo expanded in the 60s, 70s and 80s, it has experienced spatial, social and symbolic shifts within its fabric leading to a major

transformation of downtown. It has changed from a place for the elite of society into a middle-class district and then to a lower-middle class district. This all affected the type of activities within new definitions of the public spaces and the streets as a natural result to the diverse demands and needs of each class.

## Al-Mimar Street and its Townhouse

In the 1990s, the society witnessed an explosive social energy especially around the inauguration of Cairo Biennale hosted by the Cairo Opera House. Young generation of talented artists and activists started producing new media in the form of videos, photography and installations, formulating a unique social experience which represented their ideas and impressions towards themselves and the society.

This electrified underground movement did not really find support from the state at that time. It suffered from the lack of funding outside the government channels as well as the absence of venues that provide a space for alternative media to come to light. Given such realities, the situation led individuals to rethink the practiced modes of expression in Cairo, thinking of a way to start a new wave of privately owned venues that would allow artists and activists to engage with

the community and express their ideas with no restrictions.

Downtown was the most natural hub for embracing this influx of new social activities by interested individuals. One of these initiatives was led by the Canadian expat William Wells, who established his space in a street called Hussien Al-Mimar few blocks away from Tahrir square, he called his space Townhouse Gallery.

## Context

The street is a small quiet space with warehouses (some abandoned, some serving as garages or car mechanics), several old residential buildings, some tradesmen's workshops, a girls' school, a rococo ruins of a 19th century aristocrat's palace (Golia 2015), a popular outdoor traditional coffee shop "El-takieba" and Townhouse Gallery.

## Morphology and edges

The street had an obvious intimate and immediate ability to perform as an accessible public space for visitors through the establishment of Townhouse complex in 1998. It functioned as a network of connected spaces that exhibited social, political and economic issues facing Egypt recently.

The street has a linear form connecting two main streets overwhelmed by vehicles and street vendors all day long. Take a few steps towards Townhouse and one can hardly hear the noise at the edges. The space of the street becomes a small island appeared with a different kind of noise, coming from the performances inside the theatre or a discussion in front of the gallery or normal debates between people sitting at the coffee-shop along the wall of the palace. In a gradual momentum, residents and strangers together started to feel the urge to reclaiming their long lost public space and to exercise their rights as free citizens after the launch of Townhouse. The result was a spatial evolution from a single space into a cohesive process of place-making that restored the vitality of the street as an important outlet for the Egyptian community.

1 Downtown has been always a space for social and political debates since the secret meetings of the free officers in the 1950s to the time of Mubarak's regime through its clubs and cafes like Al-Horeyya, Al-Bostan, After-Eight and Café Riche



Figure 3: This photo shows customers of Townhouse gathering between the theatre and the mechanic workshop while discussing different issues

Source: Townhouse photo collection. [thetownhousegallery.com](http://thetownhousegallery.com)

## Activities

In her analogical approach of the street, Jacobs criticised the corridors and staircases of the high-rise building, as another form of streets that eliminated the use of the ground floor and pushed it to become deserted, not to mention being closed to public view. (Jacobs 1961, p.55)

Townhouse represented this analogy but in a more positive way, as it started off with one floor in an old building for art exhibits, then expanded into two additional floors in 1999, and in 2000 leasing and refurbishing a neighbouring warehouse dubbed “the Factory”. It managed to elevate the level of activities from the normal street into new interior streets above ground level. In 2006, another warehouse on the Townhouse lane was transformed into the Rawabet Theater, a performance space designed to forge connections between artists and audiences (Golia 2015).

Townhouse from the beginning had a direct effect on its neighbourhood. It engaged local carpenters, glass cutters, mechanics, and welders as artisans to help create exhibitions while also participating as audience members, some of them even discovered their talents and managed to exhibit their work locally and internationally. In each space the function is very well defined, yet it is flexible at the same time. The enclosure of the factory space is vast and allows for several activities like workshops, seminars

and exhibitions, while in the case of the shop and the library the function is well defined and constrained by the capacity of the available spatial enclosures (Hemeid 2012, p.89).

The second magnet is the popular “El-Takieba”, a linear traditional coffee-shop occupying the sidewalks just around the corner of Townhouse. Its customers come from a variety of social classes and occupations, varying from normal families, poets, writers, singers, young artists, musicians, students and most recently politicians. The coffee-shop expanded the domain of Townhouse activities into a different informal, more relaxed forum for debates and discussions, which gave the street another dimension of spatial perception. Between the gallery and the coffee-shop new spaces started to emerge, a shop selling handmade products with a traditional twist, a bookshop selling the most recent best sellers, and



Figure 4: Al-Mimar Street, on the right the gallery and the library. On the left is the factory space, Rawabet theatre and the handcrafts shop

Source: Townhouse photo collection. Available at: [thetownhousegallery.com](http://thetownhousegallery.com)

opposite a small kiosk for beverages.

The typology of all these spaces transformed the street from an open rough space full of mechanics and workshops into a more appealing space, where women, young children and men can visit all day long and still can enjoy more than one space.

## Visual Continuity

What is commendable about this street is that it is very open and the level of visual continuity is high between all levels. The elevated library and exhibition galleries make it easy for visitors to connect and observe other activities happening below on the street level. Also, the fact that all of its indoor spaces are located along its two sides and linked through the openness of the street itself makes it very accessible and visually connected. In that sense, the street, according to Jacobs is a lively street always filled with its users and pure watchers. (Jacobs 1961, p.48)

## Accessibility

To access the domain of Al-Mimar street, the visitor needs to go through some very interesting urban elements like the famous traditional coffee shop on the left and the old rococo palace on the right, coming from the Champollion street. Marouf Street is the other entering point, passing by the car mechanics' workshops.

The surrounding urban elements are regarded as identifiable boundaries that delineate the transition from the larger context of the main roads into a welcoming smaller medium full of spaces attached in masses but detached in function. Each volume is freestanding and has its own identity. That coincides with Jacobs idea,



Figure 5: Police barricades in Al-Mimar Street after the eviction of Townhouse library and gallery and demolishing the building. Source: Al-Youm Alsabe'a. Available at: [newspapers-daily-newspaper.blogspot.de](http://newspapers-daily-newspaper.blogspot.de)

that the sight of people attracts other still passive people, which is something that city planners and city architectural designers seem to find incomprehensible. They operate on the premise that city people seek the sight of emptiness, obvious order and quiet. Nothing could be less true, people's love of watching activity and other people is constantly evident in cities everywhere. (Jacobs 1961, p.47)

## The Street is ours, or theirs?

In developing cities like Cairo, the majority of people do not have the luxury of choosing where to go to reclaim their rights to the city through its open spaces since the political and the economical situations prevent them. Therefore, people walk, stand and sit wherever they find it possible. Accordingly, when Al-Mimar Street was frequented by visitors of Townhouse and El-Takieba, every single vacancy along its sidewalks was transformed informally into a safely accessible, enjoyable and rewarding space.

## Pre 2011

In her book, Jacobs states that to have a safe street full of strangers, three main qualities must be provided: First, there must be a clear demarcation between what public space is and what private space is. Second, there must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural watchers of the street. The buildings on a street equipped to handle strangers and to insure the safety of both residents and strangers must be oriented to the street. They cannot turn their backs or blank sides on it and leave it blind. Third, the sidewalks must have users on it fairly continuously, both to add to the number of effective eyes on the street and to induce the people in buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks in sufficient numbers. Nobody enjoys sitting or looking out of a window at an empty street, large numbers of people entertain themselves, off and on, by watching street activity. (Jacobs 1961, p.45)

Reflecting on Al-Mimar Street, it was vibrant full of strangers safely frequenting its domain day

and night with no restrictions. They knew their boundaries and what was public versus private, which did not prevent the street from being safe, watched and controlled by the users. They put their rules to protect the public space which they have thrived to create for a long time. There was no need for gates or even electronic surveillance. However, another form of control over the street came from a different direction, it was the state control.

Townhouse since the beginning was under a lot of pressure. Its establishment was tantamount to a political act in a time when the state exercised control over cultural venues and artistic output. Within months of its opening, Townhouse was accused in the press of being a Zionist enterprise. The Ministry of Culture reacted not long after and banned its art school students from frequenting Townhouse. Moreover, the state security raided its premises and confiscated its computers claiming that the artworks shown in the gallery damaged Egypt's image. Over time, the fear tactics vanished, partly because the state had a hard time keeping up with the influx of many independent art initiatives

emerging in Townhouse. But most importantly, some young people who had interned at Townhouse moved on to positions at the Ministry of Culture, and some artists from the independent movement were beginning to make their mark on the international scene. This all signalled the acceptance and recognition of Townhouse's existence. State security nonetheless kept Townhouse on its radar and at times interfered with its activities (Goila 2015)<sup>2</sup>.

When Jacobs discussed the issue of fear in her writings, she meant the fear of residents against the stranger that uses the street and even against the street itself. She talked about the intended modern plans to secure the public space, by gating and securing entrances and guarding the streets. The solution from her point of view was much easier and more natural: to secure the street by its users. She didn't however mention the role of the state in creating a culture of fear from and within the street.

In most cities in the Middle East, if not all, the state controls everything: education, art, religion and the individuals' political views. This control is practiced on both physical and psychological levels. It is no secret that people tend to meet to discuss their views, to condemn the regime or to plan for reform. Fear as a psychological dimension can be spread through a very simple physical way: control the access and stop them from using the space, then the nature of that space changes dramatically from active into passive under the umbrella of fear.

People however felt the urge to step up and face their fears, they went to the streets, the squares and every open space they could gather in, chanting against the state. This is when the 2011 uprising began.

## Post 2011

Downtown was "point zero" for the Egyptians to protest, its streets leading to Tahrir square were weekly flooded with people protesting for their right to the city, which changed the nature of tightly secured spaces into a symbol of the public power. The square demonstrated a process of the creation of a lively enclosure symbolizing social equity and

<sup>2</sup> Maria Golia, an American writer, has lived in downtown Cairo for over two decades. She is the author of *Cairo, City of Sand and Photography and Egypt* (Reaktion Books, UK, 2004, 2010).

economic vitality. Later other squares followed, and Egyptians captured the lost value of the public space (Attia 2012) Downtown area served as the backyard of the revolution, says city planner Omar Nagati, It has thus become a symbol of the uprising against the ruling class (Naceur 2015).

In the mid of the uprising, the streets were defended and watched by the so called "popular committee". These had been formed in almost every street to defend their territories and belongings when security forces totally vanished. Subsequently it evolved into a broader coalition of youth and active citizens, gradually shifting their focus from security questions to development and awareness-rising efforts (Nagati & Elgandy 2012). The streets and check points at this stage became safe venues as alternative forums for political debates.

The streets in the proximity of Tahrir square were bustling, one of them was Al-Mimar Street. It was full of political discussions and exhibits of all sorts of mediums that would release the long oppressed views. The former curator of townhouse Maria Golia says "It instantly transformed the spaces into studios, conversation spaces, even hacking spaces, while exhibiting shows and performances that resonated with events unfolding on the ground." (Golia 2015)

The street was safe, even with the absence of the police, it was safe because the people needed it to be safe, they needed to protect their space and to be able to have the freedom to secure it and maintain it according to their unspoken rules.

Slowly, the political status changed and the state gained its lost power back, which had an enormous impact on the informal forms of community bonds and political initiatives. The state dedicated its resources into enforcing control over public spaces for the purpose of directing the social life and re-establishing security within the community. In most cases this led to a social conflict between the community and the state. One activist said 'A lot of activists have been detained from downtown cafes, so it's not a safe space. It used to be a gathering point for all of us. Now we've been scattered.' (Kingsley & Perger 2014)

This political change had its impact on Al-Mimar Street (due to Townhouse). The state started enforcing its control on the space within the street and changed it

from a space for community life and interaction into a space of political control and oppression. The safety of the street, on which public right and freedom of movement strongly rely on, was evidently missing from the street. The accessibility control dominated by the police forces extinguished the vibe the street once had in the near past.

Townhouse was shut for a while and all of its data were confiscated again just last year, and after negotiations it was reopened under the condition to comply with the new legal restrictions, some of which amounted to state control over its work. Wells noted in his conversation at Serpentine Galleries 'Many have retreated to their studios and avoid engaging in public collective activities anymore. They felt a distance in relation to their city' (Cugusi 2015)

## Conclusions

Jacobs was a sensitive theoretician and activist who paid attention to the smallest details that would assure the success of a city and the contentment of its inhabitants through its streets. Her reflections were mainly derived from and directed to the developed West which differs vastly from the nature of the developing Middle East. Taking a look at the streets of many cities in the Middle East, one can find all four urban preconditions she prescribed for creating the street as an active public space: high densities of population and activities; mixtures of primary uses; pedestrian-friendly blocks and the retention of old buildings mixed in with new. This paper, however, argued that a fifth element ought to be added, that is accessibility control. Through the examined case, it was evident that Al-Mimar Street played an important role in promoting a healthy interaction between its users, even during the time of the uprising five years ago. The perception of the street changed enormously when the state interfered and forced its control over its space, demolishing the sense of relaxed safety that used to be endorsed before.

Suppose people continue using streets under the enforced control of the state with the type of activities being practiced within their domain. How can we make sure that the unspoken dimension of fear will not prevent the street from being a healthy medium for public

interaction? Relying on the current political situation, there seem to be two modes of dealing with it, maybe in time the situation will change.

The first mode is to accept the police control and deal with the street under limited freedom, just like what happened with Townhouse after the reopening in 2016. Its activities will be approved by the state in advance. There will be an atmosphere of suspicion amongst the people sitting at El-Takieba, which would demolish the energetic vibe of discussions and debates and extinguish the sense of security among street users.

The second mode is to find a refuge in another area and start over. Surprisingly enough, the Townhouse founder announced this year the opening of their new branch in one of the new satellite cities away from Downtown. It is targeting a different audience of upper class and wealthy people living in gated compounds. "Townhouse West" could have the potential to become a powerful stakeholder in the Egyptian art market<sup>3</sup>. The paradox here is the fact that the majority of its potential new clients have different political views than those of its old customers, which Townhouse has strongly embraced.

This second mode resembles the struggle Jacobs herself had to go through back in the 1960s while protesting for keeping her neighbourhood away from modernist inhumane interference. She was arrested and jailed for a night on charges including inciting a riot and criminal mischief, and could have faced years in prison if convicted. Eventually she determined to leave

3 SODIC is a company working on the development of New Cairo, asked Wells to 'build a community' around the art space to increase the property value and in exchange they are offering temporary financial support for the original Townhouse institution in Downtown Cairo (Wells in conversation at Serpentine Galleries)

New York. Her architect husband had obtained a commission in Toronto, and she was eager to take her sons beyond the risk of the draft for Vietnam. She left in 1968 – not in defeat, however, but in victory as the project was cancelled the following summer (Paletta 2016).

The same neighbourhood Jacobs lauded for its diversity in the 1960s and '70s is today a nearly all-white, aesthetically suburban playground for the rich. The average price for a two-bedroom apartment is about \$5,000 a month. Those small, varied streets are still there, but the small, community-oriented businesses have been replaced by banks and restaurant chains, upscale cocktail bars, and expensive shoe stores (Moskowitz 2016). It is likely that a similar gentrification can take place in a street like Al-Mimar if Wells decided to focus his efforts on the new communities, especially with the wave of gentrification in many areas in Downtown undertaken by Ismaelia Company<sup>4</sup>.

To conclude, learning about the spatial qualities of a space can provide clues about how to create streets that are special places for people. Spaces that reflect a strong sense of community with a high level of safety, only if the right to the city is being practiced, or at least permitted to fight for. In other words, controlling a space and restricting its accessibility defies the communities from reclaiming the public space, despite Jacobs' urban elements. They do not apply on a country like Egypt. Control over spaces, either by the state or by powerful groups with their own agenda, prevent the street to become an active public space.

4 Al-Ismaelia mission mainly focuses on the acquisition of prime real estate in Downtown Cairo for the purpose of restoring the buildings and upgrading the infrastructures to suit contemporary requirements for residential, commercial and cultural spaces while celebrating the original edifices that comprise Downtown's architectural significance. <http://al-ismaelia.com/about/mission-vision/>

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# The (Un)Natural Proprietors of San Francisco's Alleyways

## A Study of a City-Initiated Urban Commons Context of Belfast.

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**Abstract**—This paper takes as its subject the strategies behind revitalization efforts for alleyways in San Francisco through a program initiated by the Planning Department. This “Living Alleys Program” aims to bring together neighbors around street improvements, explicitly placing initiative, financial and maintenance responsibility in the hands of citizens. The paper reviews this program in the context of the contemporary city, in which the locus of the public has changed (Gandelsonas a.o. 2012). As entertainment spaces replace the urban exterior as places of collectivity, lively sidewalks are no longer the main sites for urban encounters between diverse citizens. Jane Jacobs’ ‘natural proprietor of the street’ is not home, or has little to look at. At the same time, there has been a wide-spread resurgence of interest in the ‘urban commons’, understood as collectively appropriating and regulating urban resources, including street space (Kip a.o. 2015). This paper traces the question of whether a city-led initiation of urban commons, as in the case of “Living Alleys”, can produce a new sense of ownership over city streets. It considers opportunities and challenges presented by aspects of the physical environment as well as the constellation of neighbor relationships, vis-a-vis the specific requirements of the Living Alleys program. The paper examines two alleys, current prototypes of the program, in terms of their physical/dimensional parameters, the permeability of the interface of street and architecture, the mix of uses and programs, and the location within the neighborhood street network. Employing on-site observation and drawings, and tracing the process through interviews with the lead planners who initiated the program and the stewards of the two projects, the paper comparatively reviews the success of constructing these streets as local urban commons. As ‘Living Alleys’ pursues the goal of turning alleyways into a stage for lively and diverse public encounters, focus is shifted away from the physical parameters of the street, to the social relationships formed around specific goals and interests by local initiators and stewards. Such relationships are the prerequisite to the improvements of the actual physical environment. As a bi-product, the city-sanctioned ‘proprietors’ of the alleyways may, in fact, exert a degree of ownership that prevents the creation of a truly diverse public environment.

**Key words** – urban commons, streets, public space, Jane Jacobs

## Introduction

The role of the street in contemporary American cities has changed. As entertainment spaces replace the urban exterior as places of collectivity, lively sidewalks are no longer the main sites for urban encounters between diverse citizens. Jane Jacobs’ “natural proprietor of the street” is not home, or has little to look at. The locus of the public, and the public itself, has changed, and with this comes a need to examine the opportunities, challenges and potentials in creating and revitalizing

public space in contemporary cities. While, on the surface, programmed interior event spaces may have changed the nature of the urban street as the primary platform for the interaction with strangers, there has been a wide-spread resurgence of interest in the ‘urban commons’. This paper reviews the strategies behind the revitalization effort for alleyways in San Francisco in this context. Initiated by the Planning Department, this Living Alleys Program aims to bring together neighbors around street improvements. It explicitly

places initiative, financial and maintenance responsibility in the hands of citizens, thereby creating a new type of urban commons whose envisioned outcome models it after the lively streets Jane Jacobs so aptly described. The first part of this paper examines the notion of the urban commons in general and unpacks Jacobs’ street space through this lens. The main body of the paper introduces the particular characteristics of San Francisco’s alleys as a backdrop for a study of two alley improvement projects in the framework of the Living Alleys Program. A summary and

conclusion reflect on the success and challenges of these case studies as urban commons projects in light of their articulated goals, with a critical lens on whether this kind of urban commons projects can be created through top-down planning efforts..

## A Transformation of Public Space

The past half century in the United States has affected both the physical and the social dimension of public space. The location of public space, once synonymous with city streets, parks, and plazas, has been fragmented and displaced outwards through the development of suburbs, the influence of the automobile on urban infrastructure, and the reduction of housing in many inner cities. Public space as the locus of chance encounters and casual interaction with others has move increasingly inwards as malls and indoor entertainment complexes have become the collective space where exchange takes place. Increased density in some urban areas has changed not only how architecture frames and contains urban space, but also who the public is as migration and gentrification continuously change demographics across urban neighborhoods. As a result, public space as the site of spontaneous encounter escapes clear definition<sup>1</sup>. Its form requires continuous investigation and redefinition through time. Mario Gandelonas highlights the importance of time when he describes “public moments” as the context for “accidental encounter of the other - the meaningful moment of contact across difference” as an essential component of urban life<sup>2</sup>.

The change in the demographic make-up of cities also triggered changes in the decision-making around public space. As cities become mega-regions, the forces at

1 Mario Gandelonas, Rafi Segal, Els Verbakel, “Introduction”, in *In Search of the Public: Notes on the Contemporary American City*, eds. Mario Gandelonas et al. (Princeton: Center for Architecture, Urbanism + Infrastructure, Princeton University, 2012), 006.

2 Mario Gandelonas, “In Search of Public Moments: The Architecture of the Contemporary American City”, in *In Search of the Public: Notes on the Contemporary American City*, eds. Mario Gandelonas et al. (Princeton: Center for Architecture, Urbanism + Infrastructure, Princeton University, 2012), 017.

play in urban decision-making are both increasingly global and hyper-local.<sup>3</sup> The creation of so-called Privately Owned Public Open Spaces (POPS or POPOS) as a zoning trade for an increase in private floor area has allowed private developers who operate increasingly across national boundaries to shape public space in many downtown areas. At the other end of the spectrum, collectively managed local urban gardens have taken the place of public parks as gathering spaces. This resurgence of interest in ‘urban commons’ has been attributed in part to the effects of the global financial crisis. Dried-up public funding and a loss of confidence in governmental or financial institutions have renewed the desire for participatory forms of governance in relation to urban issues, from public space to healthcare, food and housing.<sup>4</sup> While the term ‘commons’ had its origins in the sharing of natural resources like pastures and fishing territories, the term has more recently been used to describe the collective appropriation and regulation of shared everyday concerns in contemporary cities.<sup>5</sup> This act of appropriation, and the subsequent regulation of an urban resource, manifests a sense of ownership, and a sense of having control over something in dialog with others who share the same interest.

Commons researchers from backgrounds as different as economics, geography, activism, and political science<sup>6</sup> all describe three fundamental characteristics of the commons: a common resource; a self-defined community involved in the production and evolution of the commons; and an agreed-upon set of rules that governs the practice

3 Gandelonas, Segal, and Verbakel, “Introduction”, 007.

4 Markus Kip, a.o., “Seizing the (Every)Day: Welcome to the Urban Commons!”, in *Urban Commons: Moving Beyond State and Market*, eds. Mary Dellenbaugh et al. (Basel: Birkhaeuser, 2015), 9.

5 Kip, a.o., “Seizing the (Every)Day”, 10.

6 see Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Silke Helfrich and Joerg Haas, “The Commons: A New Narrative for Our Times”, in *Genes, Bytes and Emissions: To Whom Does the World Belong*, ed. Silke Helfrich (Berlin: Heinrich-Boell-Foundation, 2009); David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2012); a.o.

of commoning.<sup>7</sup> These aspects of the commons as a prerequisite for a sense of ownership form the lens with which the following paragraphs review Jane Jacobs’ descriptions of successful city streets, read here as a natural form of urban commons. The same lens is subsequently applied to a review of the activated streets resulting from the Living Alleys program. The analysis will shed a critical light on their respective success as urban commons spaces.

## Jane Jacobs’ Street Space as Urban Commons

The streets of Jane Jacobs’ Greenwich Village in the 1960s constituted the main public spaces of the city, and served many purposes besides transportation. Jacobs describes the mix of people on these streets as the key element that distinguishes urban streets from those of small towns and suburbs: the high ratio of strangers among those using the sidewalks. Being able to feel safe among these strangers, for her, is at the core of a successful city street.<sup>8</sup> This sense of safety is in part created by the buildings along the sidewalk, through their clear demarcations of public and private space, their uses that provide continuous activity on the street at all hours, and the location of facade openings that allow people to watch.

It is in this context of safety, that Jacobs introduces the term ‘natural proprietor’. She describes these proprietors as locals inside buildings whose spaces and openings are oriented towards the street - as “eyes on the street”<sup>9</sup>, watching and sometimes directly participating in the activity on the sidewalk. A natural proprietor of the street, in her observations, is the person who naturally takes care of the street, notices strangers, is ready to interact with people on the sidewalk, and takes action in case of suspicious activity.<sup>10</sup> According to Jacobs, long-term lease and actual property ownership are critical elements to establishing a

7 Kip, a.o., “Seizing the (Every)Day”, 13.

8 Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961. Vintage Books Edition (New York: Random House, 1992), 30.

9 Jacobs, *The Death and Life*, 35.

10 Jacobs, *The Death and Life*, 38.

vested interest in the interactions on the sidewalk. The emergence of natural proprietors is unlikely with a degree of turn-over in the buildings flanking the street. It is only over time that one can find “self-appointed public characters”, locals who are in frequent contact with others on the same street or block.<sup>11</sup> These characters are the guardians of the street, they are present and interested, share news, and have a key role in the social relationships on the block. Jacobs highlights the protection of privacy as an important component of these social relationships. A clear demarcation of public and private territories is a prerequisite for any social contact to occur voluntarily and with ease, sharing just the right amount of space with others while maintaining privacy in all other aspects of life.<sup>12</sup>

The combination of these factors allows the sidewalk space to be a shared resource for social interaction, encounter and entertainment, and a space around which a sense of ownership develops - a natural urban commons that is guarded by a group of people who live there, and who enable others, strangers, to participate and benefit from this resource. Unspoken practices of behavior govern interaction and protection of this resource, keeping it safe and desirable for the community. Jacobs describes these practices as an intricate dance, specific to each street and block,<sup>13</sup> formed by familiar daily rituals, yet with room for improvisation and change that naturally occurs over time.

## Commoning as a Revitalization Strategy for San Francisco’s Alleys

Public open space in San Francisco’s confined urban footprint is limited. Steady population growth since the 1990s has led to many of the remaining vacant lots to be filled in. As a consequence of the overall density and the nature of the Victorian housing stock, most people do not have access to private outdoor space in the form of gardens, decks and balconies. The city has its share of parks that serve as recreational weekend destinations, yet, streets constitute

11 Jacobs, *The Death and Life*, 68.

12 Jacobs, *The Death and Life*, 56.

13 Jacobs, *The Death and Life*, 50.

the majority of urban public space. Despite its network of lively and attractive urban neighborhoods resulting from retail-focused pedestrian activity and dedicated bicycle boulevards, San Francisco is affected by the broader shifts in the perception and use of public space described above. New downtown entertainment and shopping malls compete for attention, and many of the large housing developments in the city’s South of Market area have privatized and interiorized urban social spaces. Together with the significant city-wide cost-of-living increase in recent years, this shift towards interior space has contributed to how urban streets are used, and who is using them. With the rise of the tech sector a younger and wealthier demographic has displaced many long-time residents. This trend has reduced the city’s economic and racial diversity<sup>14</sup>, and brought about a growing homogenization of public spaces.

The Hayes Valley neighborhood of San Francisco, the target area of the Living Alley’s program, has seen its share of recent higher-end housing developments. The neighborhood was the site modernist town-planning efforts in the 50s and 60s. At that time, a network of elevated freeways was planned and partially implemented. The so-called Central Freeway divided the existing neighborhood, causing areas of urban blight in its vicinity. The freeway partially collapsed in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake, and its remnants were taken down in 2003. It left in its wake a range of odd-shaped parcels that have gradually been infilled with housing. This development has been guided by the so-called Market Octavia Area Plan.

The alleys in this neighborhood are narrow one-way streets, flanked by a mixture of low residential buildings and small-scale commercial buildings (figure 1). At times, the backside of larger, institutional buildings also faces an alley. The alleys’ origin lies in the need for access to the back of buildings with representational frontages towards the main neighborhood streets (figure 2). The alleys also allowed for utilitarian access in

14 Rory Carroll, “Geek-Driven Gentrification Threatens San Francisco’s Bohemian Appeal”, *The Guardian - US Edition* March 5, 2013, accessed September 15, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/05/san-francisco-geek-gentrification-threatens>

areas with commercial activity.<sup>15</sup> Over time, many of them acquired their own, very local character through specific uses, murals, or their specific location in the city that made them the site of public gatherings and curated events.<sup>16</sup> In many neighborhoods, alleys are the streets with the slowest speed, and therefore hold the potential for more exchange between people. One of the most prominent examples, San Francisco’s Maiden Lane in the bustling center of Downtown, has been “an oasis with an irresistible sense of intimacy, cheerfulness, and spontaneity”<sup>17</sup> since the 1950s.

In Hayes Valley, the alleys connect Market Street and the Civic Center area with Patricia’s Green Park at the core of the Hayes Valley neighborhood commercial district, but many are used infrequently as most people gravitate towards the commercial spine of the neighborhood, Hayes St., with its small scale retail and restaurants. The Living Alleys program targets this issue, and is a tool for implementing the goals formulated in the Market Octavia Area Plan. In addition to articulating requirements for housing construction, the plan calls for traffic-calmed environments<sup>18</sup> in the alleys located in the Hayes Valley neighborhood, and articulates a process in which “residents can participate in the design and implementation of improvements to their alley”<sup>19</sup>. The impact fees from the housing developments aid in financing streetscapes and are available to citizen-participants in the Living Alleys program via grants.

15 Benjamin Grant, “Why We Love Alleys”, SPUR Ideas + Action for a Better City, accessed 09 25, 2015, <http://www.spur.org/news/2013-05-16/why-we-love-alleys>

16 Annie Alley in Downtown San Francisco has been the site of a series of public events stewarded by neighboring institutions like SPUR Urban Center; see <http://www.spur.org/events/2013-05-20/city-picnic-annie-alley>

17 Jacobs, Jane. “Downtown is for People,” in *The Exploding Metropolis*, ed. William H Whyte, Jr. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1958), 162.

18 Traffic calming measures are additions to street space in the form of speed bumps, raised cross walks and curb extensions, intended to slow through-traffic; see San Francisco Planning Department, *Living Alleys Market Octavia Toolkit* (San Francisco, February, 2015), 43-47.

19 San Francisco Planning Department, “Program Overview,” *Market Octavia Living Alley Program*, last updated 2/24/2015, <http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3510>



Figure 1: Street space at Linden Alley (top) and Ivy Alley (bottom). Photographs by author.

## A Legacy of Public Space

### Activism

The Living Alleys program follows in the footsteps of other citizen-led urban interventions. Activism has played a critical role in San Francisco. The construction of important connections in the proposed freeway system in the 1950s was blocked by citizen protests, and even the removal of the derelict freeway in Hayes Valley was the result of neighborhood

activism. San Francisco is also a city in which citizens have creatively taken ownership of public space throughout the decades. A well-known example is the “Park(ing) Project”, created by the artist/architect collective Rebar in 2005. This short-term urban intervention understood the parking meter as a temporary lease of urban space that could be reinterpreted for other uses. Feeding a parking meter for the legal maximum time of two hours, Rebar took ownership of the parking space by rolling out lawn and putting up a bench and a potted tree, creating a temporary park for anyone passing

by. The project called attention to the amount of urban public space dedicated to cars, and highlighted street space as a site for social interaction. Rebar subsequently created an open source project called “Park(ing) Day”. This annual urban event allows citizens in any city to create a temporary park in metered parking spaces, using a how-to manual created by Rebar. A global phenomenon today, this project has “effectively re-valued the metered parking space as an important part of the commons – a site for generosity, cultural expression,



Figure 2: Housing fabric at Linden Alley (bottom) and Ivy Alley (top)



Figure 3: Parklet on Hayes Street. Photograph by author

socializing and play.”<sup>20</sup>

Parking Day as an invitation for anyone to take temporary ownership of public space took on a new form in San Francisco Planning’s ‘Parklet Program’. Initiated in 2010, citizens can apply for year-long renewable permits to convert a parking space in front of their residence or business into a public amenity. While private financed, these small-scale urban interventions are still considered a public park, usable by everyone. The Parklet Program has strict

<sup>20</sup> Rebar Group, “About PARK(ing) Day,” PARK(ing) Day, accessed September 18, 2016, <http://parkingday.org/about-parking-day/>.

regulations defining the location, materials, and uses for the parklet - information made accessible to citizens via the ‘Parklet Manual’. This document guides applicants through a tightly structured city review that pioneered a cross-departmental approval process of the Planning Department, the Metropolitan Transit Authority, and the Department of Public Works.

The majority of parklets installed to date, though based on the idea of a citizen-activist take-over of space dedicated to the car, are most often executed by businesses who install them

to maximize profit by providing extra seating for customer (figure 3). These small scale public spaces succeed in activating the sidewalk in their proximity. Counter to their activist predecessors, they feel distinctly “owned” as a consequence of their often singular use (seating) and close proximity to the business that installed them. While they are legally open to anyone, the perceived close relationship between business and parklet often limits the diversity of their users.



Figure 4: Hayes Valley with major thoroughfares and location of the Linden and Ivy case study blocks

## The Making of Living Alleys

The Living Alleys program extends and alters citizen involvement in shaping the streets pioneered by the Parklet program. Rather than operating at the scale of a parking space, it is intended to operate at the scale of one city block. The program incentivizes neighbors whose properties front on an alley to come together as a community around shared desires for improving the streetscape. The Planning Department envisions the alleys to become outdoor living rooms for the inhabitants of adjacent buildings - a site for daily encounters and interaction between neighbors, safe for kids to play in, while prioritizing pedestrian and bicycle traffic. As Hayes Valley densifies through new housing development, the alleys are meant to provide more quality open space - a type of public front yard for everyone's enjoyment - while explicitly placing initiative and responsibility in the hands of citizens. Once completed, citizens are expected to manage and maintain the alley improvements and to hold liability insurance for any accidents caused by the interventions. The alley space as a shared local resource, the collaboration of neighbors around initiative and implementation, and the process of producing and maintaining the space allow these alleys to be seen as a (city-initiated) type of urban commons.

As part of a 2-year pilot study the planning department developed a toolkit to facilitate the application

process for citizen-stewards. The toolkit evolved in parallel with a Request for Proposals (RFP) introduced to the neighborhood in a series of community meetings. The RFP called for a local merchant, resident or group of residents to steward an alley revitalization project on their local block with the prerequisite that all amenities of a Living Alley must be free and open for public use. Initiators must build community partnerships, and garner neighborhood support. The proposals are encouraged to be phased, so that funding strategies can be developed over time. The RFP provided information about technical considerations for alley interventions as well as detailed documentation of each alley block, identifying specific characteristics and potentials of the street space. Based on the experience with the proposals submitted, a final toolkit was issued, that offers a variety of templates for research and documentation to future applicants: information on cost and potential funding sources; guidelines for how to navigate the City's permitting process; and requirements for maintenance and liability insurance. At the time of writing this article, one alley block on Linden St. has implemented a local intervention, and a second block, on Ivy St., has been awarded a grant and has begun implementation (figure 4).

The following is a study of these two first alley improvements in order to understand the physical conditions of the proposals as

functioning urban commons, the relationship of neighbors during and after the implementations, and the process and challenges of implementing the proposal. The study is based on field documentation and detailed interviews with the lead planners for the Living Alleys Program as well as the community stewards who initiated the two projects. The field documentation assessed the location and connection of the alley block in the larger street network (figures 5 + 9), the mix of uses and programs in the buildings facing the alley (figures 8 + 12), and the permeability of the interface between street and buildings (figures 7 + 11) with a short description of the nature of the proposed improvements. The graphic technique combines unfolded elevations of both sides of the street with a "bar code" that shows location of program and openings, augmented by a simplified version of the bar code that measures percentage of occurrence in relationship to the entire available street frontage. The interview questions traced the motivation for the project, and how the initiator got involved. They covered the challenges and hurdles during the process, from financial burden to issues around the necessary expertise. A third category of questions addressed the neighbor interaction during the process and after implementation. Lastly, final questions touched on the prior and new sense of ownership that the neighbors and collaborators had in relation to the space of the alley.



Figure 6: Seating and landscaping on Linden St. Photograph by author.

## Linden Alley

This block of Linden St. connects busy Gough Street, a street that has restaurants and commercial uses, with the neighborhood park, Patricia's Green, to the west (figure 5). Adjacent to this park is Proxy SF, an innovative shipping container-based temporary food and retail environment that attracts visitors and locals alike. On the next block of Linden to the east is SF Jazz, the neighborhood's newest music venue. The alley improvements on the case study block were designed and initiated by two local architects, whose architecture office is located on this stretch of Linden. The location for the project was chosen based on a tiny shop that had opened on this block, selling artisan coffee

and baked good out of a garage. The alley intervention aimed to provide seating and landscaping with a curb-free street level, creating places to gather near the coffee shop that is too small to offer seating (figure 6).

The block includes 8 front doors to residences and two storefront in addition to the small coffee shop and access to the food vendors at Proxy SF. Sixty-five percent of the building fronts on one side of the alley, and twenty-nine percent on the opposite street edge, hide non-residential uses (figure 8). Fifteen percent or the building frontage, and twenty five percent on the opposite street edge, are dedicated to car access, including the back entrances to two car repair shops (figure 7). Many closed facade areas boast colorful and well executed graffiti (figure 6). As a consequence

Linden St. Study: front doors and pedestrian access (top); uses adjacent to sidewalk (bottom). Drawings by author.

The successful implementation of the intervention on Linden Alley owes much to the expertise, enthusiasm and perseverance of the two architects who initiated it. Both maintained close relationships with the local neighborhood association and propelled forward communal interests in having a calmer street block as a contrast to the surrounding arterial roads. Their expertise as architects allowed them to develop a pleasant and formally sophisticated landscape with modest means. The relationship with community members led to a maintenance agreement that distributes the task of watering the plants in the intervention, and the cost of the mandatory liability insurance is carried jointly by a group of neighbors. The alley intervention and the coffee shop in its vicinity mutually benefit each other, expanding the number of people passing through and spending time in the alley.

## Ivy Alley

This blocks marks the end of Ivy St. at the Civic Center. Ivy connects Gough Street at its western end, to the backside of Davies Symphony Hall to the east

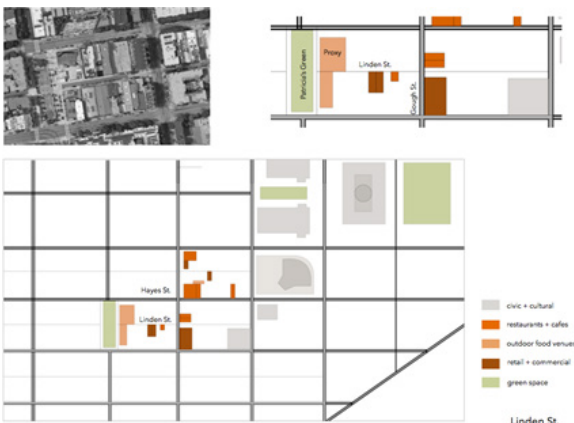


Figure 5: Linden St. block in relationship to context. Drawing by author.



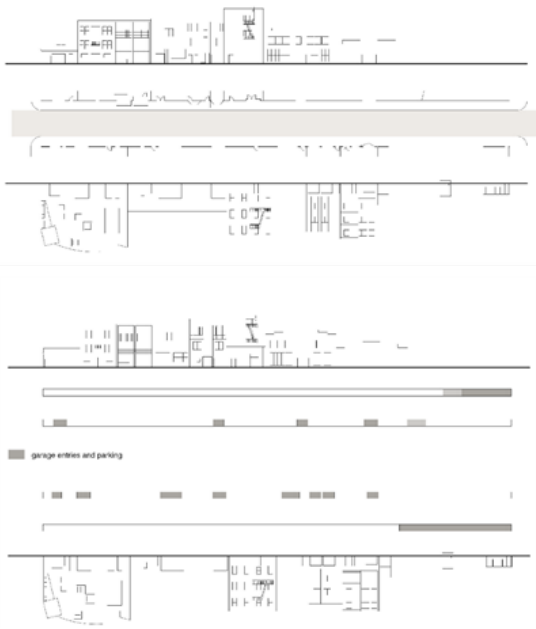


Figure 7: Linden St. Study: street facade permeability (top); car-related access points (bottom). Drawings by author.

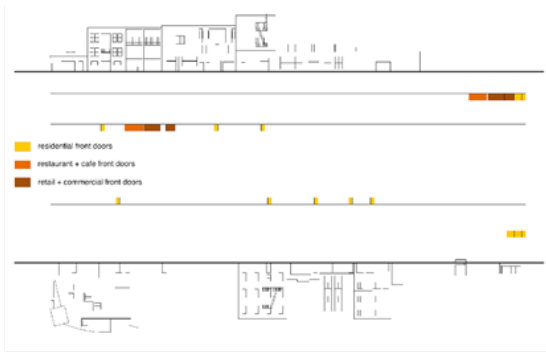


Figure 8: Linden St. Study: front doors and pedestrian access (top); uses adjacent to sidewalk (bottom). Drawings by author.

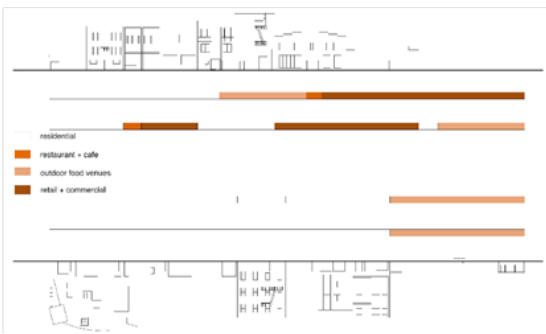


Figure 9: Ivy St. block in relationship to context. Drawings by author.

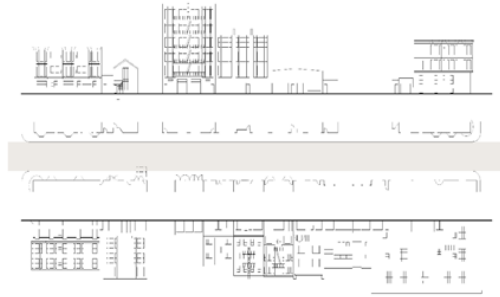


Figure 11: Ivy St. Study; street facade permeability (top); car-related access points (bottom). Drawings by author.

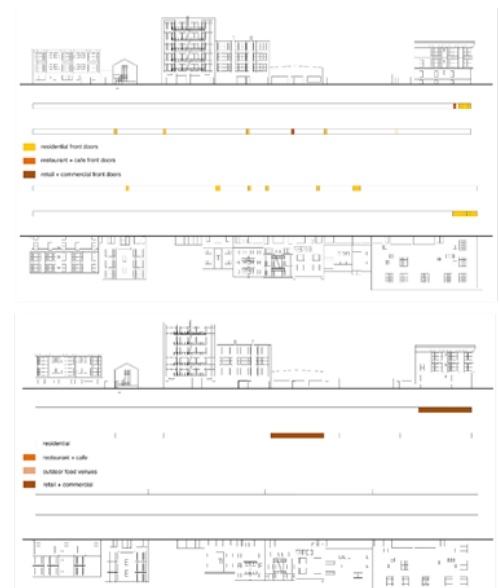
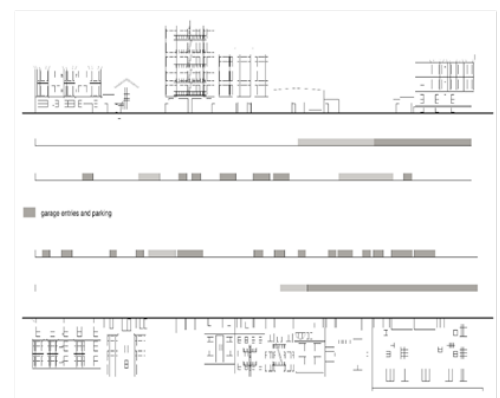


Figure 12: Ivy St. Study; pedestrian access (top); uses adjacent to sidewalk (bottom). Drawings by author.



Figure 10: Mural on Ivy St. Photograph by author.

(figure 9). The block combines larger apartment buildings with open lots and smaller structures so that the tall blank party walls of the apartments building can be seen when walking down the street (figure 10). The idea to capitalize on these walls as sites for large murals by community artists originated with the Chief Administrative Officer of a local restaurant group whose venues back up to this block of Ivy. With the help of an urban designer working nearby, she developed a plan for a series of murals combined with lighting improvements, local landscaping, and flower baskets hung from lamp posts, and has been bringing together interested neighbors in regular community meetings. One mural has been installed (figure 10), and funding for other improvements has been granted.

The block on Ivy has 10 residential front doors connected to the alley. Only twelve percent of the building fronts relate to commercial space on one side of the street, and none on the other (figure 12). Thirty-eight percent of the building frontage, and forty-four percent on the opposite street edge, are dedicated to car access (figure 11). The neighborhood foot traffic towards Symphony Hall and Civic Center is mostly on Hayes Street and the alley often feels empty. The amount of frontage dedicated to garage doors and parking and the absence of an anchor commercial

use that attracts users and invites lingering make Ivy a less active street. While many apartments have windows to the alley, the scale of the buildings does not give them a close visual relationship to the street below.

The initiator of the project took on the roles of both strategist, community organizer, and liaison with the institutions involved. She began this process by ringing all door bells on the block and dropping off information sheets on the ideas for the street improvements. She got to know everyone on the block and succeeded in enlisting supporters from local children to prominent neighborhood residents. For many residents on this block of Ivy, the incentive to participate came from a desire to fight drug use on the otherwise empty street through aesthetic enhancements that make the street space more desirable for locals and visitors alike. Yet, one of the difficulties in gathering support on this block was the large number of absentee building owners who had no interest in the alley improvements. A cohesive design vision for the planned improvements together with the technical expertise to think through implementation issues has also been a hindrance throughout the process as the project had to rely on occasional volunteer design work.

## Conclusions

The two alley improvement projects had to work from different formal and programmatic street characteristics. Linden and Ivy have different lengths, different building heights, and deal with different types of street frontage, with significantly more car-dominated frontage on Ivy. Linden benefits from a better mix of uses in the buildings facing the street that act as a draw for pedestrians. The stewards of the project on Linden were architects who could better navigate the technical and formal complexity of altering a street space than the group of citizens on Ivy street who struggled to get this kind of expertise. Both projects were successful in instigating citizen collaboration in relationship to the project. Both project s' initiators stated that the process allowed them to get to know people on the block and in the larger neighborhood, and that citizen involvement continues to be active despite the length of time necessary for the implementation of the planned interventions. The many components of the planned project on Ivy indicate the difficulty of unifying and prioritizing the individual desires of the many residents on an alley block. At the time of writing this paper, the installation of the first mural together with regular small

scale clean-up efforts by neighbors appears to have succeeded in reducing drug-use on the street, though the block is still used infrequently by pedestrians. Both alley projects give the impression that people have taken more ownership of the street space. Linden Street with its cohesive design, its retail uses and the park as a pedestrian draw has become a well maintained, shared local resource for the neighborhood.

The Living Alleys program provides a platform for active citizen participation in shaping the urban space at their door step, with the potential of giving local residents an increased sense of ownership over public open space. Allowing residents to initiate these projects has the promise of intensifying the specific local character of a street while tailoring interventions to very local needs and desires. The necessary collaboration between residents increases a sense of community as residents invest in the future of their local street. For the Planning Department, the program is a way to engage citizens in street maintenance, saving city funds.

At the same time, the scale, ambition and high cost of permanently altering the streetscape of an entire urban block makes the citizen-led efforts difficult. The permitting and fundraising process alone requires large amounts of time, perseverance, and professional expertise. The implementation of changes takes years, and the need for maintenance agreements and liability insurance are additional hurdles. The result is a citizen engagement that takes place behind the scenes of the actual urban street. Rather than watching over the street and interacting with others in the physical space as Jane Jacobs' 'natural proprietors' might have done, much of the citizen interaction around the alley projects took place in planning sessions behind closed doors. The implementation of changes to the alley requires professionals and delays the daily interaction of the 'city-sanctioned alley proprietors' in the improved street.

The San Francisco Planning Department has begun to act on these challenges by introducing "Living Zones" as a shorter-term avenue for changing the alleys. Living Zones are zones for specific activity in the alleys that are produced with less permanent means, including movable planters as traffic barriers and street painting. They are meant

to create places of interest, and to allow for both residents and passers-by to come together around more immediate activities. In today's altered perception of public space, such shorter-term, programmed areas in alleys might cater more to the entertainment-seeking city dweller while testing possible scenarios for longer-term change. At this point in time, when San Francisco is facing increased population growth through the influx of tech workers, these less permanent interventions might produce a wider range of uses in the alley, that, in turn, are also inclusive of a broader and more diverse audience.

## Further Research

It has to be noted that the Living Alleys program is still in its infancy. Given the long and complex implementation process, both program and case studies will need to be assessed again after the work on Ivy is complete and both alleys have established new uses based on the street improvements implemented.

# Monuments of Everyday Life

## Reflections on the opponent ideas of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs in the architectural open spaces of São Paulo

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**Abstract**—The urban tissue of São Paulo is not older than 100 years. Within that highly transformative and dynamic context specific spatial situations – called ‘monuments of everyday life’ have been investigated. Four case studies will be analysed that are bound to infrastructure and are deeply woven into the patterns of the city. All of them were seeded during the military dictatorship and were conquered over time as unique reference points for public street life. Nowadays they are representing nodes of a fruitful interplay of space and society in the city, although, or maybe even because, they are located along the huge infrastructural axes of São Paulo. The paper aims to discuss in the context of this biggest South American metropolis, the interplay of infrastructure and social performance in specific urban situations. Moreover this discussion is embedded into the confrontational ideas of the urban future of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs, as the analysed open spaces, seem to inherent both contradictory perspectives. The essay aims to investigate the influence of this opposition for the development of infrastructural spaces into ‘Monuments of everyday life’.

**Key words** – Moses, Jacobs, megacity, transformation, monument, everyday life

### Introduction: Moses and Jacobs

The more successfully a city mingles everyday diversity of uses and users in its everyday streets, the more successfully, casually (and economically) its people thereby enliven and support well-located parks, that can thus give back grace and delight to their neighbourhoods instead of vacuity.“ (Jacobs 1992, p.111). The topic of the everyday streets and its diversity of uses and users, which Jane Jacobs mentions in her book about the death and Life of great American cities, is the object of research of the present paper. Four different open spaces in the city of São Paulo will be investigated that incorporate the interplay of streets, architecture and everyday practices extraordinarily successfully. As those open spaces are places of special concentrations of activities, spatial qualities and meanings, the paper summarizes them as ‘Monuments

of Everyday Life’. On account of their capacity to provide space for the interaction amongst people with different origins, their human related scale and their capability to trigger various activities, the article sets up the thesis, that these Monuments of Everyday Life would have been acknowledged as positive examples by the ideas of Jane Jacobs.

But differently from New York, São Paulo emerged most notably in the middle of the 20th century. Within its explosive growth, it was planned under the clear premise of infrastructure and for the private automobile, nearly as a counter-model to the ideas Jacobs was promoting. Built mega-infrastructures and enormous expressways are shaping the urban tissue of São Paulo until today. One of the international key figures in urban planning of the mid last century is the US American planner Robert Moses. He supported numerous urban motorways as well as the construction of bridges,

mainly in New York and other parts of the United States, such as the famous plans for

the Lower Manhattan Expressway. The connection of Jane Jacobs and Robert Moses is especially interesting. In 1949 Moses was called by the mayor Mayor Linneu Prestes to be consultant for the future urban development of São Paulo (Anelli, 2007). His ‘Program for public improvements for the city of São Paulo’ was published in 19502. Moses brought to São Paulo the model of the ‘Highway Research Board’, which intended to adapt cities in order to accommodate the horizontal and peripheral expansion into the residential

1 Original text of Anelli 2007 is written in Portuguese and has been translated by the author

2 MOSES, Robert (org.). Programa de melhoramentos públicos para a cidade de São Paulo. São Paulo, IBEC Technical Services Co./PMSP, 1950;

suburbs for the motorized middle class. This approach coincided with the development of the automobile industry. The combination of those two aspects generated the need for large daily movements for the inhabitants (Anelli, 2007). Hence, Robert Moses promoted exactly the concept that Jane Jacobs protested against, as she was instead fundamentally advocating the rescue of street as public space. „Emerging from this narrative as the lone protagonist is a young Jane Jacobs, whose vocal objections to Moses’ servitude to the middle class and the automobile placed her at the forefront of a growing public opposition to his projects“ (Langdon, 2015). Having outlined the oppositions of Moses and Jacobs ideas concerning urban futures, this article aims to investigate four spatial situations in São Paulo, that are shaped by both Moses and Jacobs ideas: they seem to be historically rooted and formed by the ideas of Robert Moses, as they are located at major expressways and are spatially connected to them. But at the same time they are displaying places of extraordinary openness, an intense process of the mingling of social backgrounds and the reflection of ‘grace and delight’ to the neighbourhood, as quoted in the first paragraph. Furthermore, this article wants to investigate, if specifically in São Paulo, the territories shaped by Moses, are nowadays an overlooked spatial potential for outstanding common grounds of the city.

## Streets of São Paulo

São Paulo, the biggest city in South America developed from a small village into a gigantic metropolis within 100 years only. The city exploded most intense in the 50ies, 60ies and 70ies, when cars were all-powerful and the focus on enormous infrastructural interventions seemed to be the predestined tool to control the unpredictable growth. Like in other metropolises the extremely fast growth resulted into a great amount of fragmentations, discontinuities and sectorisation in the urban fabric.

São Paulo offers a unique case, as the city it evolved extremely rapid into the first and the biggest megacity in South America. Nevertheless, in the latest five years the city almost “stopped” to grow.

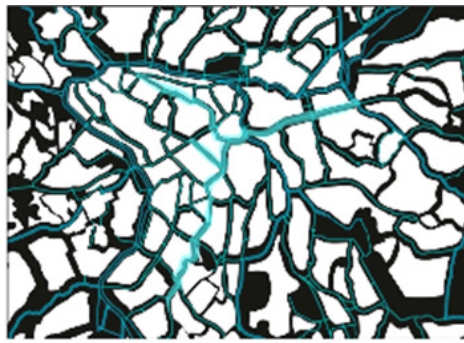


Figure 1: Mapping of the archipelago and the main infrastructural connections within, Source: Hartmann, 2016

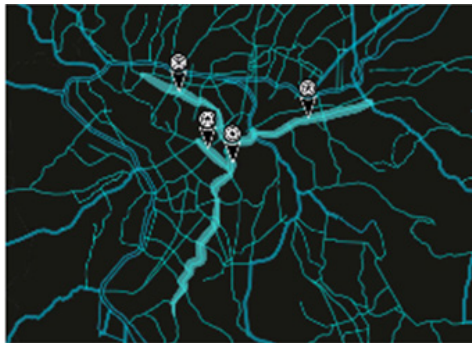


Figure 2: Mapping of the main infrastructural axes as space of interest and location of the four case studies, Source: Hartmann, 2016



Figure 3: Sketch of the location of the case studies at the edge of the islands and infrastructure, Source: Hartmann, 2016

Since then, ongoing transformations, especially in the Centro Expandido (pt.: expanded centre) are the task at hand for urban design and planning. The economic growth of the last decade but the still desolate conditions of the urban structures evoked together an appropriate

*Município São Paulo (Population of the Municipal district Sao Paulo) 2010: 11.253.503, População 2015: 11.967.825, <http://cod.ibge.gov.br/ARE>, accessed 12.06.2016*

moment, to refresh the role of architecture and urban design in the city, in order to generate new uses and to revalue the potential of urban spaces. One space related potential is traced along the main infrastructural axis of São Paulo. São Paulo has more than 8 million cars in the metropolitan region, but has around 0,4 cars per person compared to 0,6 in Los Angeles. The majority of São Paulo’s inhabitants do not own a car. So despite to its preconception as the automobile city, São Paulo is not only a city for the car, paulistanos do walk in the city. (Tamburelli, 2012) Nevertheless, the current director of the planning department summarized: “The real asset of the city is its infrastructure” (Franco). Due to this background, the first picture (Fig.1) shows a metaphorical mapping: the Archipelago São Paulo: contrasting black and white spaces, fragmentations and (dis)continuities together with the main street system. The second picture (Fig.2) shows the inverted condition. It displays the streets as the outstanding and structuring spaces. The positions of the four selected case studies are marked along the main infrastructural axes.

## Spaces of Flows: Case Studies

The metaphor of the archipelago is used to explain the location of the case studies in the city, as their spatial situations are difficult to categorize. They are hardly graspable by the traditional terminology of the discipline as they are not traditional open spaces such as piazzas, alleys or parks. They are also not traditional infrastructural spaces, such as train stops, metro stations, airports or highways, nor are they streets in the sense of shared spaces for different modes of mobility and parts of traditional urban textures. Nevertheless, they are closely bound to the realm of infrastructure, as they are located at the edges of the main street axes of São Paulo. The streetscape and its inherent dynamic flows of traffic and people are essential assets of the situations. According to their in between position, they are functioning as mediators amongst the infrastructural realm and their capacity as open space.

All four case studies have been seeded in the era of the military dictatorship in Brazil from 1964 to

1985, when an economic boom in the 70ies originated due to the targeted promotion of industry. Economic and absolute political power was able to push large scale projects without opposition. The specific locations of the case studies display in different ways the ignorance of the political acts regarding the demands of civil rights and society. Paradoxically today, these spatial results of the totalitarian regime, were conquered over time as situations, that epitomize essential and representative key points of collective values, community and social encounter in São Paulo.

The selected cases are exemplifying different, heterogenic conquests of former pure infrastructures into urban open spaces that are deeply rooted in the daily and collective life of the city. Each of them represents nowadays a cultural incubator in its infrastructural context and displays the paradoxical simultaneous presence of monumentality and everyday life. As concentration points of spatial qualities, meanings and uses, they give remarks and outlooks for an updated characterization of architectural open spaces in São Paulo. The four cases enfold a heterogeneous range of different approaches of conquest. Each of them will be described in the next paragraphs by its individual history, its role and meaning in the city, its transformations and permanencies and a short summary that explains its concept as a monument of everyday life. The case studies are ordered according to their physical size.

### Case Study XL: Minhocão

The 3.5 km long, elevated Highway Elevado Presidente Costa e Silva, which is cutting through the central part of São Paulo, is emblematic for the era of heavy infrastructure investments of the military dictatorship, when there was no chance for the opponents to contradict. It was opened in 1971 to relief the traffic in the underlying Avenue São João. Due to its negative impacts on the surrounding neighbourhoods its actual presence is as polemic as its nickname: Minhocão (pt: big worm). It calls the attraction of the public and the plan to demolish it ever since. Already in 1976 it was decided to shut it down temporarily for cars in the night, in 1992 additionally on Sundays and since 2015 additionally on Saturday afternoons. In the 80ies,



Figure 4: General view of the elevated Highway Presidente Costa e Silva cutting through the expanded centre, Source: Google Maps



Figure 5: General view of the Centro Cultural São Paulo, between two metro stations and along the north-south corridor, Source: Google Maps

the area was conceived – due to the decrease of the real estate market resulting from the construction of the highway - as socially poor, highly dangerous and unsecure. But in the last ten years, an occupation started on this modern monument that turned the meaning and role of the infrastructural artefact upside down – into the so called “Parque Minhocão”. The Highway became in 2016 officially named a park, as people found in this, at the same time ordinary and unique public open space, the chance to use it as for ordinary and at times extraordinary street life activities

**Permanencies and Transformations:** While the artefact itself did spatially not transform, it nevertheless turned from being an monument of the military dictatorship in the 70ies, into an unsecure or even so called “death zone” of São Paulo in the 90ies, into a space where women push their strollers in 2016. Without any top-down actions, without, or maybe especially because of the permanency of its physical form, the space turned from a mobility infrastructure into a leisure infrastructure.

**Role and Meaning:** The Highway crosses four different and heterogeneous neighbourhoods of the Expanded Centre of São Paulo. According to the social status of the neighbourhood, the highway is conceived very differently. For the more affluent classes it is a dirty and noisy obstacle, while it offers huge potential to a less wealthy class to live in a central area of the city and to conquer an open space to spend their leisure time. Compared to other open spaces in São Paulo, the Minhocão is not only a public open space where numerous different people are, but it is even an open space where they in fact encounter and social classes are mixing up. Due to its rawness and openness, it accommodates space for everyday activities, which is extremely scarce in the dense central areas. The state of the highway in an in-between situation - between preservation and demolition, between its paradoxical functions as a park and its use as highway, the people as protagonists of the open space and the cars as protagonists, blurs a clear definition of the open space.

**Summary:** besides its presence as a monumental artefact of modernist planning and the military dictatorship, the Minhocão became a monument for the everyday practices of a contemporary and pluralistic urban society. Some related to leisure and mobility, some to art and culture, but always bringing up the topic of public open space and the appropriation of the city as idea. Due to new communication forms, informal happenings are highly professional promoted by Twitter Facebook and Google groups, which allows hundreds of people to gather within few hours only. But also its dimension of almost three kilometres and its specific spatial aspects create a unique open space, within its fixed frame. Different heights, varying atmospheres, the change of perspectives, facades facing each other, different ramps and gradients, flatness, defined borders and the proximity to the surrounding houses are essential features that influence its use and presence as open space strongly. Moreover, the rough and resilient character of the artefact triggers the possibility of indefinite and therefore creative uses. The elevated platform hosts flea markets, barbecue parties, weddings, children theatre, yoga classes, jogging or simply a street to take the dog for a walk.

## Case Study: Centro Cultural São Paulo

The project of the Centro Cultural São Paulo (CCSP) has been started in the beginning of the 1970ies. It is located on the edge of the main north-south corridor of São Paulo, formerly called Vergueiro Street, “which was for over a century and a half the first section of the main route that linked São Paulo to the seaboard” (Serapião, 2013). The slightly convex flexure of the surrounding streets created a 400 metres long but narrow plot in the form of a needle eye. Along the narrow side, in east-west direction, a height difference of 20 meters is dominating the terrain. The architects Eurico Prado Lopes and Luiz Telles designed a volume that merges the surrounding dynamic streetscapes within the building. The volume appears from the bird’s-eye view as a spaceship in the surrounding area of high-rises, relating to its huge, elongated dimension and flat form. Instead from a human perspective when passing by, it appears as unobtrusive and forms a part of the surrounding. After years of conflicts with the ruling regime and experimental construction techniques it finally opened in 1982. Until today it is used as the main public cultural centre in the city.

**Role and Meaning:** The overall objective of the new building was to bring the historically heterogeneous and spread population of São Paulo together and to create a central place, where everyone could have access to information and different forms of everyday culture. In the 70ies São Paulo had about 8.5 million inhabitants, most of them scattered at the peripheral areas. The concept of the cultural centre was based on the idea to create a concentration point for access to and exchange of information and to promote and intensify the encounter of its visitors. Calil, Municipal Secretary of Culture in São Paulo, writes: “The Centro Cultural is the most democratic Space in the city” (Serapião, 2013). Despite its moral or ideological reason of democracy, also the architecture of the building stresses this spirit. It addresses the open, undetermined and rough character of the surrounding infrastructure. With its five spacious entrances, inner paths, ramps and generous dimensions, it is permeable and provides a territory that seems to be free and unrestricted. “All

roads lead to the same place’, a metaphor that Telles enjoys to repeat. Theater, music and literature were censored, but nobody could criticize architecture, as it is difficult to understand the intentions of the design. We created a place for people to gather, drawn up in a democratic building, whilst under military dictatorship!” (Serapião, 2013). The Centre is nowadays still conceived as a symbol of the cultural opening after the military dictatorship and the libertarian spirit of the 1980ies in Brazil. As public open space and in respect to the dense and functional character of the area, its newest advertisement campaign is called: *Aqui você pode* (here you can do it).<sup>4</sup>

**Permanencies and Transformations:** “The CCSP occupies a piece of leftover land, leftover from the construction of the city.” (Serapião, 2013). Its terrain transformed between a former creek of the Itororó stream and a dirt road that connected the city to Santos. Because of its difficult natural topography and isolating constructions around it, this piece became a white spot, situated in a gap between the surrounding neighbourhoods and being on the margins of society. Within the context of intense transformation of the cities territory, this physical appearance of the plot remained permanent for almost one century. Only with the intervention of the built volume, which took the existing spatial complexity as basis, it was transformed into a magnetic point of interest and was conquered into a public open space. A solid plot and a radical transformation of its meaning and uses from margin to centre.

**Summary:** The open volume with its flowing spaces is conceptualizing the street as a place of encounter. It is aestheticizing its character consciously. “Architecture is seen as part of the spatial situation: the natural openness of appropriation of streets, which acts clear, straightforward and flexible, becomes apparent until the materiality. The form of the building allows spaces for dynamic movements, back and forth running, exploring observing, circulating and strolling.(...) Since there is no fixed program, or use allocations, a degree of structured improvisation results.

4 Recent advertisement campaign on the official homepage: [http://www.centrocultural.sp.gov.br/Acao\\_Educativa.html](http://www.centrocultural.sp.gov.br/Acao_Educativa.html), 25.04.2016

(Brinkmann, 2009)<sup>5</sup> This situation displays that monumentality of daily life can be even situational. Architecture is not only part of this situation, it creates the situation, where social encounter is encouraged. The idea of the street and the quality of street life were inherited as determining factors into the design. “Evoking Mário de Andrade, it is the place where *farniente* gains a cultural orientation.” (Serapião, 2013). “Instead of highlighting the buildings structural shape or giving the impression of monumentality, only the way and the appearance of the variant uses express the public nature of the building.” (Brinkmann, 2009)<sup>5</sup> Nowadays, it is possible to cross the building from its entrance in the south and walking it up all along, until the north end, as if it was a street.

## Case Study M: „Vão“ do MASP

The ‘Vão do MASP’ is a spatial void, docking at the, economically, most representative avenue of São Paulo, the Avenida Paulista. It is framed by the famous Museum of Modern Art São Paulo (MASP), built by Lina Bo Bardi in 1968. The history of the “vão” (pt.: void), formerly called Trianon

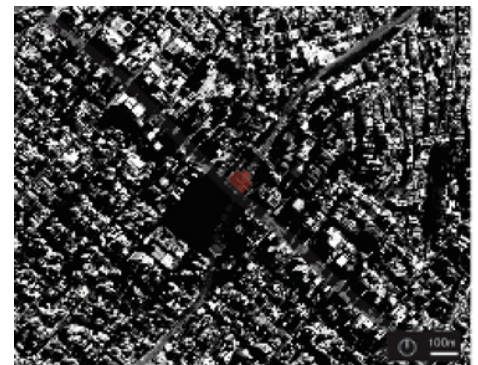


Figure 6: General view on the Museum of Modern Art São Paulo (MASP), located central at the axis of Avenida Paulista, Source: Google Maps

Terrace, is closely intertwined with the history of the avenue and the city at large. “The Trianon Terrace had been an important landmark to the affluent population of São Paulo until the 1950s.” (Lima, 2007) At this time it was an exclusive belvedere, accessible only by the privileged class, which was able to drive by car on the first paved street. With the subsequent development of the Avenida Paulista into the financial and economic linear centre

5 Translated by the author from German into English

of the city in the 50ies and 60ies, the plot of the terrace was protected by law to be kept free from buildings in order to not destruct the view into the surrounding valley and the north of the city. The terrace has been there since the beginning, but the 'Vão' could develop as such only when Lina Bo Bardi could convince the military regime in 1971 to build the museum exactly at this representative and central plot, and keeping nevertheless the view into the surrounding landscape free. It was meant as extensional space of the museum, where everybody could enter and anything could happen.

**Role and Meaning:** "The building occupies a prominent site at the centre of Avenida Paulista, directly across from Siqueira Campos Park and over Nove de Julho Tunnel - a key link in Maia's Plan of Avenues, connecting the historic downtown with southern areas of the city." (LIMA:33) The conquest of this plot, from being an exclusive terrace, then later an infrastructural linkage, into an open space for public and collective uses, represents until today a symbol of freedom and strong political reference in the city. "Lina Bo Bardi referred to the terrace as a space of freedom as reaction to the censorship imposed during the military regime. Nowadays the political manifestations that were strictly forbidden at the time of the museum's emergence are mainly happening exactly underneath and in front of the museum. 6 The built volume framed the view into the surrounding, gives shelter from sun and rain and triggers any uses. Moreover it concentrated and intensified the meaning of this architectural situation in the city. The 'vão' functions like a mediator between the city and the building. It eliminates any possible thresholds and serves nowadays even as relief in the highly verticalized and dense urban fabric of Avenida Paulista.

**Permanencies and Transformations:** while the phenomenon of the terrace, with its spatial dimensions and material appearance represents a stable spatial reference, the volume of the building had only minor effects on the transformation of the terrace in a physical sense. But the spatial situation as a whole changed significantly with the new roof.

6 See the manifestations for the football world cup (2013, 2014), the raise of the rates for public transport (2013, 2015), and the highly topical impeachment of the president Dilma Rousseff (2016)

Also the meaning and the role of the 'vão' changed over time, as it is closely bound to the political conditions and local society. It has undergone intense transformations: the formerly exclusive Trianon Terrace has, since the military dictatorship, become one of the key cultural venues and essential open space of collective reference in the city of São Paulo. Nowadays the surface is property of and therefore also controlled by the city administration.

**Summary:** As a monument of everyday life<sup>7</sup> it is concentrating multilayered aspects of streetscapes whose purpose is not primarily to connect, but to trigger every day human related and social practices. Lina Bo Bardi referred to the aspects of "monumentality" of the MASP as follows: "I was looking for simple architecture, one that could communicate that, which in the past was known as 'monumental', in the sense of the 'collective', of 'civic dignity'" (Caffey & Campagnol 2015). The position along the Avenue, the materiality of stone and concrete, the generic high rise towers around and the cities atmosphere of an innumerable amount of fluxes of cars, people, goods and money, serve as important everyday background to the success of the 'vão'. It is deeply rooted in this context and introduces a new open space to the people, by scaling it down and framing it with an extraordinary roof and powerful red pillars. Different from a traditional piazza, the 'Vão' is spatially defined by its roof, the bottom side of the museum and the red pillars. This creates a sheltered but at the same time open spatial situation, which is able to embrace and even trigger very different conceptions of urban life (from homeless people to art enthusiasts). It gives the chance to step back from the fluxes of Avenida Paulista and reflect and observe the city and its society being in a void without predestination. „It is at the same time the window on and the image of collective life in São Paulo“ (Lima, Pallamin, 2008)

7 See also description of MASP in: Zeuler R. M. de A. Lima, "Lina Bo Bardi and the Architecture of Everyday Culture," Places Journal, November 2013. Accessed 25 Apr 2016. <<https://placesjournal.org/article/lina-bo-bardi-and-the-architecture-of-everyday-culture/>>



Figure 7: General view on the Viaduto Alcantara Machado, an east west tangential of the city, Source: Google Maps

## Case Study: Academia de Boxe

The academia de Boxe is a public boxing club. It is located underneath the viaduct of the Avenida Alcantara Machado, which is on of the main infrastructural axis, connecting the east part of São Paulo to the central areas. The initiative of giving boxing classes to kids living on the street was started by Nilson Garrido and Cora Batista de Oliveira, two former professional boxers, already informally in 2004. To give the sport classes they occupied in the beginning a small space under a gallery in the Valley Anhangabaú, in the historic centre of the city. After they were forced by the government to leave this place, they established a new and bigger concept of a boxing school in 2005 underneath the 'Viaduto do Café'. This Viaduto do Café is once again product of the military era and part of a bigger infrastructural system, the Glicerio Viaduct. In 1969, the City of São Paulo inaugurated the first track of the Glicerio viaduct and has been fully built in 1972. Its length is 1000 metres and it has three arms. This massive viaduct is one of the heavy pieces of infrastructures that were built in the 70ies, during the military dictatorship. Those interventions caused, due to their massiveness and brutal implementations strong inconveniences to the public surroundings.

**Transformations and Permanencies:** Since then public administration lost control of the space underneath and they developed into left overs, where homeless, drug users and prostitution are preferably gathering. Due to the construction of the elevated infrastructure, the spaces underneath transformed economically and socially into weak and vulnerable non-places, that are usually overseen or neglected by



traditional planning tools. But this single resident – not the owner - of the place Garrido, “undermined the representation and the identity of a local non-place, which is historically undesirable”. (Guatelli, 2008)<sup>8</sup> He occupied the leftover and structured the bottom side with a gym, a boxing ring, a library and a kindergarten. A small cultural centre, which is public and free, but still not formalized. Garrido is aware of the spatial qualities that the situation offers<sup>9</sup>. The concrete roof serves as protection from intense sun and heavy rainfalls. Small boxes are placed to one side, to structure the huge space. To both ends he placed a boxing ring, to frame the space in between. A library, skate ramps, a living room, a car workshop and a planned movie corner are completing the program. To the north side the academy is completely open to the street. The south side is limited by a street ramp and the built boxes that shelter the living units of the two professionals. This intervention had an intense effect on the adjacent quarters. At first mostly homeless and drug addicted people were spending their time there, were reading books and training. Then the box fights became popular events to visit, even at night in the neighbourhood. Other people from a wider radius and different social backgrounds followed and a local community established. The occupation of the small space underneath the viaduct transformed its surrounding into a more safe and liveable place. In 2009, after four years of occupation of the Viaduto do Café as a cultural community centre, the public administration decided to clear up the space, because this initiative had no legal rights to occupy the space permanently. Another reason to move the boxing club further out

<sup>8</sup> Translated from Portuguese into English by the author; (orig. pt.: *Morador do lugar, por não ter lugar, Garrido, em parceria com Cora Batista Garrido, minam a “representação” [o que aquilo apenas “representa”, o ser fraco, o espectro, o fantasma] e “identidade original” de um local (não-lugar?) “historicamente” indesejável e condenável ao criarem e estruturarem um lugar esportivo e cultural hospitaleiro, um “centro de ressocialização”, composto por uma academia de ginástica, ringue de boxe, além de uma Biblioteca e escola infantil, ou seja, uma praça esportiva e cultural, pública e gratuita.*

<sup>9</sup> Interview from the author with Nelson Garrido in São Paulo, 08.03.2016

was, that the Viaduto do café is located in an area close to the central parts of the city which was an upsetting issue for people with different backgrounds and ideas, that felt uncomfortable to see poorness or heavy crime there. But this point of view neglected the positive effects that this cultural seed had. The public administration, that has difficulties to cope such unfavourable spaces, recognized the benefits, and offered Garrido to move, this time legally with a new defined law and contract, to another space. A bigger space underneath viaduct of the same tangential, further east and further afield, with the same social and economic problems. He and his partner founded an association and were later recognized as NGO.

**Role and Meaning:** This place underneath the Viaduto Alcantara Machado is the place where the Academia de Boxe is now located, it is an area of around 15000m<sup>2</sup>, and is formally rented by the public administration of São Paulo to the academy. Since the Academia de Boxe received attention from architectural and urban design schools worldwide, it developed as model for transformation of residual spaces, driven by initiative acting urban actors. In 2015 Smart Fit Network, a Brazilian fitness company donated US \$ 700,000 in new fitness equipment there. In 2015 about 7,800 people from different social classes did exercises for free on site (DEHÖ).

**Summary:** The spatial situation of Academia de Boxe triggers everyday culture by a small scale intervention. In the fixed and rough physical frame of infrastructure, the meaning and the use of the space turned from a neglected and underused social exclusive space into a space of human encounter and social inclusion. Its physical appearance as rough infrastructural open space strengthens the character of ambiguity and flexibility, and roots it deeply in the everyday flux of the area. It is concentration and attraction point for people of the adjacent quarters, for people of the whole city of São Paulo and even spawned an international scope of interest and a local interest for all viaducts in São Paulo. It is as well a successful case study of the cooperation of public administration and engagement of the individual with spaces in the city, that are

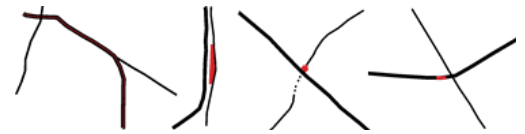


Figure 8: Abstracted figures of the case studies and their relation to infrastructure, Source: Hartmann, 2016

slipping through or are avoided by traditional urban planning approaches.

## Monuments and Everyday Life

Based on the analysis of the case studies in the light of monumentality and everyday life, the following aspects have been identified:

1. Monumentality is conceived as a physical representation of values of contemporary society, then as a formalistic and material phenomena. Monumentality is therefore not firstly bound to size, material, position in the city, but moreover to its meaning, use and performance.
2. Permanency: the construction of each of the cases is inspired by infrastructure, hence the transformation of form and materiality happened only marginally. Therefore ‘material permanency’ is seen as attribute, that triggers the potential of an immaterial transformation
3. Transformations can only happen to something permanent; therefore transformations and permanencies cannot be opposed features, but are a productive interplay. Moreover they are reciprocally intertwined descriptions of places in the city with a certain history.

Having outlined the main key points of the case studies, I come to the conclusion, that each of the situations is capable to represent collective social values and to trigger contested practices of a pluralistic society. Coming back to the opposition of Jacobs and Moses, it seems peculiar that in the case of São Paulo, specifically happens what Jacobs imagined as urbanity at sites, that appear as legacy of Robert Moses. Hence, the urban planning dispute of Moses and Jacobs is reflected in each of the explained case studies, as they are all dealing

with massive infrastructures and social interaction at the same time. The consequence of this – in São Paulo - fruitful opposition, cannot be a revaluation of the modern planning approaches. Nevertheless, it can be a hint to deepen the research about the contemporary planning approaches for this infrastructural legacy, towards possible urban potentials. In the São Paulo Cases it is remarkable, that this infrastructural by products are all deeply rooted in their context and are generating based on that, an essential power to actively contribute to and trigger social change in the city. Therefore they are called ‘Monuments of Everyday Life’.

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# Reverse-Gentrification in NYC

## Housing-Projects Re-habilitation after Jane Jacobs' Legacy

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**Abstract-**Housing deficit is causing pressures on any vacant urban lot in NYC, today. Economical shortage for housing-project's maintenance is a reality to face and solve. Mayor de Blasio in team with urban designers are inclined to re-integrate the built modern heritage, superimposing streets -paid by developers- to existing super blocks, weaving hi-rise housing with more affordable-housing units and mixed uses, guided on Jacob's lessons about great American cities. Ground-figure plans revealed a big portion of non-occupied land that could be negotiate to alleviate actual economic difficulties, and still have enough open spaces for the communities, including urban farms and local streets. To reverse-gentrification has come up as a heavy discussion, emerging different tensions, trends and interests. Even when a "legacy of empowerment for citizens to trust their common sense and become advocates for their place" was one Jacobs' victories, neighbors have reacted against locating new buildings in spare spaces, rejecting the effects of gentrification. The practice of urban diversity is still a challenge to be experimented, socially and physically in American cities. But, is it possible to reverse the negative effects of gentrification, this time?

**Key words** – built modern, re-integrate, Jane Jacobs's lessons, reverse- gentrification

### Introduction

For many, one of the clearest legacies of Jane Jacob's is her victory against urban renewal that implies "destruction of diversity", with the recognition of the street's value (as cited in Shane 2005, p.117), to keep urban life. Proof of that flavor is her neighborhood, Greenwich Village in Manhattan, saved from slum-clearance policy in the 50s in a legendary battle against Robert Moses' cause (Flint 2011 p.61-79). The aim of this paper is to review Jane Jacobs' legacy in regards to qualifying street's life with attributes on its physical aspects including its urban profile and uses, but also in social aspects like diversity, ethnicity and complexity (Shane 2005), in today's NYC. The relevance of her lesson's, will be confronted with the

infill development program for the next ten years, proposed by Mayor de Blasio and his team, for the City of New York.

The opportunity of physical integration through weaving seamlessly different urban fabrics will be viewed through a recent study case of a housing-project at Brownsville, Brooklyn, New York. Reflections on community's points of view, collected in different scenarios will be included from conferences -with professionals, community leaders, board representatives, local authorities, and NGO's representatives-, academic discussions, and walking tours with community members of affected areas.

The infill development program promotes the discussion and questions about physical and social

integration versus gentrification effects held down by sustainability issues today. The paper will walk from framing the problem in its time line until examine the opportunity to apply Jane Jacobs' principles about good cities, in one project -a Moses' conquests-, and will confront it to different approaches that today ironically are trying to arrange a marriage between both urban models, Moses's and Jacobs's.

### How did we get here?

### From precedents and today

The application of slum-clearance from 1949 on -commissioned to Robert Moses-,



Figure 1: Jane Jacobs' home at 555 Hudson Street, Greenwich Village, New York, with commercial frontage and her home entrance directly to the street. Source: Flint, A. 2009 (p. 79)

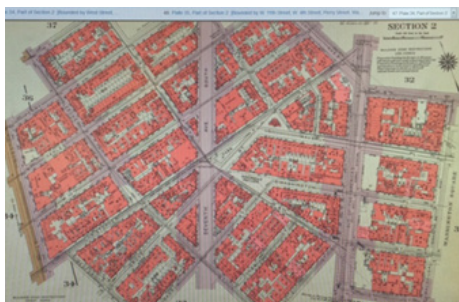


Figure 2: 555 Hudson Street, today. Store front faces the street and side walk, bike lane and trees are recent acquisitions. Source: mip



Figure 3: The intricate grid of Greenwich Village, with small-scale streets diversity. Plane 35, part of section 2, NYC. Source: Avery Library, Columbia University.

produced a radical urban change in NYC urban profile (Abercrombie 1935). Gentrification took place with the evictions of existing dwellers out of their tenements, and a new urban landscape with isolated tall buildings, braking the street wall's continuity, casting the floors with Jane Jacobs thesis about "eyes on the street", one of the values highlighted and understood by many New Yorkers, until today (Jacobs 1989, p.35).

The city started having a double reading. One, with small blocks, low street's sections with mixed uses and continuous built walls. Another, with superblocs and tall towers in the middle of the green. A general perception of the public-housing model as a big failure of modernity, spread around with the certainty of having segregated people of low income into ugly buildings, with separate uses and establishing a dependency on Federal funds for its maintenance (Savitch-Lew 2016).

Today, housing deficit is causing pressures on any vacant urban lot in the City. Economical shortage for housing projects' maintenance is a consequence of that modern vision. Mayor de Blasio promised raising the number of Affordable-Housing with new strategies, incorporating the private sector for the investments on NYCHA lands or to be part of the RAD program which converts public housing to Project Section 8 developments, which leverage private investment (Savitch-Lew 2016). The question remains, who has the profile of Affordable-Housing?

One of this strategies addresses the possibility through urban design to recover the street grid with the inclusion of new uses including the construction of Affordable- Housing to recover funds and brake the dependency on Federal funds. Still the tensions persist on communities that would reject other groups to move into "their neighborhood" and planners are running out of proposals. The problem, seems to be deeper than just architecture, and to have more to do with social marginalization of residents that fight against gentrification without considering their own processes lived, but race and class resentment.

## Learning from Jane

Much has been question and said about the secrets of great cities, in her own words Jane Jacobs (1961) points out that:

Great cities are not like towns, only larger. They area not like suburbs, only denser. They differ from towns and suburbs in basic ways, and one of these cities are, by definition, full of strangers (p.31,35)

About Security: Jane Jacobs seduced everybody with the image of the small village, previous demarcation between what is public and private. "There must be eyes upon the street" (Jacobs 1961, p.35) on top of whatever is occurring there, to keep urban life and safety. This, translated into physical aspects would mean lots of doors and windows in urban continuous walls. But, is the compact city dense enough with low height buildings -as they were in Greenwich Village in Jacobs's time- to absorb the housing needs today? (see Figure 2: Still, tips of small blocks with unpredictable grid patterns, like the ones on figure 3 are valid. Today, we can assure short street sections, certainly help street life and security perception. But, would their scale assure social harmony?

About Diversity: Mixed uses in small-scale streets with shops and different uses would allow to have activity most hours of the day, for different publics, under many eyes watching (Jacobs 1961, p.40). Also, diversity of people is something wanted and natural to happen in cities, and is to be seen as a virtue (Jacobs p.31, 35). After applying the modern zoning model for decades, mixing dwellers with different incomes has been discovered theoretically as one of the keys to make affordable maintenance of places, also a way of erasing social marginalization. Inclusion of the private sector -those who can pay for the land and also build- has become a strategy by Mayor de Blasio to apply from top-down, but has generated a lot of polemics bottom-up. Even when the proposal solves immediate economical urges, participation of neighbors, in community boards for negotiation, still remains as one of the most difficult and delicate tasks to solve, since personal interests are confronted to larger scale needs and political interests. Even when Jacobs never talked about housing prices, affordable-housing and low commercial rents are crucial to keeping the kind of people and stores she liked in her neighborhood. Though, she advocated a mix of new and old buildings that would keep rents low, maintenance of old downtowns would be difficult to afford (Renn 2012). So diversity of uses and incomes, diversity

of actors in the decision making would allow by principle, to get to healthier responses. Nevertheless, reality imposes a strategic amount of negotiation.

**About Ethnicity:** One of the highlights of New York City is to be a place of encounters, a melting pot or a collage city, represented in a diversity of races and nationalities living in one place, reflecting the condition of being a country of immigrants. This topic so inspiring for many, has been a problem still unresolved when it comes to racial tensions related to neighborhoods. Segregation and discrimination can be perceived in many urban areas as a result of zoning.

For planners today, it has been very difficult to respond to communities with specific requests of excluding racial groups from their environment in new zoning proposals. To promote insertions of new Affordable-Housing projects with diverse dwellers to brake social and racial boundaries has been detected as a crucial difficulty (Been 2016). Even when Jane Jacobs left some lessons written for good as "... legacy of empowerment for citizens to trust their common sense and become advocates for their place" (Goldsmith 2010), today's social tensions are not taking the best, but also their fears into consideration. Urban proposals coming from top-down, fight against a deep disbelief in the capacity of public policy and spaces designed for promoting integration -specially when communities have suffered for years being stigmatized- and have taken decades for them to build again a sense of community, in hostile environments.

The truth is Jacobs didn't believe in Government action, to save authentic places. To the end of her life she put no faith in zoning or any other plan that was imposed from outside a neighborhood. Ironically, today experts and politicians are taking her words as design principles, but existing communities are showing difficulties in favoring a more diverse, mixed income class types of neighborhoods, and rather reinforce their confined identity.

**About complexity:** The city allows physical perceptions of spaces and weaves lots of relationships between dwellers in its scenarios. This places could allow people to feel secure, vulnerable, comfortable, surprise or enchanted. Technical points of views are contrary sometimes to those perceptions that communities came up with. Design

becomes a tool of negotiation, between both social aims and physical conditions. Interests and power used to give shape to the city, participation of the communities has open the possibility of reshaping it. The new paradigm looks to favor both ends.

## **Beyond the towers.**

### **Brownsville, Brooklyn, NY: Alexander Gorlin, architects, NYC**

Community struggles over housing. Housing speculation is central for capital accumulation with a lot of terrible social consequences: housing privatization, spiraling houses prices, mortgage debt, gentrification, eviction, displacement homelessness and overcrowding (Gray, Glyn 2016). The program of filling up any vacant lot, suggested by the Mayor of the City, is a response to a subprime crisis. There is an old debt with a large group of citizens that need affordable-housing of all levels. For that purpose and to help the economical shortage for maintenance of the existing housing-projects, de Blasio's 5-Borough, 10-year Housing-Plan addresses both needs. Though it has to pass, through the sieve of classifying the land and determine its present and future use, prior to preserve the towers of existing Housing-Projects and the community approval.

Choices include: to develop lands of existing urban farms -which are used and fiercely defended by communities-, to build in those spare green spaces in the middle of housing-projects developments owned by NYCHA -which neighbors would like to take part on their future decisions-, or invest in private lands -which are the fewest-. Taking a look to a figure-ground plan of housing-projects, the built shows approximately 30% occupied of the superblock's lot-, and most importantly for the case, the benefits of the selling could be re-invested in expenses and maintenance of the area.

Stakeholders have different readings of the same situation. 1. The neighbors, would like to preserve their achievements as a community, cannot afford the maintenance required and feel threatened by the effects of new neighbors with higher incomes (gentrification) 2. New residents,

are growing in quantity and are willing to have well located homes, and pay for them. 3. Government, represented by Mayor de Blasio wants to give real answers to those in need of affordable-housing, through strategic associations with privates, also to cover maintenance expenses of the existing Housing-Projects. 4 Private sector, is willing to have land where to invest, get profit and also to give jobs, making the economy grow and provide housing for those who can pay for them.

Analyzing Brownsville's Master Plan at Brooklyn, NYC, designed by Alexander Gorlin, urban designer, is easy to understand that the proposal explores physical improvements with the aim of transforming the social dynamics of the neighborhood -product of modern zoning-. Existing tall slabs or "x" shape towers freely positioned in the landscape (Hall 1988), as Figure 4 shows, allows new construction in between them, framing the traces of traditional blocks. The proposal, tries to supplement with new retail strips walls, fill up the blanks in between existing towers with new residential housing and mixed uses in lower levels, aligned with new local streets, introducing another density and street life to marginalized areas.

In figure 5, is possible to see the sense of scale of new streets proposed, with mixed functions in lower levels that assure vitality and bring more eyes to the streets for different purposes (Jacobs 1961, 35). The proposal would allow to reinterpret open spaces, including urban agriculture, community gardens, parks for children and elderly but also room for solar and wind farms (Gorlin 2016).

The result implies to insert new urban profiles trying to erase boundaries between different building typologies, introducing another group of neighbors with a different range of incomes, to create a social diversity, which certainly interprets Jane Jacobs's lessons on diversity (Jacobs 1961, p.143-51) but threatens neighbors. In words of Gwendolyn Wright, an architecture, history and art history professor at Columbia "How can we use everything from agriculture to street systems to connect the public housing to the surroundings?"

Ultimately, public housing is as much a matter of site plans than just facades..." Still, to calm down existing fears, smart negotiations might necessary come up with benefits for both ends, existing and new dwellers. A strategic partnership



Figure 4: Infill general plan view. Proposal of new affordable-housing(violet) in existing Housing-Project (red) in Brownsville, Brooklyn New York, designed by Alexander Gorlin Office. Commercial areas are proposed (yellow) aligned with new streets. Superblocks can be as big as 4 standard NYC blocks. Source:gorlinarchitects.com



Figure 5: The buildings keep the principles of high density with low height, with continuous walls and different urban textures and diverse rhythms of voids in the facades. Source: gorlinarchitects.com



Figure 6: Storytelling through rap by one representative of Picture the Homeless, in the 'Jane's walk' at East Harlem, May 7, 2016. Their struggling for a house not for a shelter... Source: mip

between public and private with the community's approval, may have to re-invent a new urban dynamic.

## To be or not to be.

## Gentrification versus Reverse- Gentrification, in NYC

### On Gentrification

Gentrification is a recent term given to those effects happened as a result of displacing from their original location a certain population identified with a neighborhood. Jane Jacobs never fully addressed the word: gentrification. Instead she referred to urban "over success" (Flint 2011, p.190). Time proved her aims for "un-slumming" deteriorated areas in large scales, are very difficult to achieve. For her to have affordable-housing in each neighborhood was a way of fighting back Moses' towers-in-the-park redevelopments -that caused the urban blight of tenements owned mainly by poor people-. Ironically small neighborhoods became with time, the most expensive places to live that certainly contradict her initial goal of urban vitality based on community development approach (Flint 2009, p.109).

Gentrification came most of the times from local residents looking for better prices activating a saga that repeats again and again. First, will come artist seeking large and cheap spaces for ateliers, then designers, followed by young professionals, maybe celebrities, and developers that would transformed them into charming areas and "in" enough, to rise the prices and push out the local dwellers. Those displaced according to a department of Housing and Urban Development study, were primarily the elderly, the minorities, the renters, and the working class (Hall 1988, p. 264).

Jacobs was convinced the city was the best possible place for people to live, and in many ways gentrification proved her right (Flint 200, p.191). Maybe, "inclusionary zoning" became the reaction against rapidly rising real state values, a tool for local governments to ask having a percentage of new affordable-housing in each new development and reduce the effects

of gentrification. But, is it possible to have gentrification with positive repercussions to all stakeholders?

### On Reverse-Gentrification

If gentrification implies eviction and displacement towards the margins, to reverse that action implies to re-locate or insert people evicted into central areas, again. One of the direct consequences of housing-projects as part of the slum blight program (during the 50s), was the social marginalization of their inhabitants, and we could agree that also physically the towers became a stigma, in the urban fabric of the city.

For the community, it took some time to identify themselves with a new style of life, including a dependency on Federal funds for maintenance. But those funds stopped existing during the 80s, and deterioration started growing up with no return as Olatoye, pointed out at 'The next 100 years of Affordable Housing' in a public panel discussion at Cooper Union (2016).

Infilling between the towers with new housing developments, touches lots of sensibilities difficult to handle, but by principle it should be an action of reversing gentrification effects. Instead of expelling people to marginal areas, it would add more into the same place. So, this infill could be considered in a certain way a reverse-gentrification. This action opens up opportunities from Jane Jacobs's glasses, of including diversity into homogeneous neighborhoods, but confronts neighbors with deep real threats. There is a clear claim on the residents of housing-projects not to be left aside, a resistance to be evicted again. There is a need to change the status quo from their point of view. Displacing working class people, restructuring class identity and participating in consumer citizenship, including those who were once marginalized are part of the tasks to deal with.

On the other hand, existing lots of land are waiting since long time ago to be developed parallel to a waiting list of people looking for places to live. Real State is making pressure to get lots to be develop and get some profit out of them. From the Local Government perspective, the needed group of affordable-housing is larger than just one sector of the citizens.

But, if affordable-housing is such a priority in this days and political support is also needed, how come it hasn't happened the re direction of funds to that specific purpose? From the Mayors perspective, to include the private sector into public housing developments will benefit both, but still neighbors of lower income levels are feeling out of the game. From Jane Jacob's point of view, the opportunity of re-qualifying the city by incorporating mixed uses and diversity, is getting in the complexity with the components of real life and great cities.

In order to reverse-gentrification in a positive way, the question remains for the existing neighbors. Should the infill plan include just people with the same income level or race of the existing housing-projects to empower a social group? Or would it be socially healthier and better for the economy of the site, to mix different levels of income?

Would reinforcing in number the same group of population in a neighborhood create social cloisters, isolation and social stigmas?

Is it possible to think of gentrification in a positive way, with benefits for the most vulnerable?

If Affordable-Housing means bringing new population with new incomes rate, could that be consider reverse-gentrification?

Is it possible to have a relation of 'you-win I-win' in the case of reverse-gentrification?

## Other voices East Harlem housing not warehousing

One of the most interesting exercises has been to try to see and solve problems through Jane Jacobs's glasses, but also experiencing someone else's perception. One of the recent walking tours done in NYC, celebrating 100 years of Jane Jacobs's born day, included a tour with the homeless at East Harlem in NYC, called: "Picture the Homeless. Housing not Warehousing".

Connection with Jane Jacobs's principles were the motivation in a context full of needs and opinions. From their point of view several things were clear. They perceive the existing community as socially and affectively bind under similar life conditions. Also, they agree there is a great need of Affordable-Housing for the poor and homeless people, that should be allocated near the Housing

-Projects surroundings.

In the neighborhood, some buildings have been demolished with the promise of being developed for Affordable-Housing, without success in decades. Other lots, have been developed for luxury apartments with absolute exclusion of Affordable-Housing units and keeping off the community environment. No participation on decision making or benefits from the new residents to the closest context has been registered.

The deadline of rent-control policies has arrived for many dwellers to its end, without hope of being renovated. Gentrification, is pushing existing residents out of their neighborhoods once again. Tension between existing and new dwellers is growing with real state actions that ignore community's worries.

Existing neighbors are fighting to find pathways to get housing for the extremely low income households and not to speculators. Their thesis, emphasizes the health that represents for poor people having a stable house where to remain. Also they feel out of the Mayor's plan, since their earnings are lower from what was established for the Affordable-Housing Plan. It represents up to a 30% of New Yorkers out of the list of his Mandatory Inclusionary Housing Plan. (Picturethhomeless, 2016)

## Conclusions

The opportunity of applying Jane Jacobs's lessons has arrived in Mayor de Blasio's urban proposal for NYC. Collaboration with private sector, and the integration with the context beyond the towers, are the key problems of this Infill Affordable-Housing Plan including the urban designers' perspective participation with proposals (Gorlin 2016). For many eyes, this public-private partnership is considered too neoliberal oriented. Public-private participatory proposals will also mean a recognition of a third party, in other words: the community. Participation, is essential of today's political game. But, what happens when people fear the solutions proposed by local authorities?

There is a resistance of dwellers against new habitants in housing-projects surroundings. Existing neighbors think the plan should attend the poorest on the first place, without strangers in "their" area. The practice of urban diversity is still a challenge to be experimented, socially and physically, in American cities.

For local Government, the idea is to insert affordable-housing-for those groups that could pay-, so they could help financing the shortage for the maintenance of public housing, as a strategic alliance interpreted as sustainable. It is difficult to understand the benefits of diversity, without feeling harmed by the negatives effects of gentrification. If the infill proposals become true and diversity becomes a reality to be experimented -with the insertion of housing-projects, reversing gentrification- then, the urban realm would become the scenario to brake tensions or reinforce them. Designing urban open spaces and public services, could become an opportunity to address a new repertoire of places for new social dynamics (Herreros 2004). Social accompaniment of this process might be needed extensively.

Design could recuperate the grid pattern, and a new sense of scale oriented to street life, with the insertion of buildings of shorter height and mixed uses. But, infill with Affordable-Housing for the extremely low income households seems to be almost impossible without external financial support. To count just with rents from commercial strips proposed, will hardly cover maintenance costs. To compensate inequities, the Mandatory Inclusionary Housing Plan is reinterpreting the concept of mixing and diversity, but still leaves an important percentage of people out of the list, since there is a minimum income required to apply for them.

Social diversity is an option to get sustainability and a design challenge. Economical differences though, will probably bring gentrification. Planning mechanism of Inclusionary-Housing zoning might be considered as a tool to be adjusted for the case. Planners visions pendulate from being paternalistic if not authoritarian. Complexity, is part of urban qualities of the city (Jacobs 1962, p.17-19), as much as its capacity of transformation.

Communities, still have questions that remains unanswered about funds for Affordable-Housing programs, especially for the lowest income level, suggesting either participating directly in the process of managing Housing-Cooperatives or lead back shelter's funds (counted in billions of dollars), into building solutions for them. Different associations (a community Land trust +Mutual Housing Association) are working on promising alternatives for TIL (Tenant Interim Lease Program)



hoping to be heard. Hopefully communities and local authorities will find an agreement. Creativity and negotiation will have a unique opportunity to upgrade the city and its urban landscape inspired in Jane Jacobs legacy.

## Recommendations/

### Further research

There is a tendency on communities to reject changes, especially new ideas. The understanding of diversity as one possibility with positive aspects as social inclusion and economical sustainability, has to be elaborated with all stakeholders with the help of public discussions (including social workers, designers and politicians, among others). The understanding of the principle of making a better living for dwellers in general and specially for the most vulnerable, aligns with Jane Jacobs's perspective of a better city, considering its complexity and diversity as one of the main attractions to live in cities. This has to be discuss over and over again, to favor the opportunity of a better urban scenario for all citizens.

There is a tendency to discriminate upon races and also upon economical differences, when looking for causes on gentrification. Diversity, promotes living mixed. Urban open spaces and public services play an important role for integration of different people, and helps exchanges in between non homogeneous population, which is the case today in the cities. Diversity has to be elaborated as a virtue and not as a defect by all stakeholders.

This paper will be part of a larger research entitled: "The city and the legacy of Orphan Groups", which deals with new urban phenomena including slums, squats and reverse-gentrification in Caracas and in New York. The role of public spaces reveals a DNA of each city, based on the body of the built and its urban open space system. Principles of Jane Jacobs, are still valid in both context, in reference to street value, its fragility and preservation boundaries; urban quality life, and in the making of better scenario for living in urban centers. Reflections on gentrification and how to reverse the negatives effects once again revise the validity of Jane Jacobs's lessons upon diversity, ethnicity and complexity in the city, and the challenge of confronting communities' disbelieves.

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# Mémoire en route: Jerusalem's Route No. 1, a study in motion

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**Abstract**-Jerusalem's Route 1 has long been viewed as a seam line. The road was built on the remnants of the ceasefire line between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and The State of Israel and constitutes the most graphic spatial divide between the city's East and West adjacent to the old city walls. Beyond its role as a mechanism or infrastructure connecting places, Route 1 serves as an independent chronotope epitomizing the fixity of the liminal. Its expanse embodies the "border condition," which recreates, reinforces, and reinterprets the past and present by presenting a concrete reality with its own ambience and atmospherics. While roads, especially thoroughfares are not usually seen as classic public spaces such as public squares, neighborhood streets and parks, I will argue that we can rethink and learn how to view essential infrastructure as a catalyst for improved urbanism.

**Key words** -review, format, academic writing, Jane Jacobs, referencing

## Introduction

Jerusalem's Route no.1 has long been viewed as a seam. Partially built on the remnants of the ceasefire line between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel, this roadway constitutes one of the most striking spatial demarcation lines between East and West Jerusalem. Apart from its functional role as a municipal infrastructure component facilitating movement between places, Route no.1 serves as a chronotope of the liminal; a concrete, spatial manifestation of a "border condition" that recreates, reinforces and reinterprets the past and the present according to the particular ambience and predilections of different, competing historical memories and geopolitical orientations.

Applying an urban temporalspatial analysis of existence in movement, this paper will recast Route 1 as a transhistorical space containing the everyday consciousness of Jerusalem and offering a unique forum for the geospatial and chronospatial understandings of the city's residents and visitors. Long viewed sectionally as a divisive space towards which both East and West

Jerusalem turn their backs, I would like to argue that this road serves as a dynamic timespace continuum, encompassing a unique ambience in which conventional binary divisions seem to dissolve in a subtle way for the automobile driver, bus rider, or light rail passenger who actually inhabit the space.

Although roads, and especially thoroughfares, are not usually viewed as urban spaces informed by collective memory (as are public squares or neighborhood streets and parks) I contend that by viewing certain essential urban infrastructures from an experiential perspective, one can infuse them with significance and meaning beyond their functionality, not unlike the memory of things past. And thus mundane urbanism can become imbued with "the memory of the present."

I will try and understand what kind of qualities Jane Jacobs might have found in this charged urban space. Many writers such as Walter Benjamin and Johani Pallasmaa have tried to describe or prescribe the experience of using space, but the experience of the traveler seemed to be less on their radar. The pedestrian is the focal point of much of the urban writing, I wish to utilize this body of

knowledge in order to apply it to an artery which is more travelled than walked on.

As an artery within a city that for many is both destination and destiny, Route no.1 can serve as a case study in how one can reimagine and recast the kinetic, agonistic and creative forces in the modern Middle East in a more positive light.

The paper will discuss the paradox of Jerusalem as a topic of urban research. It will continue to analyze the built environment as a reflection of the human condition. Following that it will try and look at route 60 which road no. is part of in context. Then I will divided the road into 3 parts and analyze each part as a separate experience, while comparing it to the other two. Following that I will compare this route to similar thoroughfares in the city. I will then discuss the idea of the Autotopia and the ecology of driving as an experience. Finally I conclude and proscribe what are the possible qualities that one can learn from this route for the better and the worse.

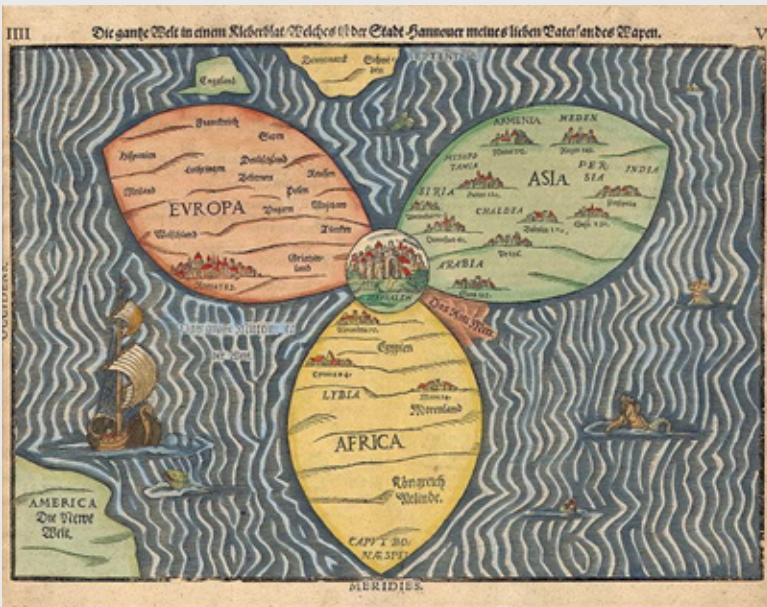


Figure 1: The Bunting Clover Leaf Map, also known as The World in a Cloverleaf, (German title: "Die ganze Welt in einem Kleberblatt/Welches ist der Stadt Hannover meines lieben Vaterlandes Wapen") is an historic mappa mundi drawn by the German Protestant pastor, theologian, and cartographer Heinrich Bunting. The map was published in his book *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (Travel through Holy Scripture) in 1581. Source: Wikipedia. Available at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B%C3%BCnting\\_Clover\\_Leaf\\_Map](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B%C3%BCnting_Clover_Leaf_Map)

## The paradox of Jerusalem

Jerusalem is laden with meaning for its inhabitants, for the peoples of the Middle East and for people throughout the world. Jerusalem is a myth, an abstraction, a symbol. At the same time it is an actual city, an urban municipality in the real world. The Jerusalem "on high" ("the Heavenly" Jerusalem) is beyond time and space, timeless and idealized; the Jerusalem "below" -- "the Earthly", temporal, Jerusalem -- is in the present; it is confined neither to the past nor to the future. It is in the present tense and, as such, incomplete, imperfect, part of the unfinished world of "becoming." In contrast to its symbolic counterpart, it is a complex reality; it encompasses great movements, minor occurrences, trivial pastimes, temporary achievements and limited

identities. These concepts may seem abstract and artificial to those who are unfamiliar with or do not personally share in these conflicting perspectives, but they are all-too-real and compelling to hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of this city, not to mention millions of people throughout the world.

One of Jane Jacobs' revolutions was the ability to emphasize the experiential and "at eye level" analysis of the urban form. This perspective was also a product of movements such as the Annals School of historical research and reflects a social scientific outlook. This is a very American way of observation and experience based analysis. This form of study is based on The White Horse Tavern, the shop keeper and the individual who creates their own reality. These are all seen as

engines of better urbanism. These perspectives are different than the phenomenological approaches we encounter with Christian Norberg-Schultz and later practitioners such as Daniel Libeskind which utilized philosophy, principally Martin Heidegger's hermeneutic ontology, as tools by which to study architecture as it appears in experience. This movement usually pertains to describe the experience of space. In reality it takes its starting point in theory, which is decidedly a "continental" way for looking at the world. In a sense the narrowly political approaches for the analysis of this urban form as presented by researchers such as Wendy Pullan, Philipp Misselwitz, Rami Nasrallah & Haim Yacobi are less useful for our research because I believe they obfuscate the urban reality on the ground rather than clarify it. Theirs is a top down approach which looks at the city as historical map, such as the Bunting Clover Leaf map (figure 1). This approach is conceptually accurate, but it gives you little information about what is the urban reality on the ground.

Although on one level, daily life in Jerusalem is similar to that of any other urban environment - people go to work, children go to school, municipal workers collect garbage, fix roads, etc., - yet, on another level, the city wrestles daily with the unique tension between its myth and its reality.

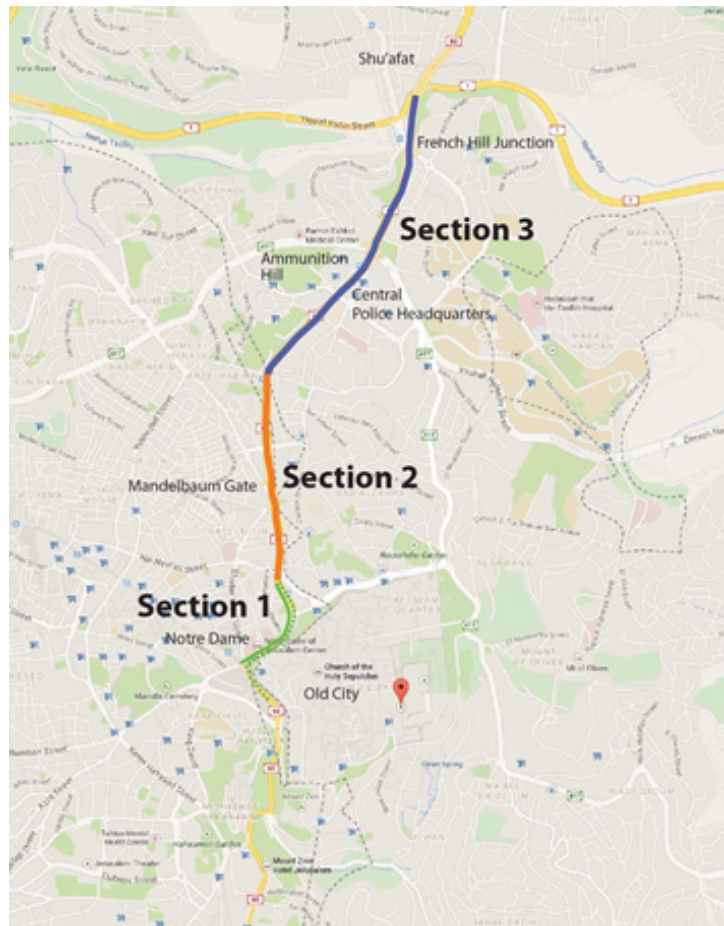
## The built environment as a reflection of the human condition - living the seam

Route no.1, which stretches from the Old City to the French Hill junction, is seen by many as a "seam" area demarcating two distinct parts of the city. Although most of it does not exactly follow the 1948 ceasefire line between Israel and Jordan, many people equate it with this ceasefire line. One could say that this roadway is a shared urban space defined by various modes of consciousness. Jerusalem itself, as a physical and conceptual space, is -- like its reputed "seam" -- a symbolically charged presence in the daily lives of its various populations.

In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", (Benjamin, 1969) referred to "architecture" as

being experienced in a “state of distraction.” (1969, p. 18). In this sense, then, a road can be looked upon as an architectural product and not only as a connecting stem. Programmatically, the space referred to as Route no.1 is a road, an urban structure used by people to traverse parts of the city by car, bus, and light rail or on foot -- by walking, running or casually meandering. Roads and open urban spaces are often regarded as non-spaces, as amorphous areas that precede or remain after the construction of a built environment. Much of the protests waged by Jane Jacobs both in NYC and in Toronto were focused on opposition to “non-urban” roads. Such as her successful campaign against the Spadina expressway in Toronto. Her struggles had a positive impact on the form and character of both cities. That being said, I maintain that large roads are a unique architectural type of product. Like the Foucauldian ship, a road is “a piece of floating space, a placeless space” (Foucault, 1997) which operates between different ports, cultures and religions, all seemingly stable points that are never really stable and fixed. It would be a mistake to regard the sea as a place and to dismiss the ship as a mere vehicle, a mere instrument. Not all roads can be local and not every corner can have a White Horse Tavern.

In Arendtian terminology, public space is essentially where human differences are expressed and revealed. While speech is generally the primary mode of communication - sitting, staring and invariably acknowledging the distinctions between us and others are no less valid ways to establish “public spaces.” (Baird, 1995, pp. 305-307). Sitting in a car or in a bus may seem no different than sitting in the privacy of one’s home. But the presence and awareness of other people makes the former spaces public. While there is little oral discourse between people in different cars or buses, there is an experiential awareness of the presence of others. This creates what Christian Norberg-Schulz’s termed *genus loci*, a “place” formed by the potential revelation of the distinct meaning a space can have for each and every user of this road.



## Staring at the Road, Staring at the Sand - Route no. 60

One can and should relate to Route no.1 as part of a larger network. Its use has significance and impact regionally as well as locally. Route no.1 is a North-South route in an area where East and West are culturally and historically loaded terms. In this framework, North and South are directional denotations with little or no idealized, socio-political connotations.

Historical cities often suffer from inefficiency. Jerusalem is no exception in having a long tradition of haphazard or difficult planning because of the large amount of historical, political, cultural, ethnic and religious constraints. While many cities have to contend with such factors, in Jerusalem these tend to evoke strong feelings and inordinate tension. (Nitzan-Shiftan, 2011, pp. 915-940)1.

1 This is an in depth review of the historical process of modern planning in Jerusalem, especially in the area of Mamilla, which is insightful for our discussion since it reflects the modernist and post-modernist approaches in the planning of this access route between East and

West Jerusalem. Route no.1 is part of route 60, which connects the cities of Ramallah and Hebron and more correctly Nazareth and Beersheba. This road largely follows the watershed line. Thus, rain that falls to the east of it, drains for the most part towards the Dead Sea, and rainfall to the west drains towards the Mediterranean Sea. While not constructed historically as one contiguous unit, it was consolidated, to a certain extent, by the Jordanians on what was then Jordanian territory. The route, however, has more ancient roots and, at various points, one finds evidence of its correlation with Roman ways and possibly even older roads.

In the 20th century the route had acted as part of the border between east and west Jerusalem, after the Royal Jordanian Legion conquered the eastern part of the city in 1948. The graphic affinity between routes and borders has made the road a central image and symbol for many who research about East vs. West Jerusalem, academics, politicians and the populace in general. When one is asked where the border between east and west Jerusalem is situated, this easily identified road is usually what is thought about, although only a

West Jerusalem.

small part of the road was the actual border. (Pullan et al., 2007, pp. 176-198)<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, I claim the road has a specific ‘presence’ and meaning over and above its East-West symbolic existence.

With the exception of a cul-de-sac all roads tend to connect to others and create a network, in which every element enables the existence and bolster the other. The part of the road I have decided to investigate runs approximately from the New Gate of the Old city (both above and below ground) northward all the way to the bridge which goes above the junction which accesses the French Hill neighborhood. At this point the road divides into at least five directions, a divergence which signals the other end of my area of focus.

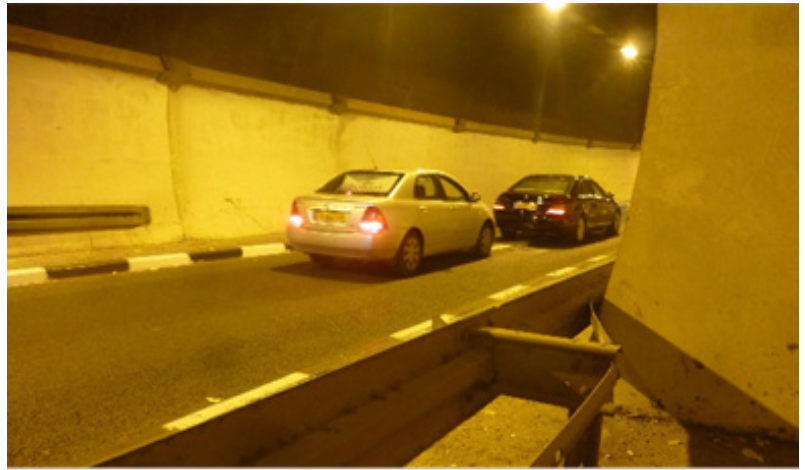
I have decided to divide this stretch of road into three parts or topos.<sup>3</sup> The first stretch runs in two parallel parts (above and below the ground level) and ends in the area in front of the Damascus gate. The second runs northward till the area of the “Museum on the Seam” (also known as the Mandelbaum gate). And the third part runs from that point till a few hundred meters before the bridge which crosses French Hill junction.

## Part I - sightseeing vs. getting there fast

The first part of this route is divided into a subterranean tunnel which starts around the area Jaffa gate and runs for about 700 meters till the area to the west of Damascus gate. This part of the road is a single lane road, with no views, no real pedestrian access and for the most part holds only a utilitarian vehicular reasoning. Its purpose is to get the drivers to bypass the more scenic junction above and to enable a lower volume of traffic for

<sup>2</sup> The interpretation presented in their article is typical of the top down approach which ignores the actual day to day use of this route. Analyzing this route through an east-west perspective is interesting politically and historically, but the north-south axis is and has always been much more substantial for the residents of the city. I believe that many of the problems in their article could have been avoided by simply walking along the route.

<sup>3</sup> I use this term in line with its initial Aristotelian understanding.



Entrance to Subterranean Traffic Tunnel under Tsahal Junction

those approaching the old city from the West. This tunnel was included in the 1968 master plan of the city and an integral part of route no. 1. The plan was meant to improve and connect various parts of the city and to allow a north-south fast route which traversed the city. The tunnel serves a double purpose, the first and foremost purpose being efficiency, bypassing the junction above and thus allowing for less traffic adjacent to the old city walls. The second is allowing direct open views from Jaffa road towards the old city walls and the “Tower of David”. (Ashbee n.d., 1925)<sup>4</sup>

The experience of this tunnel is slightly surreal, one is disconnected from the surrounding city and you suddenly have a purely vehicular autonomous experience. With only the cars in front of you and those coming towards you giving you a fleeting but real sights of human existence. The tunnel is not very wide and when there are traffic jams one does get a slight feeling of claustrophobia. A sort of autotopian experience, one might say, where one is cut off from the world - an experience a child hiding under a blanket might have.

Above ground at the junction known today as Tsahal Junction (I.D.F. Junction), the road has two lanes one in each direction. Stretching approximately 400 meters from the New Gate towards the north the road then veers to the North West where it meets another other lane. This part of the road

<sup>4</sup> These ideas of need for perspectival views of the old city walls as visual artifact can be found in planning principles of the British mandate Jerusalem, Similar principles can be found in the writing of the likes of Camillio Sitte in City Planning According to Artistic Principles.

is meant first and foremost as a scenic artery, with wide sidewalks running on both sides of the road, it is flanked on the one side by the old city walls and on the other with a mix of open spaces, parking lots, the Notre Dame Guest house and a hospice. The light rail light rail line runs along the road, straddling the sidewalk with the express purpose of providing passengers a clear, unobstructed view of the Old City walls. The road and tracks at this point are easily traversable. Although there are few residential areas along the road outside the Old City walls, there is a high volume of pedestrian traffic comprised of residents and especially tourists. The two parts of the road unite farther to the northwest.

This part of the road can be seen as a classic public space, since it mixes uses, has different forms of transportation and pedestrian use. It does not have any commercial activity along it and it can be seen as a foyer to the New and Damascus gates. Not all public spaces need to have all of the elements of a public space, but it does enable what George Baird called “spectrum of consciousness” which can “illuminate ‘publicness’”. (Baird, 1999)<sup>5</sup> The failed outdoor market delineated by palm trees to the north of the Damascus Gate is used mainly by children on bikes. The grassy areas adjacent to the Old City wall are used by families and groups of young men who congregate for picnics and leisure.

Further north is the Damascus Gate in front of which is an amphitheater originally designed to be a congregation area that is also used by tourist guides for group

<sup>5</sup>



Old City New Gate  
Photo by Maier Yagood

briefings before embarking on tours of the Old City. This space has been transformed to a three-dimensional market area where every “step” is used by merchants to display their merchandise. On Saturdays, the space is used for weekly public auctions. To the west of the gate are a string of storefronts along a heavily congested, poorly designed and administered section of the road, which is usually filled with refuse and the sound of honking cars. The roundabout, which probably seemed a good idea at the time, is a major contributor to the congestion.

The design of the part of the route is heavily dependent on the need to create sterile views of the old city. The cost of this type of planning is that what is produced is more of a painting and less of a part of the city. The amphitheater turned local market is a testament that life is usually stronger than planning. The empty market lined by palm trees is a testament to the very same principle. Jane Jacobs has shown that by observing the city at the street level rather than looking down at the computer screen can produce an urban environment which is more people friendly. This part of the road could definitely

use improvements as detailed, but it does produce wonderful views for the riders of the light rail.

Recreational areas between the Old City Walls and Route no. 1  
Photo by Maier Yagood

## Part 2 - pragmatism - mixed use

At the point of unification of the sub and superterranean parts of the road, the route climbs moderately to the north and veers to the North West and starts to progress away from the old city. The landscaping changes from grassy and paved pathways to more conventional Jerusalem sidewalks and roads. The road becomes a four lane road (two lanes in each direction) on the eastern side there are stores, a parking lot, and access roads to the eastern part of the city. I see the area of the “Museum on the Seam” as the final part of this tract, in total it is about 450 meters long.

Although a low fence (around 1.2 m) prevents access to the light rail tracks along some stretches of track, most pedestrians cross

the road disregarding the traffic lights. An ultra-religious (haredi) neighborhood lies on the Western side and on Saturdays (the Sabbath) pedestrian usage of the road in all directions is especially heavy. In recent years this area has been a locus of political demonstrations and of attacks. Still it is full of human traffic, especially on weekends.

In one stretch of the road, the light rail changes its position from the east to the centre of the road dividing the two vehicular lanes. Light rail and automobiles are by far the dominant forms of traffic on this stretch of road even when pedestrian traffic is higher than usual. The frequency of traffic lights ensures that the maximum driving speed of 70 km is rarely reached. During the morning rush hours there are approximately 140 to 250 buses, 3,000-4,000 private cars and taxis and around 2,800 light rail passengers on this stretch of the road.

It is hard to imagine that Jane Jacobs would have approved of this space. But it does serve many passengers and pedestrians as an easy access along the East West axis and even more so, the North to South one.



Group of Ultra Orthodox (Haredi) Jews crossing route no. 1 towards the Old City  
Photo by Maier Yagod



Area near "Museum on the seam"  
Photo by Maier Yagod

### Part 3 - the intermediate stretch

A rather open segment of road, track and sidewalk, with minimal landscaping, stretches for about 2.3 km after the "Museum on the Seam"<sup>6</sup> area. The planners rightfully seemed to have assumed that, apart from drivers and riders, not many people would make use of this section. Looking eastward, there are very few residential buildings and the few hotels that are visible are not accessible from the road. The buildings to the West are not residential and they do not directly straddle the road. For drivers this is, of course, a classic public space with few obstructions. Even though

<sup>6</sup> This museum was created in a building that served as part of the border-crossing between Jordan and Israel.

crossing the road from East to West is simple, not many people do. Most pedestrian traffic is North-South, towards the Old City.

From the junction of this route and Piere van Passen St. until the French Hill and Shuafat neighborhoods, there is a growing number of residential buildings, especially on the western side. On the eastern side, there are low-rise buildings and several public buildings, notably, Israel Police Headquarters,<sup>7</sup> a Border Police base, the Spanish Consulate and a few aid agencies. There are a number of access roads leading to various neighborhoods and although a side street lined with restaurants in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood is visible, the only

<sup>7</sup> Ammunition Hill (Givat Hatachmoshet), the site of a famous battle between Israel and Jordan in the 1967 Six Day War, is on the other side of the road opposite the base.

building directly facing to the road is the Police Headquarters complex. Landscaping is a mix of retaining walls and sparse, polite landscaping with low bushes, grass and spaced trees. Aside from certain difficult sections, the road, for the most part, is easily traversable. (Pullan et al., 2007)<sup>8</sup> This part of Route no.1 is almost exclusively used by vehicular traffic and although pedestrian areas, benches and even small parklets exist, pedestrian use is relatively sparse. The road from South to North increasingly begins to resemble a roadway par excellence and less of a multi-use public space. The outsider might mistakenly view

<sup>8</sup> The writers draw considerable attention to this part of the road although their main focus is the East/West axis. Once again, this article tends to ignore the use this route has for the vast majority of users and focuses on the route as an idea more than a place.





Begin Expressway  
Photo from Wikipedia

this area as no-man's land because life by the side of the road is not discernible. During morning rush hours this section of road is used by approximately 100 buses, 2,000 private cars and taxis and about 2,000 light rail passengers.

## Route no. 1. in context

There is a need to compare this road to other similar roads in the city in order to assess its qualities and position urbanistically and architecturally. The stretch of road which I have described can be denoted by various terms, such as Parkway or an Arterial road (depending on the country). Our stretch of road has a changing character (even within our limited parameters) as we have detailed above and so one must find an overarching term which best suits its entirety. This is not a collector road and is meant to enable traversing the city without going into smaller neighborhood roads (this is probably one of the main reasons the Israeli planning authorities diverted much of the path which ran along Nablus Road, towards more open and malleable areas rather than following the Watershed).

For example Begin road (or Highway 50) in Jerusalem runs for about 16 km and enables one to cross the city from north to south quite easily. This road is populated on both its sides mostly by residential and institutional buildings. It shares many characteristics to municipal route no. 1, although much newer, in the sense that it was meant to enable an efficient north south ride,

bypassing the clutter of side streets. This road was built within a natural valley<sup>9</sup>. Large retaining walls were built straddling it.<sup>10</sup> This road has very little landscaping and where it does, it is usually on the sides of the road rather than on the median. The road is almost impossible to walk along (there is effectively no sidewalk) and can be crossed by pedestrians only across bridges. In comparison to municipal route no. 1 one can see how vastly different this road is. It is true that they both serve as small expressways that are vital for crossing the city efficiently from north to south. The Begin expressway is a faster route and so it is a lot less comfortable place to be as a pedestrian. Route no.1 in this sense is a mixed bag, it is an open and relatively fast (70-50 kph) along most of its route, but it has more traffic lights which dissect it and adjacent to the old city walls it becomes effectively one lane in each direction. It would seem that this may be exactly for viewing purposes, viewing from the cars and upon the cars. The creation of a real functioning public space. If one acknowledges that there are

<sup>9</sup> During the British Mandate the British planning authorities set forth directives not to build in central valleys in Jerusalem, since these spaces were to remain undeveloped or more correctly natural for many years of course in later years, these spaces were the easiest to plan and pave roads on since they were "undeveloped".

<sup>10</sup> Both for acoustic protection and in order to enable building above this road.

some financial and social benefits for getting from one side of the city to the other in less than 20 minutes, then one can start to think what the best way of managing to do so is. Derech Hebron (Hebron Way), another Jerusalem roadway and a section of Route 60, runs from the Abu Tor junction towards the City of Bethlehem (for our purposes, until the junction with Moshe Bar'am and Asher Viner streets). This stretch of roadway, completely flanked by residential units, is composed of 2 vehicular lanes in each direction and 2 bus lanes in the middle (1 in each direction) for a total of 6 traffic lanes. In contrast to the Begin Expressway, there are many more residential buildings on either side and it is not sunken below street level. Nevertheless, crossing this roadway is quite complicated. Average driving speeds are, in practice, considerably greater than on the sections of Route no.1 we discussed and there is no real landscaping to be seen. This road can be described as an "anti-public" space, a road that despite far greater pedestrian use and vehicular traffic, seems antagonistic to both.

One could ask: Given its much higher volume of pedestrian traffic, why is Hebron Road considered less a public space than Route no.1? My answer is that although there are powerful factors working against pedestrians using Route no.1 extensively and consistently (namely, Jerusalem's East-West socio-political divide), nonetheless, Route no.1 is A) used heavily by pedestrians at certain times, and B) is more engaging and aesthetically pleasing than Hebron Way. The scenic parts of Hebron Way cannot be compared with the dramatic vistas of the Old City, polite landscaping and the vibrant changing human scenery along Route no.1. The driving experience along Hebron Way may be said to be totally and utterly time-distance driven.

## Autotopia's

Ryner Banham in his book *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* describes the freeway system and its correlates as an "Autotopia". He sees the freeway system as one of the essential parts of the city of Los Angeles. Though Los Angeles has little in common with Jerusalem, one can learn from the modus analyticus of Banham. In Los Angeles infrastructure shapes



the form of the city and is the glue which makes the city what it is. In a sense the city is in a constant state of becoming, or as Anthony Vidler states “Especially for the current form of Los Angeles, becoming is more characteristic than being” (Vidler, 2008, p.152). In the chapter describing the Autotopia, Banham describes how when people get off the freeway onto the off ramps they can many times be seen straightening their hair/ clothes, since they are entering a different place, where the speed of driving is slower, but both are very much real places. In essence he is describing the freeway as a place of a specific character in which people spend their time. Jerusalem on the other hand is a much more static city in which history, religion and most of all places, ideas and ideas about places play a central role. It is in a state of being, rather than becoming, it resists change and embraces imagined histories. In Jerusalem the architecture usually determines the form of the infrastructure and not vice versa. But as we know, after the end of the Ottoman era, the state of the city was rather poor and there was a serious need to develop modern access routes. We have detailed a sample of local thoroughfares, but what is more important is to understand that what the British, the Jordanians and the Israelis (all of which impacted this route) realized is that there is a deep need to allow the city to grow and no city can grow without efficient transport routes. This was understood years ago by Robert Moses in NYC and although much damning critique has been written about his work, there is no doubt that he had a critical role in

the financial success of Manhattan. It is the very battle between Moses and Jacobs which created NYC as a great city. This is not to say that Jerusalem will ever be a major center of commerce, but if one lives in the North of Jerusalem and wants to get to work in any part of the city, one of the two major options would be to take route no. 1.11

The people using this route are on the way to their destination, in a sense, in a state of becoming rather than being. It is a matter of “doing time”, be they in a traffic jam or the light rail they are in the process of waiting. A sort of Tao which needs to be sacrificed in order to get to where one is going to. It is a time of contemplation for many, listening to the radio, experiencing the city in a passive way, not acting, but observing the city.

This route, has a heavily utilitarian purpose, but even utilitarian spaces have people that inhabit them, this is one of the most used routes in the city and as such should be treated as an object of observation. One could argue that it is one of the most public spaces in town. Not only its obvious political implications position of being between east and west Jerusalem, but rather its day to day use, its time

11 Many tend to ignore the fact that Jerusalem is a living, functioning city and not only a political paradigm. This attitude can be seen in (Pullan et al., 2007), (Pullan, 2009), (Pullan, 2001). It is suffice to state that many researchers tend to isolate and critique just one of the many considerations which planners and architects use and have to contend with.

and space for those that traverse it time and time again. There should be a deeper contemplation of this use and its significance to the city.

## Conclusion

Route no. 1 is a central public space which runs from north to south Jerusalem roughly between what people consider East and West Jerusalem. Traditionally we see public space in the classic sense, places such as city squares, gardens, recreational or retail spaces, even when it comes to roads we only see the sidewalk as a public space. Meeting places, in which people mingle and get to know the other. But this space is characterized by experiencing time and distance more than anything else, it is a place of contemplation, not of the space itself, but more of being in a state of distraction. It is for the most part an experiential/observational public space. In this article I tried to show that there is a need to look at the infrastructure of the city, the road itself and its main users - i.e. the drivers and passengers as major parts of the city. In this sense, route no. 1 in the parts that we have investigated, is a well-functioning, attractive public space. It allows for the viewing and contemplation of the city and exposes and celebrates rather than tries to hide the manifest contradictions in this city. Granted Jerusalem has many pressing and critical problems that need to be solved, but improving the urban landscape, in a way which will make day to day life better for everyone, is a challenge that planners, designers and architects have to undertake. Some may argue

that this perspective is an attempt to depoliticize this place and this space, but in fact it is an attempt to give the term political and the idea of political analysis a deeper and more complex interpretation with more productive outcomes to a city which needs daily life more than anything else.

## Recommendations / further research

Route no. 1 is a difficult route to analyze urbanistically, especially since its geo-political context is so strong. I believe that there is an urgent need to analyze parts of this city beyond their political complexities and to understand that there are real day to day need for the population. The method of walking through areas which you research and try to improve is the best tool a planner/designer/researcher can have. Real world solutions can have real world impact on the lives of the residents and visitors of the city.

Jane Jacobs has taught us much and we should strive to create urban spaces which are diverse and complex. Understanding the city is understanding that complexity must include infrastructure which enables swift transport. Jerusalem is not an idea, it's a reality.

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## **Track 3**

# **Jane Jacobs and the dynamics of neighborhoods**



# The erosion of a transport node in the territory:

## The case of Itaquera subway station in São Paulo

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**Abstract** – This paper stresses how the infrastructure of urban mobility became a culture of erosion in territory, as well as the challenges of integrated spaces in the surrounding of transport node using the experience of Corinthians-Itaquera subway stations in the city of São Paulo (Brazil) based on the main Jacobs urban ideas and others authors of the vanguard of contemporary urbanism. It is questioned whether the station urban areas boost the design of public spaces in the urban fabric. We intend, through this subway station analysis, to find out if the relationship among urban node, place and urban fabric is considered (or not) in the implementation of the stations. Thus the analyses are carried out through Google pictures, plans, diagrams and related pictures to identify these areas before and after the node-station intervention in the urban fabric. The results identify the challenges of urban design for the space appropriation by the community, and the predominance of orthodox urbanism ideology widely attacked by Jacobs in building important stations of the public transport network.

**Key words** – transport node, Corinthians-Itaquera subway station, erosion of territory, Jane Jacobs

### Introduction

To discuss and analyse urban mobility in great metropolis, with increasingly the heterogeneous populations profile, mutable and different ways of life, is the new and unique challenge for the third millennium society especially those who have had their population explosion throughout the twentieth century constituted in metropolis.

The commuting in these cities involves complex relationships between personal and economic characteristics of the citizen, transport systems available - whether individual or collective - and between economics activities and the existing territory configuration.

The connection places among different networks take an increasingly importance and transform the stations surrounding area into the key challenge of urban dynamics (Ascher, 2010) and railway stations are very peculiar locations.

They are important nodes in a heterogeneous transportation networks, but also a place, both

temporarily and permanently inhabited portion of the city, an often dense and diverse assemblage of uses and forms that may, or may not, share the life of the node (Bertolini, 1996).

Therefore, it is necessary faced with mobility structures, usually with imposing dimensions and scales and are part of the contemporary urban landscape (Secchi, 2006, p.113). Smets and Shannon (2010) reinforce also the new role of landscape and contemporary infrastructure, dialoguing with architecture, mobility and city by integrating territories, reducing marginalization and segregation as a result and encourage mobility modes (p.8. stress by author).

The territory surrounding stations zones is not only a geographical space; is not only as the system of living space, with its topographical, historical and social determination, as well as the starting point, but a meeting place for creating activity, which is both architecture and city in any way that we can give to these conditions

(Sòla-Morales, 2002).

With an increasingly urbanized society in the century of cities, the design of this infrastructure emerges as the backbone to achieve quality in urban territories, in a place of the urban experience, urban place of manifestation of openness, interaction, creativity, social relation (Palermo and Ponzini, 2010).

Regarding the mobility issue, Jacobs (2011, p.3791) was in harmony with the relationship between land use and transport and challenged in 1961: “How can we provide urban transport without destroying the related, complex and concentrated use? – that’s the question, or by adopting another point of view, how to provide a use of the complex and focused land without destroying the related transport?”

1 Own Translation from Portuguese to English. “Como se pode prover o transporte urbano sem destruir o correlato uso, complexo e concentrado? – eis a questão. Ou, vendo por outro lado, como prover um uso do solo complexo e concentrado sem destruir o transporte correlato?”

The study case focus presented the Itaquera station and its surroundings area will be on expressing the critical discussion about creating an actual diverse urban scenario.

Thereby, the assumption is that complex transport nodes continues to apply concepts of orthodox city planning which stimulates the erosion of the territory which may lead to refusal of this infrastructure in a neighbourhood, which the central issue to be discussed in the text is: how to integrate an urban station node into the territory in order to promote diversity of uses and urban vitality?

Firstly, it is discussed the main concepts used by Jacobs and other researchers who observed the forefront of urban planning changes and who reinforce some Jacobs' contemporary fundamentals. Secondly it is described how the ideology of orthodox city planning in the transport field has eroded large areas in Sao Paulo and the analysis of the case study - Corinthians Itaquera subway station. In the final section(s), after theoretical approach, the challenges of integrated spaces in the surrounding area of transport node in a contemporary city like São Paulo, Brazil are discussed, and then the conclusions and recommendations for future research are proposed.

## Jane Jacobs and the beginning of fight for better cities for people

By releasing his book 'Death and Life of Great American Cities' in 1961 Jacobs started a battle for better cities for people attacking the foundations of orthodox urban planning. She changed the way to see some cities of North American and caught three public struggles with Robert Moses - New York's political scientist or the Haussmann Baron New Yorker (Goldeberger, 1981), which would have slashed across over the future of Washington Square; the slum designation of her own neighbourhood; and the battle over the proposed Lower Manhattan Expressway (LOMEX) in New York<sup>2</sup>.

2 PALLETA, A. (2016). Jane Jacobs vs Robert Moses, batalha de titãs urbanos de Nova York. The guardian [online] Available at: [It is noted that a planner as Moses used only the macro and intermediate scales of the city to encompass them and, how to own these scale had no contact and knowledge of the local scale, the diagnostic accuracy of specific places, specifically in what Jacobs would fought, "because only supermen would be able to understand a great city as a whole, or as a group of neighbourhoods, with the detail necessary to direct and constructive measures to avoid thoughtless action, free, destructive."<sup>3</sup> \(2011, p. 456\).](http://www.theguardian.com/cit-</a></p>
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Jacobs knew that diversity is natural in the big cities and the need to understand this phenomenon, the combinations or mixtures of uses. This phenomenon is spatially stimulated by the short blocks, which increases the intersections at corners, the complex combination crossed uses and supports urban diversity of a neighbourhood, so long as "The streets and sidewalks, main public places of a city are its most vital organs"<sup>4</sup> (2011, p.29) for urban vitality.

Hence also said that on the "streets are basic element of city organization; on the streets the functions on which lies the interrelationships between people and the various activities are concentrated, which mainly constitutes the essence of the urbanity"<sup>5</sup> (2009, p. 235) because in the opposite direction, when it is not paid attention to the quality of public space correctly, this space becomes monotonous and unsafe. "In urban streets and spaces of poor quality there is only place for minimal activity. People walk quickly to their home"<sup>6</sup> Gehl (2009,

ies/2016/apr/28/storycities32newyorkjane-jacobsrobertmoses [Accessed 23 May .2016].

3 Own translation from Portuguese to English. "(...) Pois somente super-homens conseguiriam entender uma cidade grande por inteiro, ou como um grupo de bairros, com o detalhamento necessário para orientar medidas construtivas e evitar medidas impensadas, gratuitas, destrutivas."

4 Own translation from Portuguese to English. "As ruas e suas calçadas, principais locais públicos de uma cidade, são seus órgãos mais vitais"

5 Own translation from Spanish to English "La calle via ciudad; en ella se concentran todas las funciones sobre las que descansan las inter-relaciones entre las personas y las diversas actividades, lo que constituye la esencia de lo urbano."

6 Own translation from Portuguese to English. "Nas ruas e espaços urbanos de pouca qualidade só há lugar para o mínimo

p.19).

Thus, planning vitality should provide a continuous interpenetration of neighbourhoods; existence of combat areas of desert borders; blending different social classes through their dwellings; stimulating economy, diversity; explicating urban legibility through the promotion of visual order and especially interconnecting them (Jacobs, 2011) as well as the urban design and the concern of social details.

So that people can live in cities and the urban daily routine work properly and constructively it is necessary all kinds of diversities combined and supported mutually (Jacobs, 2011, p.267). Walking around the streets is one of the city qualifying elements – an instrument to reach the urban vitality that opposes the privilege offered by the automobiles (Glaeser, 2011, p.68).

It is clear that a busy street is capable of assuring the safety, while a desert street isn't and so that strangers can walk on the streets safely due to their presence, three things are required to; 1. A clear separation between public private, 2. Existences of "eyes" on the streets 3. Walkers going around continuously.

About the scale of the neighbourhood, its main attribute is that people feel safe on the street in the midst of so many unknown people and the intense urban ballet that takes place in it. So a successful neighbourhood is one that remains reasonably up to date with their problems, dense with a blend of housing, retail shops, schools, offices, cultural institutions.

And it is still necessary to an organized space of a neighbourhood transmits a sense of emotional security whereas legibility is crucial to the urban scenario, which gives a new shape to the cities (Lynch, 1997). While unsuccessful neighbourhood is one that is full of disabilities (Jacobs, 2011).

The complexity of these territories, the sidewalks use, the busy street corners, and the legibility of urban space brings with it a permanent succession of eyes and set movements of a complex uninterrupted urban ballet that results in confidence in the appropriation of public space and place.

However in Brazil, her ideas only arrived in 2000 when translation of her most famous book de atividade. As pessoas andam depressa para sua casa"

was translated into Portuguese.

Her concepts as part of a post-modern vanguard which considered the current orthodox planning as planning anti-city were not strong enough to spread in other territories as shown in the next section.

## The erosion of territory in São Paulo, Brazil

Moses worked in São Paulo – South America when he was hired in 1949 to prepare the “Public Improvements Plan for São Paulo”<sup>7</sup> by International Basic Economic Corporation, IBEC, trading company placed in New York. Moses brought to São Paulo the model of the ‘Highway Research Board’, which intended to adapt cities to accommodate the horizontal peripheral expansion in residential suburbs of motorized middle class.

This model is adapted to “Avenue Plan”<sup>8</sup>, with a wide differentiation from road typology proposed in this plan, explains Anelli (2006, p.3),

“His ‘urban expressways’ would be more appropriate to high volumes of traffic compatible with the complementary policy of road transport. No crossings level and without interference entries and vehicle exits in buildings, expressways Moses constitute a diverse city of Prestes Maia boulevards. For its full efficiency, grid expressways must have independence from the urban fabric through, regardless of whether or not destroys it”<sup>9</sup>.

7 Translated by author from Portuguese to English - Plano de Melhoramentos Públicos para São Paulo.

8 “Plano de Avenidas” or “Avenue Plan” was structured by a system of radial and perimeter avenues to organize the flows, decongest the central area and enable the endless expansion based on successive road rings. The highways would not be just simple means of transport, would also be urbanization instruments. The spatial structure for main avenues, were in the form of boulevards, sidewalks, trees, finally, a concern with local connections and the artistic aspect of urban composition (Maia, 1930).

9 Translated by author from Portuguese to English and highlighted by author– “Suas “rodovias expressas urbanas” seriam mais adequadas a volumes de tráfegos elevados, compatíveis com a políti-

After the development of “Avenues Plan” - the big plan was reinforced by ‘Public Improvement Plan for São Paulo’.

Parallel to this moment, a rampant incentive to the automotive industry took place, which began to be installed in the country and the vertiginous growth of the road infrastructure. And at the 50s effectively began the abandonment of the railway system as a public policy of collective passenger transport by due the lack of a public policy for appropriate transport that is modernized and integrated to a multimodal system and the beginning of a new explosion of population growth<sup>10</sup>.

As an example, in 1971 it is inaugurated with the name “Elevado Presidente Costa e Silva” an exclusive expressway elevated from the ground for private cars, one year before the opening of the first subway line, cutting four different neighbourhoods and blocks and creating a strong barrier at urban fabric.

The result of this policy to encourage the motorized transport and the construction of hundreds of kilometres of streets, widening of roads, small sidewalks, bridges and viaducts, as a result only 78,7 km of subway lines to transport at least 12 million people that live only in São Paulo<sup>11</sup>.

In São Paulo, the prolonged implementation of the “Avenues Plan” over the past century and extreme functionality of transport nodes promoted by public agencies, built in many territories eroded zones. All the plans mentioned above have the coincidence to be top-down decisions for large-scale infrastructures.

The ‘Avenue Plan’, followed

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ca de incremento do transporte rodoviário. Sem cruzamentos em nível e sem interferências de entradas e saídas de veículos nos edifícios, as vias expressas de Moses configuram uma cidade diversa dos bulevares de Prestes Maia. Para sua plena eficiência, a malha de vias expressas deve

ter independência em relação ao tecido urbano que atravessa, pouco importando se o destrói ou não.”

10 The first major cycle of population growth occurred in the early twentieth century with the arrival of thousands of European immigrants (Rolnik, 2009).

11 Available at: <http://www.metro.sp.gov.br/metro/numeros-pesquisa/demanda.aspx>

Accessed at: 21th ago. 2016

by the Plan of Public Improvements to São Paulo, by Robert Moses, envisioned the road system for private transport that would come to materialize in São Paulo with consequences at present” (Rosa, 2015, p.29)

The result of the sum of these ideas will be more and more implemented by urban interventions disconnected with the territory, extremely functionalist, leading not only to highways, but any intervention linked to urban form as subway bus stations or transport node (Baiardi, 2012).

## Node of transport as a place in a neighbourhood and its challenges

Stations have double spatial and functional nature at one time: node and place. In the words of Richer (2010), the transport nodes are made by the meeting of two or more transport systems. A transport node, as the network access point, is capable of promoting the metropolitan range to a local area. This space is characterized by the intensity of micro accessibility and intermodality and accumulation of flows. It points out that the node refers to the system and not to the territory and is configured only by crossing transport lines like the engineers in a modern time. Node as a functional element that represents the interface between the city and a relevant mode of transport.

In the European context the stations, as a node, were placed “out of town” (XIX century), later they came to “in the city” (XX century), so that in the twenty-first century they were “part of the city” by merging it, being not only a node but also a place. To Peters (2009) the stations of renaissance area became a key element in the dynamics of contemporary urban restructuring since the station is now an urban element to be worked and integrated in the urban territory which contributes to the qualification of space.

It is the core of local urban development. It is the station as place a not only as a node, but a node-place station in a urban hub.

The public space plays an important role in the city and can contribute to micro accessibility of a station if it has the elements to make it legible in the eyes of those who seek to access a node in the



metropolitan transport network (Baiardi, 2012), a place in a territory where occurs an intensification of different kind of people flows in a different goals and the accumulation of activities.

The core of the neighbourhoods can be places with good combinations of main uses, huge amount of streets, dense mix of ages of buildings, high concentrations and flows of people and the surrounding areas of the subway stations are a key element in this wide network of small urban territories.

Conflicts seem to be linked with the multi-faceted nature of stations and their surrounding areas. However, Bertolini (1999, p. 201) states that

“(…) these intense and diverse flows of people do have the potential of translating into equally intense and diverse patterns of human interaction. If the right conditions are met, social and economic activities still requiring physical proximity can thrive in these areas. This potential can be realized in a relatively sustainable way, as it can be coupled to more environmentally efficient transport and land-use patterns. There appears to be, however, an important prerequisite: that the transportation node is not considered separately from its urban surrounding area - or the place of activities”

It's challenging to articulate the node and dimensions of place in the areas of stations, making them compatible, balanced and causing they bring benefits to both. The areas of stations, especially those with a high passenger demand, can offer advantages to increase mobility, to promote real estate development, urban cohesion, social vitality and increasing the environmental gains (Conceição, 2015).

However, these benefits are not optimized in the spaces of the areas of the stations very often. The ambivalence of station area is a base of tension, but can also be the catalyst core for the urban area development. In fact, there are many opportunities and challenges for the (re) definition of such a balance in the stations of the zones (Bertolini, 1998).

With the combination of top-down decisions and the absence of contemporary discussion, demonstrating the benefits of the presence of a public transport station in the neighbourhood, nowadays,

the São Paulo society with alive ideas and concepts from last years also starts eroding the mobility system denying the implementation of station in your neighbourhood.

In 2003, social pressure was initiated against building the subway station “Três Poderes” (Line-4) and a bus terminal. After ten years in design, this station is excluded from the plan works 12.

In March 2011 it started the operation of the Butantã station (Line-4), 1.0 km away from the main gateway to the USP Campus where 50,000 people commute. The implementation of a station within the larger public study centre was rejected by the top echelon of the university claiming the issue of security 13.

In the same year, the site of implantation of a Line-6 station on Avenida Angelica the upper class neighbourhood changed a lot about the increased access of ‘distinguishing people’ in the neighbourhood 14.

Jacobs signalled the explanation of possible rejection reasons for the presence of these public facilities: the disruptive effect to attract strange people and are not seen as an advantage like the presence of some bars and trade in certain American neighbourhoods described by her as residential areas or ‘pockets deleted’ in that ruled the ‘Great Plague of Monotony’ (2011, p. 42).

The São Paulo case adds the rejection by strangers, the rejection of the extreme functionality and spatial segregation as a result of decisions fragmented by the government - the erosion of territory - and the possible increased sense of insecurity by changing the existing urban pattern until then.

Based on the aforesaid

12 FIORAVANTI, L.M. (2014). A operação urbana Butantã – Vila Sônia e a (re) produção do espaço urbano em São Paulo: estratégias e conflitos. Confins [Online]. Available at: URL: <http://confins.revues.org/9767> [Accessed 05 Jul.2016].

13 ROLNIK, R. (2011). Estação Butantã: por que o metrô não chega dentro do campus da USP?

Available at: <https://raquelrolnik.wordpress.com/2011/03/28/estacao-butanta-por-que-o-metro-nao-chega-dentro-do-campus-da-usp/> [Accessed 05 Jul.2016]

14 O GLOBO (2011). Governo paulista desiste de construir estação do Metrô em Higienópolis. Available at: <http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/governo-paulista-desiste-de-construir-estacao-do-metro-em-higienopolis-2770984> [Accessed 05 Jul.2016].

concepts it is observed that there are many challenges for the implementation of a station in a neighbourhood in a city with dimensions and complexities such as São Paulo.

Because of that it is necessary to understand the logic of spatial transformations and the urban design of the implementation of stations to occur in the next section.

## Corinthians-Itaquera metro station: analysis

The city of São Paulo (Brazil), which is context of study of this research, is a metropolis in the periphery of capitalism (Maricato, 1996) depict by uncontrolled dispersion (Rolnick, 1997). Only the city has 11.253.503 inhabitant 15 and Great São Paulo has 21.391.821 inhabitant 16. Part of this movement of population takes place through a network of 77.4 km of subway lines, designed and implemented by the ‘Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo’ - Metrô. Added the public transport in Great São Paulo, there are Train Lines managed by CPTM (Companhia Paulista de Trens Metropolitanos) with 257.5 kilometres.

The Corinthians-Itaquera subway station was chosen because it is the largest station that represents a major transportation node in the public transport network that is not located in the ‘Expanded Center’ 17 and located in a poor area of urban interventions. It occurred in 2014 new interventions in its surroundings and mainly because also represent urban transformation potentialities when compared to the other network stations in the city of São Paulo.

15 IBGE, (2016). São Paulo. [online] Available at: <http://cidades.ibge.gov.br/painel/painel.php?lang=&cod-mun=355030&search=|sao-paulo> [Accessed 05 Jul.2016].

16 EMPLASA, (2016). Indicadores. [online] Available at: <http://www.emplasa.sp.gov.br/> [Accessed 05 Jul.2016].

17 The ‘Expanded Center’ of the city is an area located around the historical center and delimited by the mini-ring road, formed by the Tietê and Pinheiros river freeways, plus the avenues Salim Farah Maluf, Luís Inácio de Anhaia Melo, Juntas Provisórias, Presidente Tancredo Neves, Complexo Viário Maria Maluf, Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay and Bandeirantes and where received the most infrastructure investments (MASSARA, 2012).

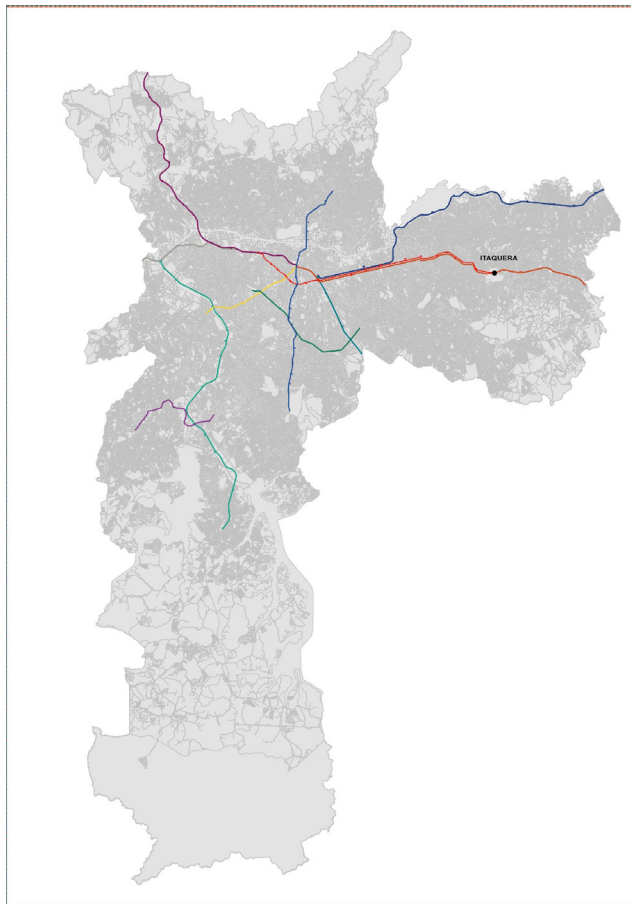


Figure 1: Subway/Train Lines in SP city and Itaquera Station

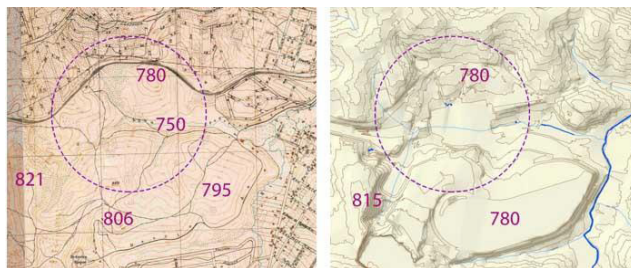


Figure 2: 1933 and 2015 Topographic Maps.

The methodology to analysis this station is separated in 3 different scales and each of them in two main categories as a 'place' (P) and 'transport node' (n) based on construction Bertolini's (1999), Del Rio's (1990), Baiardi's (2012) and Conceição's (2015) concepts. The tree different scales are:

1. City Level stressing the development of sub central in an urban sprawl (P) and knots in the net (N).
2. Urban area level stressing the relationship between the metro infrastructure and the territory in an urban scale (P) and the site plan of the lines of the public

transport (N). There are 5 subcategories: a. Natural elements; b. infrastructure and trace of streets; c. Built-up areas; d. main activities; e. Aerial images.

3. Station area level examines the station spatial connections with the surrounding area. For a Place analyses the relationship between public and private buildings access and open spaces (P). For Node (N) it is identified in the site planning of the modals transport, intermodality and your connections in a public space.

For this paper, one set of

graphical analysis were produced to survey the physical and functional features only for Urban level (Scale 1:10.000).

For the place analysis, It was performed in a historic evolution of the station area, approximately 'after' and 'before' to the period of the introduction of the subway infrastructure with maps available for research (Sarah Brasil:1933 and Gegrán:1974), and maps of present situations (MDC - 2004:2015).

The desired analysed area at the 'urban area' level is the 'walkable radius' around 500m in 10/15 minutes. The direct observation of author on site allowed for confirming the accuracy of the map information and graphical analysis.

### 1. City level – Place:

The station is located in the east side of the city (Figure 1). In 2014, the population was 204.871,0 inhabitants distributed all over 14.100,00 km<sup>2</sup> - Itaquera district, resulting in a density of 14,530inh/km<sup>2</sup> (18). The Human Development Index (HDI) was 0,795 in 2000 (average level). The total number of formal jobs for people in working age (15 years or older) was 0,17 (2012)19.

#### 1.1. City level – Node:

It is part of final station in Line-3 (Red), the busiest line of subway network (Figure 1). Without stops, from Luz station (downtown) it takes around 20 minutes to access it. The station was opened in October, 1988.

### 2. Urban area level: Place

#### 2.1. Natural Elements

The river base quota is 750m and there are two hills in the south with elevations of 806 and 795m respectively; in the north, a hill with 780 meters. This topographical configuration created a small 'closed valley' exactly within the study area (within 500m radius). The railway line, set in 1875, skirted in north from this 'hole', performing

18 PREFEITURA (2016). Dados Demográficos dos Distritos pertencentes as Subprefeituras. [online]. Available at:

[http://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/subprefeituras/subprefeituras/dados\\_demograficos/index.php?p=12758](http://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/subprefeituras/subprefeituras/dados_demograficos/index.php?p=12758) [Accessed 21 Jul. 2016]

19 OBSERVASAMPA (2016). Indicadores. [online] Available at: <http://observasampa.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/index.php/indicadores/indicadores-por-regiao/> [Accessed 21 Jul. 2016]

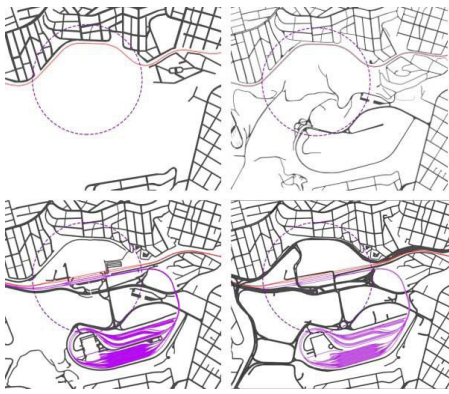


Figure 3: 1993, 1974, 2004 and 2015 Infrastructure and trace of streets.

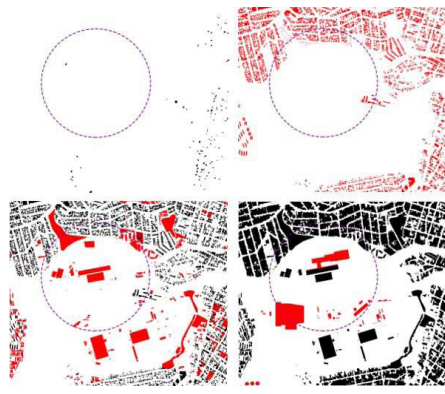


Figure 4: Built-up areas and void. From 1933, 1974, 2004, 2015.

a significant curve, returning their line later. In 2015 map, it observed the implementation of the Maneuvers Patio of Subway with an extensive land movement, uniting the two existing hills. All streams were channelled, remaining only the River in east (Figure 2).

### 2.2 Infrastructure and trace of streets

The evolution of the maps shows that the area was completely split until the 70s. The route of the railway were structural elements that stand out in a territory now characterized by a fine grid, without clear hierarchies and the permanence of the void in the study area. In scheme 2004 is possible to observe the changes in the opening of the subway station in 1988, and the transfer of the railway line to the same region of the subway tracks – parallel at new highway- “Av. Radial Leste”. And where before there were the train tracks, was built “Av. do Contorno”. In 2015 there were more changes in the trace of streets motivated by the construction of the soccer stadium.

### 2.3 Built-up areas

It is noticed that the spaces between streets were filled until 1974 by an intense residential occupancy of low density. The contemporary maps show the arrival of intermodal centrality and an incipient occupation of ‘large plot’.

### 2.4 Main activities

There are several institutional activities in the ‘large plot’, isolated in the plot, and most of the time, with fences, and the predominance of low density housing at the edges.

### 2.5 Aerial images

The aerial images serve as a synthesis corroborating the pre analyses above. In 1958 (Geoportal), 30 years before the opening and nowadays (Google, 2016).

### 3 Urban area level: Node

As subway station, carried along 2.493.000 passengers/month (May 2015/Metrô). As a terminal station has a huge train maintenance yard. It is connected to Line-11 (Coral - Eastern Express) of CPTM, reopened in 2000. It has a municipal bus terminal but there are no bus lanes around the station. The main access is “Av. Radial Leste” highway and “Av.do Contorno”. It was implemented by “Companhia do Metropolitano de São Paulo”

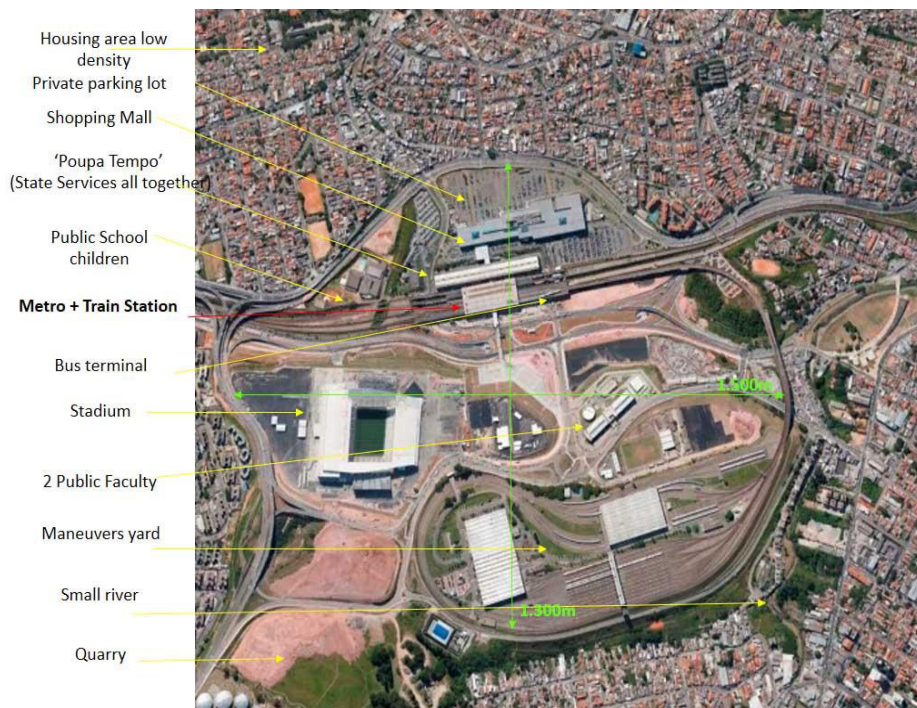


Figure 5: Main activities surrounding at station. Source: Google Maps.



Figure 6: Aerial Images. 1958 and 2016.

which used the expansion of the subway to re-urbanize part of the bordering regions of Line-3. With the implementation of a soccer stadium in 2014, there were new road interventions and implementation of a small grid cycle lanes. There are large areas dedicated for parking private cars.

## The challenges of integrated spaces in the surrounding area of transport node

The study presented to the Itaquera station and its surrounding area expresses commitment to create a diverse scene, truly urban. More than an architectural design challenge is the practice of discussing the overall vision and the composition of a transport node in place.

After the urban analyses above, it is notorious the absence of station's relationship with territory and the pre-existing natural elements in the 70s due to the implementation of Subway Line over the stream and 'topographic hole', a contrary decision to the railway design, and also for the implementation in single plateau for car parking areas around the station and the stadium.

The newly inserted buildings (shopping, stadium and schools) are a breakthrough for improving urban neighbourhood vitality to attract new flows, but it does not dialogue with the urban structures of the region because it maintains the implementation of paradigm of the plot closed itself, without urban and design strategies. It was lost an opportunity that would allow designing open urban structures promoting spatial connections with the urban fabric of the surroundings.

The concept of territory fragmenting as a ghetto in itself, surrounded by fences, walls, visible or invisible barriers, despises the fundamental function of connection to the street and with it necessarily the freedom of the city (Jacobs, 2011) as well as the station as a catalyst the development as a 'place' in the territory of an urban hub or can become the force of destruction of the diversity of this environment.

Railways and highways are classic borderline examples (Jacobs, 2011) and it is an urban challenge that must be faced.

## Conclusions

If on one hand there was the predominance of over fifty years of orthodox rationalist urban planning, on the other there was the construction of the criticism of the functionalist aesthetic that seeks to turn away from simplistic practices that eventually destroy the urban vitality widespread discussed by Jacobs.

Based on the analysis of spatial transformations of the urban insertion of Itaquera station, this paper is grounded on the investigation of their functional role in the territory which has become

surrounding Itaquera subway station. So far, the experience means more than defining conclusions, stress some challenges to overcome, regarding station zone, its surrounding area and your new role in a contemporary territory.

The complexity of the territory, use of sidewalks, the busy corner that bring a permanent succession of eyes arranging in uninterrupted movements in a complex urban ballet that results in confidence in the appropriation of public space as written by Jacobs and that not only can, but must also be applied in the surrounding of a 'node-place station'.



Figure 7: Main entrance and the highway. Source: Baiardi, 2015.

more complex due to intensification of displacement possibilities within a metropolis.

The dimensions of the Itaquera station area impress even as the challenges of spatial integration in the territory of a node of transport.

The understanding of this process regarding the modernized of transport system complex addressed as part of Urban Hub integrated in a systematic territory, avoiding the 'large plot' with the predominance of emptiness and many waste areas, could become the opportunity focus that through the right project solution can guide the spatial transformations and the connections with territory and its surrounding area.

As a work in progress<sup>20</sup>, it is still premature to establish all the effects of the spatial transformations

<sup>20</sup> This paper is part of a Ph.D research still in a progress at Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie - School of Architecture and Urbanism (São Paulo, Brazil) in a co-tutelle with Leibniz Universität Hannover.

Corinthians-Itaquera Subway station is not only an attrition with automobiles or highways but an attrition with a complex transport node. Corinthians-Itaquera Subway station is an erosion in neighbourhood, an erosion in the city.

There are no short blocks, there are no crosses on street corners, there is no a complex combination of crossover uses, there is no at the heart of the station an urban structure that supports the urban diversity of its surroundings. There are no eyes in the 'blind area' in which predominates the 'Great Plague of Monotony'. There is no urban ballet surrounding the station, because people rushed hastily to the entrance of the station.

The objective of recognizing the negative forces that act to the blind territory is to understand them is to try to fight them, or better yet, turn them into constructive forces (Jacobs: 2011, p.268).

This means that a node of transport in a contemporary city needs to be upgraded, (re)build,

(re)discussed and (re)connected to the urban territory, in order to create integrated spaces, not only a transport system, in a fragmented practice. It is necessary (re) discover the territory, re (discover) the place surrounding the station to influence its own growth of diversity and urban vitality.

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# Mapping the Neighbourhood: Problems, Suggestions & Approaches to Urban Futures

A methodological approach to the management of bottom-up community synergies and cultural initiatives

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**Abstract.** The research tries to establish the foundations for a comprehensive mapping of the 'Neighbourhood'. This paper addresses the way a top-down creative initiative (namely LABattoir) should operate by recognizing locals' needs and desires. Alongside, acknowledges the bottom-up dynamics, by creating channels of neighbourhood participation in a City that seemingly is not taking into consideration the plurality of its neighbourhoods whilst reflecting towards it as a totality. Hence, the aim is to shed light on the growing potential of neighbourhood mapping to support the bottom-up participation of citizens in decision-making and problem solving activities. For this reason, the research is highlighting the diversity and dynamic nature of urban neighbourhoods, whilst emphasizing partnerships and collaborations among cultural and community organizations. Finally, it shows how academic knowledge can be applied towards social goals. The findings indicate the importance of 'small-scale' observation and place-making. In this light, LABattoir can offer alternatives within the context of financial crisis by functioning as a reference point for community-building whilst considering the 'Neighbourhood' as the staging ground for an ongoing action-research project.

**Key words** – neighbourhoods, community-building, place-making, cities as ecosystems

Man does not end with the limits of his body or the area comprising his immediate activity. Rather is the range of the person constituted by the sum of effects emanating from him temporally and spatially. In the same way, a city consists of its total effects which extend beyond its immediate confines. Only this range is the city's actual extent in which its existence is expressed (Georg Simmel, 1903)

## Introduction

Thessaloniki is both an ordinary and unique city at one

and the same time (Robinson 2006; Mazower 2004; Christodoulou 2015). Currently, it is considered as a city in transition (Patikas 2013). The Municipality is trying to integrate the city's rich historic and cultural heritage in its "contemporary - present and future - spatial and symbolic order" (Hastaoglou & Christodoulou 2010, p.132). Far from being an 'isolated island' anymore, the city seems to embody an ongoing struggle to redefine its image and attractiveness in order to acquire a stronger position on the global map,

either through tourism development or culture-led regeneration. These policies constitute a response to the stagnation that the financial crisis created, providing potentially economic, cultural and social impacts. In this direction, there is an ongoing contradictory discussion around the role of citizens in the midst of a 'more-than-financial' crisis (Karagianni & Kapsali 2014) coupled with an outlook for developing Thessaloniki into the 'Metropolitan city of the Balkans' (Labrianidis 2011; Frangopoulos et

al., 2009).

Within this framework, I was asked by the Vice-Mayor for Culture to conduct an ethnographic research through mapping on behalf of LABattoir, a new municipal initiative based at the recently refurbished building of the old slaughterhouse, which is located at the 'Western Entrance' of the city. LABattoir was set up by the Municipality to introduce participatory activities in community development programs through 'art for social change'. According to the Official Website:

LABattoir wants to become a socially engaged machine for the production of culture; a laboratory of applied creativity that responds to society's needs and problems, introducing solutions and alternative strategies with the contribution of the 'artist' as catalyst and the citizen as co-producer.

Initially, when I queried the area of focus, I was told to map the 2nd Municipal district (2Md). The last (Figure 1) is situated at the western part of Thessaloniki and includes 8 neighbourhoods. It covers of an area of 330 hectares and has a population of about 35,000 residents (ELSTAT 2011). Arguably, it is a huge suburban area to map in 15 days.

This fact though was considered as a very good opportunity to argue about the importance of creating channels of neighbourhood participation in a City that seemingly is not taking into consideration the plurality of its neighbourhoods, whilst reflecting towards it as a totality and through a 'bird's-eye' view. It is worth mentioning that the city lacks an urban geography department, even if it has the largest university in the Balkan Peninsula. Also, I would like to add that in Greek reality there aren't neighbourhood managers to connect the city administration to the neighbourhood and, vice versa, neither neighbourhood public forums nor neighbourhood councils. Therefore, it was an opportunity to reflect critically on the way the Municipality operates when it comes to the reproduction of urban neighbourhoods. In essence, my research describes the way LABattoir should operate by acknowledging the creative bottom-up dynamic of the target area.

Given the top-down nature of LABattoir, this paper aims to shed light on the growing potentials

of neighbourhood mapping in order to support bottom-up citizens' participation in decision-making and problem solving activities. My approach is providing a lens through which the research can address the way urban neighbourhoods affect our lives, which as in this case, often go unrecognized (Sampson 2012). In this direction, I am also critically reflecting to the works of Jane Jacobs (1961) who emphasized the nature of urban neighbourhoods and the importance of 'small scale' for peoples' quality of life. This is considered important, since during the last couple of years the concept of the 'neighbourhood' has re-emerged as an important setting for many of the processes which are shown to shape social identity (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). My aspiration here is to show to the Municipality that community-building should be targeted at the needs, desires

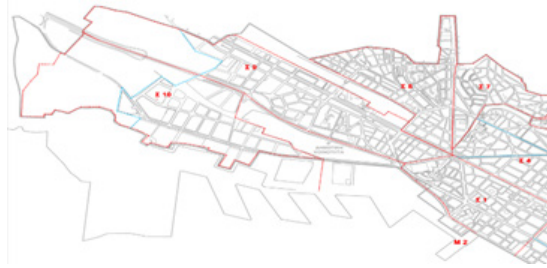


Figure 1: The area of focus is the 2Md. Source: Municipality of Thessaloniki

and unique characteristics of each neighbourhood separately (Chatzinakos, 2015). In this direction, this study asks how a top-down initiative should operate by acknowledging locals' needs and desires. How we are going to intervene without underestimating the bottom up dynamics?

The adopted methodology tries to handle local knowledge in order to empower the potential involvement of the 'Neighbourhood' in decision-making processes. Accordingly, social and spatial problems are emerging and the substantial needs of locals can be prioritized. In such a way, citizens' participation becomes a cornerstone for the design of sustainable neighbourhoods. Following the presentation of the results, I am gradually suggesting the way this sort of creative laboratory should function in terms of future actions and projects by engaging urban neighbourhoods as living laboratories and, by extension, the

City as an ecosystem.

## Theoretical Framework

My work contributes to the long tradition of geographers who have attempted to map neighbourhood areas. The idea of mapping can be traced back to the 20th century. In 1925, Park and Burgess (1985) tried to analyse urban space and its social structures in order to justify the existence of social problems. Lynch (1960) developed cognitive mapping as a way to represent how persons perceive the relationships between space, place, and social features of the built environment. Currently, mapping is being used by researchers to document social behaviour and spatial relationships (e.g. Powell 2010; Serriere 2010). For instance, Powell (2010) used mapping to design a research project that combined arts-based research, design and urban planning with ethnography to develop visual methods for site-based research. Harmon (2004) presented a diverse collection of 100 maps, addressing the relationship of unemployment rates to urban stress and racial composition of neighbourhoods. In addition, scholars have used ethnographic mapping on community-engaged action research (Mulligan & Nadarajah, 2008; Minkler, 2004) while others have focused on the impact of ICTs towards the empowerment and participation of communities in decision-making (Verma, 2010).

In my case, the notion of the 'neighbourhood' is being used as a theoretical and practical framework for the collection and interpretation of qualitative and quantitative information within a given delineated geographical area, which in turn highlights its special characteristics. In this light, the neighbourhood environment is recognised "as a spatial context in which social processes are embedded, and where social interaction both shapes, and is shaped by, the spatial context and the meanings people imbue it with" (Jorgensen 2010, p.4). Accordingly, neighbourhoods are the places where everyday practice occurs (De Certeau, 2002). My focus is to develop a greater understanding of the 'Neighbourhood' as a locus of shared meaning for those who reside within, since arguably people connect to these living ecosystems and construct their identity. In this sense, they can become



personally meaningful. In such a way, mapping can be used to study neighbourhood development and transformation by creating a visual representation of an area based on detailed information directly derived from the local setting whilst the geography of the neighbourhood provides a framework within which we are able to observe and analyse socio-spatial problems.

Nevertheless, even if the concept of neighbourhood intuitively involves spatiality and it is widely acknowledged that it is affecting residents in a special way, precise measurement of this spatial dimension is treated sometimes as problematic (Spilsbury et al., 2009). Moreover, when identified, neighbourhood impacts are often small in magnitude, leading to controversy about whether neighbourhood effects actually exist (Sellström & Bremberg, 2006; Sampson et al., 2002). Thus, little has been done to incorporate neighbourhood ethnographical mapping into community-building and neighbourhood transformation processes, since many of the aforementioned studies have primarily used a sociological perspective, which does not involve the geographic aspects of the chosen area (Wilson 2009). In this sense, I would like to contribute to the growing discussion of the importance of mapping and its effectiveness in the interpretation of vital and critical social issues. I assume that my approach will assist me in describing neighbourhood assets and their various features (spatial, economic, socio-cultural), aiming to improve the design of LABattoir strategy, without underestimating the bottom-up dynamic. In such a way, neighbourhood mapping is proving a powerful tool that brings participants and residents into the process of research. Thus, at a later stage, it can be combined with other methods to address or prevent social problems, or to promote the design of sustainable neighbourhoods and enhance the understanding of the role of an ecological model which believes in an overarching view of neighbourhood needs (Aronson et al., 2007; Nelson & Baldwin, 2002). I believe this sort of mapping in Thessaloniki opens an entirely new range of possibilities in terms of conceptualizing and understanding many of the urban phenomena that are at the heart of understanding cities' complexity and plurality. Therefore, by "understanding the aesthetics of mapping to illuminate

and critically represent socio-cultural and political issues might lead to vivid representations of places that might otherwise prove elusive, hidden, or underrepresented" (Powell 2010, p.554). In such a way, neighbourhood mapping can provide a basis for studying community settings, identifying neighbourhood features and resources.

## Methodology

The importance of the current research lies to the fact that the adopted methodology can be considered as a pilot model of action-research and useful tool for the further development of LABattoir. My research aims were to:

1. To identify the 2Md's spatial and physical characteristics and operationalize its boundaries,
2. To locate the socio-cultural and economic features of the chosen area, which potentially can be used as assets for further development of synergies,
3. To address the social organization of the neighbourhood and the underlying issues related to place, evaluating the relationship between the locals and the Municipality,
4. To provide a more in-depth description of the target area,
5. To highlight what types of urban development trends are being identified,
6. To design a community-responsive strategy to support progressive change in urban neighbourhoods and create a tool for community development.

The comprehension of neighbourhoods' structure comprises the first stage of my ethnographic research and it can be used for identifying the origins of the population, its locational characteristics, the basic underlying divisions (social, cultural, economic) and social groups' interrelations (exchanges, conflicts). In terms of data collection, I sourced a rich bibliography and available data. The ideal in this stage would be to provide a detailed, in depth understanding of the geographical specificities of the chosen area through analysing urban landscape, since my aim is to discover what role is played by the geographic location, the demographics and other key characteristics such as the spatial structure of the chosen area. However, in this respect I came across a great limitation. In

Greece, in order for someone to have access to such resources, one must make a time-consuming special request to the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) since this data is not available through an open source neighbourhood monitoring system, as is the case in many other countries and cities. For this reason, a researcher has to find alternative ways of data collection. Therefore, I derived this data from pre-existing research which does not narrow down its scope to this specific area of interest. Afterwards, I drew testimonies for the 'Western Entrance' of Thessaloniki, which is simultaneously the boundary of the city and the area towards which its centre is expanding rapidly. I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with 'active' citizens, businessmen and employees of the 2Md, in order to share their local knowledge. In addition, I asked the interviewees to draw a map in order to frame the boundaries of their neighbourhood (as Hays & Kogl, 2007; Lee 1968). I assumed that in this way, I would be able to produce a more meaningful and relevant spatial scale that will be more closely representative of the neighbourhood construct (Coulton et al., 2001).

## Discussion

Today, the urban landscape of the 2Md is arguably characterized by deterioration. The scenery contains physical evidences of the city's industrial past, combined with a multitude of uses, large unstructured areas, uncontrolled mixing of residential and other uses, and a lack of social equipment and technical infrastructure. The inactive and abandoned industrial shells create environmental problems, shape the quality of life and enhance the aesthetic degradation and abandonment as well. The mix of disparate uses and the intermediate residual spaces provide the area with a transitional and heterotopic character. This results in quantitative and qualitative shortage of open spaces along with a lack of organized public spaces and green areas. These characteristics are features of a diffuse deterioration of the urban environment and indicators of inequality in relation to the more prosperous central and eastern parts of the city. The 2Md arguably, is consisting of a mixed character and diverse identity populated by different social groups. The social landscape is being complemented by

marginalized social groups and sub-cultures. As Christodoulou (2015) notes there is a rich urban culture that until today remains largely unknown.

Nevertheless, the 2Md of Thessaloniki seems to be coming to the fore lately both in public policy discussions and through various organizations, residents' initiatives and research projects. It appears that this is because the area before the outbreak of the crisis was attractive for investment due to the proximity to the city centre and was also served by the major construction/transportation projects.

Accordingly, at that time the simultaneous physical and social degradation of the 'Western Entrance' created the right conditions for new investments and displacement of local and international investor interest from other city areas with higher land values. Several studies have made it clear that the area, despite its problems, currently provides opportunities and prospects for urban development, enhancing the city's role both in national and Balkan context (Asimos et al., 2010).

Arguably, the 2Md consists of a timeless challenge for the city. However, as the new character of the area remains ambiguous, it is clear that its position and role is changing through a diversified and differentiated urban geography. The "western frontier" (Smith 1999) of marginal uses, transitional communities and underfunding seems to move at a fast pace but through procedures that look fragmented, disjointed and rather spontaneous. The landscape of abandonment, the pushing out of 'marginal' communities for investment in the area by international capital, and the development and the subsequent capitalization of 'the big construction projects', has resulted in a multi-layered urban transformation scenario that is likely to extend probably the city centre and the territorial influence of the middle class towards the 'Western Entrance' (Papageorgiou et al., 2000).

My basic assumption for the elaboration of this project is that the city's authorities should recognize and respect the cultural diversity of the area. The latter, must become the basis of urban regeneration projects in conjunction, of course, with its geographical advantages as an area of forthcoming urban development.

The city should respect and preserve the complexity of the area since a potential top-down gentrifying development may delete or rebuild it, removing all the complexity that makes the area attractive and charming. Similarly, Jacobs (1961) expected the creative potential of a city to emerge from its inhabitants if they are given the right tools and not from a central planner (as cited in Rybeck, 2015). "The elements of the city: the people, streets, parks, neighbourhoods, the government, the economy cannot exist without one another and are, just like the organs of the human body, connected with each other" (Jacobs, 1961 as cited in Hospers 2006, p.726). As with Jacobs (1961), my concern is the possible existence of social networks that are being circulated in urban neighbourhoods. These are necessary parts that should be retained since they are an

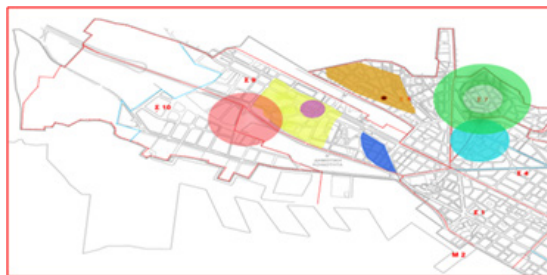


Figure 2: An illustration of the maps drawn by the locals on the general map of 2Md. Source: Municipality of Thessaloniki, Edited by the author.

irreplaceable part of social capital of every neighbourhood (p.138). Arguably, the alienation of these networks, which can take place due to various exogenous 'top-down' interventions, without consideration of the local factor, might mean a disruption of social cohesion that potentially exists in the 2Md. seemingly, the financial crisis and the degradation/marginalisation of the 2Md are aggravating factors. Furthermore, the existence of many schools with the parallel lack of public space is another inculpatory factor.

Accordingly, the people of the 2Md believe that they are unsafe. They mention the existence of a dual reality: Day and Night. Jacobs (1961) highlighted the relationship between the feeling of security and space and argues that under these conditions an unsafe area is characterized by lack of surveillance and informal social control when it comes to certain mono-functional public spaces (such as parks, streets, underpasses etc.). For this reason she

is proposing their transformation into multifunctional areas in order that social activities do not get interrupted. However, even though I located a broad trend of distrust and non-confidence towards the Municipality, I observed a trend to revive a sense of individual responsibility and collective sensitivity towards public matters. In this direction, LABattoir should define its strategy by creating the appropriate channels for civic participation. The question that arises is what are the appropriate structures that should be created to strengthen the participation of inhabitants per neighbourhood and how should they operate by achieving the greatest level of participation?

In this direction, even if the Municipality considers the 2Md as a demarcated area by incorporating those neighbourhood as an important organizational framework for its policies, the result of locals' mental maps is showing a completely different reality (Figure 2).

As in another cases, most of the interviewees reported attachment to an area significantly smaller to the one considered by the municipality as a neighbourhood. In this regard locals' behaviours and their subjective neighbourhoods do not appear to correspond with official neighbourhood boundaries (Coulton et al., 2001; Lee 1968).

As Figure 2 shows, it is profound that the locals perceive micro-environments depending on their place of residence, work and memory. Their individual experiences shape their capacities to consider in broader detail what constitutes their neighbourhood, while natural barriers, such as the train tracks, are framing them. So, we understand that their problems and needs might differ and will emerge only if we focus on their micro-environments. It is becoming clear that from a bureaucratic perspective, it is easiest to perceive urban neighbourhoods as discrete, distinct objects that nest within current administrative boundaries, even if those boundaries do not necessarily fit with neighbourhood perceptions, even with the same name (Flemmings, 2010; Twaroch et al., 2009). In conclusion, as in this case, the picture of neighbourhoods is especially problematic within urban areas, where boundaries

are frequently less clear and more open to subjective interpretation (Brindley et al., 2014).

## Conclusions

The research highlighted the fact that neighbourhoods can be developed as a key player in the development of cities. In the past, they were the main locus where social interaction was taking place and even today they define the structure of the city and are an important tool for urban policy-making. Therefore, by knowing and redefining the position of a neighbourhood an effective and appropriate strategic policy can emerge. In this light, Frey (1999) considers the concept of the neighbourhood as a necessity since along with other circumstances it is in accordance with the ideals of economic self-sufficiency and participation, both of which underpin the criteria of sustainable development. However, the modern city today comprises of a dynamic system in which multiple other (geographical, digital) 'places' interplay locally in multiple timings and through consequential material and non-material connections, forming a multi-layered spatial-functional system (Christodoulou 2015; Massey 1999; Amin & Graham 1997). Thus, cities are highly complex entities and certainly it is not possible to map all the relationships and exchanges that take place within them. As Spencer (2015) notes:

"much of the knowledge and understanding of how urban environment influence human activity (and vice versa) can only be extrapolated from smaller scale or indirect observation ... For example, who interacts with whom? How often exchanges take place? Where they take place? ... still, on a city-wide systematic level these questions can never be comprehensively addressed empirically, but instead one can build up fuller pictures from smaller studies. The danger in doing so is making generalizations that are not accurate or representative" (p.896).

In light of the above, in post-industrial cities the encouragement of place-making devices seems one way. This is because place-making is a process that allows people in a community to develop a vision for a place themselves: "Local governments, design and engineering firms cannot do place-making. Only people can" (Project for Public Space 2010, p.1).

In this direction, LABattoir can become a cultural infrastructure that can be used as part of a place-promotion strategy which is associated with a dynamic cultural bottom-up business support rather than a top-down. This is very important if we take into account that usually the top-down practices dominate while place-making must respect the bottom-up citizens' initiatives (Mommaas, 2004). Probably, Jane Jacobs would argue that place-making within the city should be one of the basic principles of a sustainable planning because cities exist to serve their residents which constantly multiply while "cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody" (Jacobs 1961, p. 238). Arguably, the more 'vivid' a place is, the more the residents will feel connected with it and maintain it. Besides, a community with a vibrant sense of space encourages its people to experience it at different scales, from the larger (the entire community) to the smaller (the personal residence inside it). However, the emergence of 'shanty towns' as a global phenomenon (Davis 2006), demonstrates that place-making is not such an easy and accessible procedure, implemented by urban planners and policy-makers. Even in many European cases, the continuous growth of urban population hasn't resulted in decisions by the local authorities to serve directly the citizens by regenerating less favoured neighbourhoods on their behalf. The result in that instead of being an area of social negotiation, the situation has become a field of conflicts between dwellers with contrasting and competing interests (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

Nevertheless, I believe that LABattoir can offer alternatives within the ongoing context of financial crisis which arguably has led to a "wholesale radical restructuring of life" (Douzinas, 2013, p.11). Potentially, it can function as a reference point for community-building, since the city hasn't developed any community social centres/hubs. Here, the importance of such centres/hubs is considered as an essential ingredient of a liveable neighbourhood (Fung, 2004; Hirst, 2002; Fredericksen & London, 2000). That's because, from time to time they engage in problem-solving activities (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). This might prove

vital for the strategy of LABattoir by following the words of Jacobs (1961, p 238) that "you can't rely on bringing people downtown, you have to put them there". In this direction, LABattoir should promote socio-cultural activities in public space by reinforcing the capabilities of social mixing and producing a more vibrant urban environment. These can be organised by various cultural assets and monitored by LABattoir. Hence, LABattoir seems to have a potential to establish its position as a powerful vehicle for the creation, transfer and transmission of ingrained and abstract concepts that express and reflect the uniqueness of Thessaloniki, allowing in such a way not only various institutions, but also locals to participate more actively to the creation of the 'unique' history of the city and a newly created urban identity: the one that is being jointly created by the people of this city.

## Further Research

As a basis for future action in the planning and development of LABattoir strategy, I would like to concretize the ways in which locals construct various embedded meanings of place through everyday living experiences. Thus, I would like to explore further the local conceptions of what a Neighbourhood is and how locals view and construct their micro-environments of everyday usage.

In this direction, I suggested the creation of an interdisciplinary group that will aim to complete a historical mapping of the broader area. My aspiration here is to present, as fully as possible, the history of the 'Neighbourhood', while illuminating its hidden and obscure aspects. This can be done through bibliographic research and by collecting personal narrations. This will aid me to unfold the development of the 'Neighbourhood' over time whilst highlighting various aspects of everyday life. By paraphrasing Jane Jacobs (1961), an urban neighbourhood should be treated as an alive map, based on its different uses by different people that result in unscheduled meetings; enriching the lives and experiences of urbanity.

The upcoming research should identify and crystallize elements that will also enhance urban identity. We must firstly recognize and highlight the historical stock and secondly locate more micro-environments and cultural assets

which potentially are connecting the neighbourhood of interest. This should be done through cultural mapping by identifying all the organizations of 2Md that belong to what is known as the third sector, non-profit sector, or civil society. This will aid us to evaluate the capacity of neighbourhood-based organizations aiming to address each neighbourhood's problems by identifying, highlighting and fostering potential synergies in the micro-environments of interest with combined actions in public space.

In this sense, according to Hunter and Staggenborg (1988) two types of synergies may be relevant. The first aims to link the organisations inside the chosen area by providing the opportunity to mobilize resources to “support locally organized collective action” (p.248). The second is connecting the organisations both within and outside the neighbourhood, which may provide “critical external resources” that are necessary to engage in action (p.248). In such a way, we will be able to create a structure that will offer local assets the opportunity for experiential learning and a chance to participate and contribute to the research process by exploiting their insights about the neighbourhood, its history and culture. The focus here is to create a systematic approach for effective and efficient group collaboration in neighbourhood issues to ensure improved decision-making. Recent results demonstrate that such interventions managed to increase participation in neighbourhood-based activity, changing the spatial and social environment (Dulin-Keitaa et al., 2016; Brindley et al., 2014; Kinney et al., 2012; Zenk et al., 2009). In this light, another recent study underlines the fact that there is a significant and stable deviation between the projected aims/priorities and the implemented interventions made by the municipal authorities compared to the needs and desires of the local community itself. This shows a “particular dynamic of interests established by specific elite categories that are capable of intervening and claiming public funding on their benefit” (Thoidou & Foutakis, 2006, p.40). This is contending the governance of the city and its broader metropolitan area particularly problematic (Christodoulou 2015). In this respect, bearing all these in mind we should go beyond traditional definitions of participation. How actually such a top-down intervention can offer a new dimension of thinking in times of ‘more-than-financial’ crisis?

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# Exploring resident-empowered meeting places in Dutch neighbourhoods

by Jane Jacobs Walking Action-research  
methodology

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**Abstract-**The 'Jane Jacobs Walk' organization as one of the Jane Jacobs (1916-2006) heritage initiative supported three Jane Jacobs Walks of certified Fred Sanders in the period 2011 - 2014 in Amsterdam neighbourhoods. These walks helped residents to explore resident-empowered meeting-places and activities in their own housing environment for the benefit of community living-quality for themselves and others all spirited by Jane Jacobs her thoughts. These walks can methodological be seen as a form action-research by which the participating residents analyze their own data of experiences and insights. From the three Jane Jacob Walks organized (added to the results of my dissertation as the 'body of knowledge') (Sanders, 2014) the conclusions are: 1. Residents favor nearby and lifestyle coupled meeting-places, 2. Beside the by the municipality organized meeting-places there are many so called 'free' meeting-places available, 3. Less of all these meeting-places suite youngsters, foreign people and unemployed people, and 4. Resi-dents are willing to organize meeting-place even to manage subsidizing still a financial support from the municipality is essential. The effect of the 'talking by walking' could be optimized by involving more youngsters. 'Jane Jacobs Walks' as example of action-research could methodological be optimized by test-ing the results in a pilot-neighbourhood.  
**Key words** – Jane Jacobs Walk, neighbourhoods, meeting-places, empowerment, action-research

## Introduction

During the period of years 2011-2014 three Jane Jacob Walks in Amsterdam and Amstelveen municipality neighbourhoods have been organized to explore community meeting-places that form foundations for-organized activities in neighbourhood areas. The immediate cause was the nation-wide budget-reduction of welfare-activities as effect of the 2008-2014 economic crises, due to which welfare-organizations start exploring resident-initiative as the base for alternative welfare business-cases. The underlying hypotheses was that resident-empowered meeting-places could be more effective to the neighbourhood-residents and cheaper in its operations. Being a certified Jane Jacob Walker it gave

me the opportunity to organize these three walks. Secondly it gave me the opportunity to add new research to the knowledge gained with my dissertation called 'Sustainable Development through Resident's Collective Initiatives'. Logically Its an honour to present the research results of these walks at the TU Delft Urbanism Spatial Planning 'Jane Jacob 100' conference.

## Dutch call for resident participation in neighbourhoods

In the period during and after the Dutch recession 2008-2014, the Dutch national government called-up for resident

initiative: residents initiative that should flourish on the scale of neighbourhoods (Ministerie-BiZa, 2009) (Sanders, 2010). This primarily to enforce a smaller government and achieve goals with lower governmental budgets (Ministerie-BiZa and VNG, 2011). In a way, the Dutch government therewith seems to follow the strategic route pointed out by the UK MP Tony Blair in 1998 called 'The third way' (Giddens, 2000). In this strategy the 'Civil society' makes room for initiatives of resident groups to rule their personal hemisphere to develop entrepreneurial, government-loose initiatives with a minimum of professional assistance (Kuiper et al., 2012).

This development started in and around 1997 concerning programs of neighbourhood

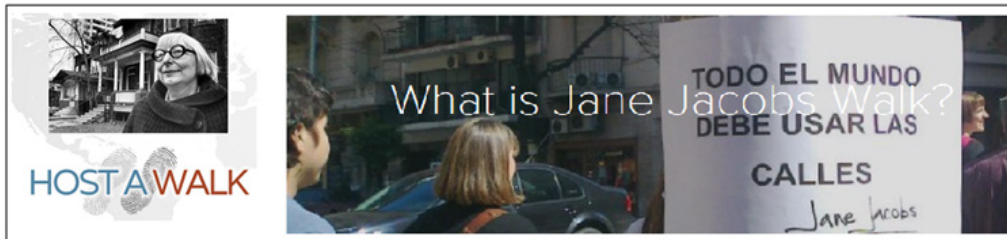


Figure 1. Impressions from Jane Jacobs Walks website ([www.janejacobswalk.org](http://www.janejacobswalk.org)).

renewal started-up by Dutch national government to better the living conditions of deprived neighbourhoods (Ministerie-VROM, 1997). The first program (IPSV) (Ministerie-VROM, 2001) led to 150 initiatives (Ecorys, 2006) mostly investments in real estate, changing blocks of social housing in postwar neighbourhoods into mixed housing with resale housing included within. By mixing classes of residents, middle-class standards and values were supposed to become the standard for all residents. To facilitate processes of working and learning together by bridging classes, for elevation of deprived people on the long run (VROM-Raad, 2006) (Ministerie-VROM, 2007).

A development followed-up by countrywide municipality budget cut-down on welfare in neighbourhoods to stimulate resident-responsibility and resident-initiative on the scale of neighbourhoods. The governmental assumption under this policy is that residents could help en stimulate each other to the best and secondly that neighbourhood community-centers could be managed by residents too to reduce welfare-costs further (De Boer and van der Lans, 2011) (De Haas, 2014).

Recently from 2015 on Dutch National government by 3D-Transition handed-over the responsibility of home-living elderly-care, youth-care and unemployment to the municipalities, with lesser money because resident-participation managed on the scale of the municipality would reduce costs (BZK, 2014).

The result of these consecutive developments is that resident-participation for municipalities became a 'must' to be managed instead a 'chance' for residents to take initiative over the last two decades of time ([www.gemeentevandetoekomst.nl](http://www.gemeentevandetoekomst.nl)) (SCP, 2016). A process in Dutch referred to as 'responsabilisation' (Garland, 2001) in a so mentioned a 'participation society' in the

Netherlands. Residents are persuaded to take initiative in the so called 'action society', in Dutch: 'doe maatschappij' (Hendriks, 2006) (Sanders, 2009). The foundation of this development is supposed to be the social interaction of residents connected to action, concerning goals of the people's interest (Tonkens, 2006) and this trend that citizen-initiative is mobilized for making local solutions for national responsibilities with lesser money seems to intensify.

As a consequence of these policy developments the Dutch government is rapidly changing their aims from a 'welfare state towards a welfare society' (Kuiper and Bremmer, 1983), bringing a smaller government and more resident responsibility together (Giddens, 2000). A development towards residents taking-up 'roles' depending on the circumstances in a 'deliberative democracy' (Elster, 1998) in the so called 'doe-democratie': a society in which taking responsibility and active participation are important (Tonkens, 2009). A development embraced by government because of budget on care and welfare cuts to re-promote neighbourhood caregiving in between residents (Carley et al., 2013).

## Meeting-places function by resident mobilization

Meeting-places show to be important places where socializing in neighbourhood networks starts (Blokland, 2008) (Sanders and Dautzenberg, 2010). The Nestor of social-psychology Paul-Michel Foucault too proved that Physical places are the important factor for people in networks meeting each other, or places where people meet networks to start joining these (Foucault, 1975)

People do live in social networks (Weick, 1979) because people prefer 'loose-coupled'

networks (Putnam, 1995) within socializing opportunities (Riesman et al., 1950) because 'bridging' (mutual socializing of people from different social networks) has a blockade among most of the people because they avoid 'social cohesion' (Sanders, 2014). Such networks are often lifestyle- or age-coupled (Blokland-Potters, 2005) (Dekker and Bolt, 2005) although people are active in more than one social network mostly (Ouweland, 2002) not only in their own neighbourhood also in and outside their city depending on their mobility (Dijst, 2008).

People like to meet in public space areas (Kearns and Forrest, 2001) (Van Kempen and Bolt, 2003), on green neighbourhood locations like parks (Berg et al., 2001) and in community centers (Oosterling, 2009) within safety conditions (Puddifoot, 2002). Also Jane Jacobs proved that locations being green-zones, parks, well-furnished public-space and welcome community-centers are important for people to feel good and lower barriers for meeting and socialize with each other (Jacobs, 1961). Exceptional well rated meeting-places create place-attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001) that make people to come back to visit the place and the people more often. Such places give emotion (Foucault and Kremer-Marietti, 1969) and identity to people (Van der Land, 2004). A characteristic of these places are that they are situated in between 'anonymity and intimacy' and 'public and private' (Van Dorst, 2005) (Blokland, 2008).

Research in the Netherlands as a follow-up to all these insights showed that such meeting-places are important for neighbourhood-residents to meet, to socialize, to start or join networks with others (Dautzenberg, 2009) (Sanders and Dautzenberg, 2010, Dautzenberg, 2009) (SEV, 2011). Therewith meeting-places seem to be an important starting-point for taking initiative (Sanders, 2014).

Most meeting-places though in the Netherlands are created by municipalities and related welfare-organizations for which budgeting has been cut-down. In more and more cities nowadays in 2016 the movement started to turn-over these meeting-places into the responsibility of local residents, with variable success. Therewith the interesting basic question for responsabilising development for further research is:

‘What are good meeting-places to the opinion of neighbourhood residents, and how do these places to their opinion have or should have a function in their residents life and taking responsibility.

## Jane Jacobs: Walking as research methodology

Action-research as research methodology is gaining interest over recent years because of the advantages of future-oriented research (researching ‘what could be’ instead of ‘what has been’) and quality research (research by focus groups mainly instead of questionnaire analysis) with the two advantages: research on the three levels of ‘the opinion’, ‘argumentation’ and ‘motivation’ and the methodological benefit that such groups ‘clean-up’ results, criticize abnormal contributions and support recognizable contributions. In special when conditions have changed substantially and new developments are the subject of study such action-research is favorable (McKernan, 2013). Therewith action-research distinguishes from the more general used ex-post quantity research methodologies as shown in picture 2. Examples of action-research are focus group research, Delphi group sessions and the not often mentioned ‘Jane Jacob Walks’. When ‘Jane Jacob Walks’ are used for ‘talking by walking’ such a walking session can be seen as a focus-group session by which the area of research, for instance an neighbourhood, is visited actually.

It was Jane Jacobs herself that used her walks to talk with city or neighbourhood residents to make clear their worries, talk over their thought of solutions and which of these have their preference. She also ‘walked’ with mixed groups of residents and professionals, civil servants and urbanism specialists, to energize the ‘talk during the walks’

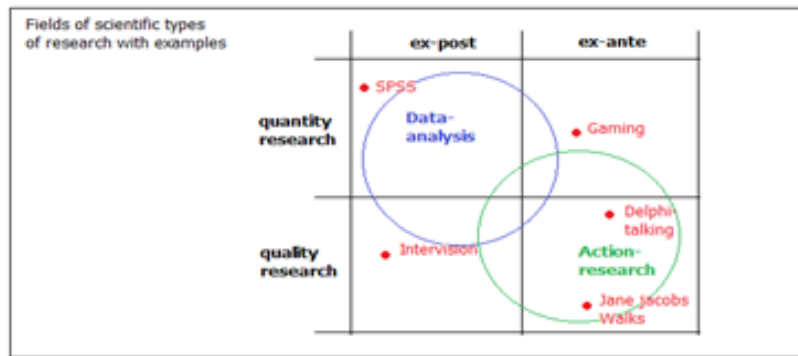


Figure 2. Positioning action-research in the field of research methodologies

(Jacobs, 1961). Therewith ‘Jane Jacob Walks’ is chosen as research methodology for researching the research question given above in chapter 2. This because the research question concerns residents area coupled, on the scale of city neighbourhoods and villages, the research question is related to the actual period of time after the recent recession of 2008-2012.

Using the advantages of ‘Jane Jacobs Walks’ the research question can be split-up in the following three underlying sub-questions:

The opinion: ‘What are good meeting-places to the opinion of neighbourhood residents.’

The argumentation: ‘How do meeting-places have or should have a function in residents lives.’

The motivation: ‘For which of these meeting-places will residents take responsibility.’

Actually the three Jane Jacobs Walks in Amsterdam and Amstelveen neighbourhoods (two in Amsterdam en one in Amstelveen) were organized with mix groups of residents and professionals: municipality civil-servants and professionals from municipality related welfare-organization. These walks took place in the neighbourhoods ‘De Pijp’ Amsterdam, Amsterdam-North and ‘Elsrijk’ Amstelveen in the period

2011-2014. For each of these walks the walking track was made known two to three weeks before, residents and professionals were given the opportunity to sign-in in advance and they were given stopping-point during the walk to step-in or drop-out the walk, to facilitate maximal possibilities for interested parties to join these walks. At the end of each walk during a coffee-break the results of all the talking were rehearsed, and the report was send to all that walked for comment and agreement. Herewith the research became controllable not repeatable as common for action-research.

An average of 20 people gave notice to join each of these walks, some joined the whole day of walking and others periods varying from 2 to 5 hours. During the walking not only existing by the municipality arranged meeting-places were visited also private meeting-places being cafés, libraries and elderly-housing community-rooms and not commonly known meeting-places brought-up by the participants were visited. On the place of this meeting-places discussion among the walking-participants was given time like there was talking during the walks.



Figure 3. Pictures of the community-center and available empty places in ‘De Pijp’ Amsterdam.





Figure 4. The lifestyles-coupled meeting-places grits on the map of 'de Pijp' Amsterdam.

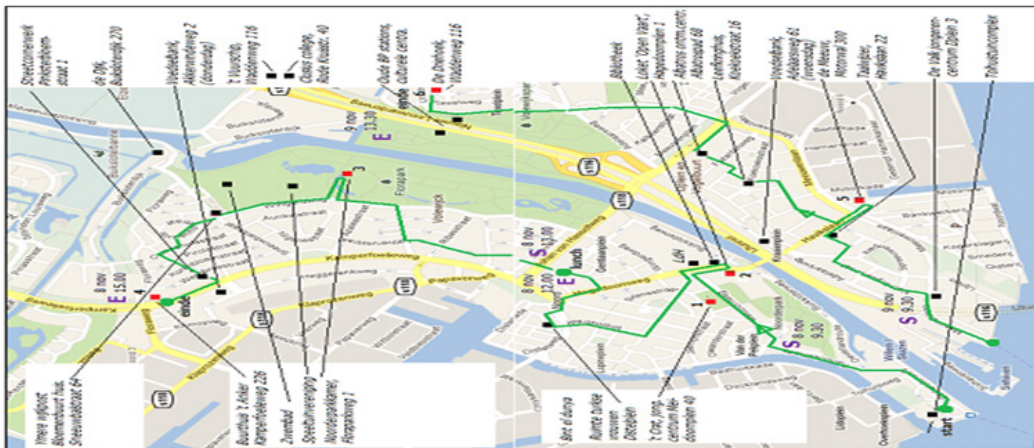


Figure 5. The walking-track with resting-point Amsterdam-North

## The results of the three Jane Jacobs Walks

The 'Jane Jacobs Walks' organized in 'De Pijp' Amsterdam (March 2011), Amsterdam-North (November 2011) and 'Elsrijk' Amstelveen (May 2014) were basically organized out of interest for the function of meeting-places for residents and related resident-initiative as a side-kick of a dissertation trajectory (Sanders, 2014), thought these walks were respectively sponsored by Combiwel welfare-organization, the Amsterdam-North area-municipality and Participe welfare-organization.

'De Pijp' Amsterdam (September 2011)

In 'De Pijp' neighbourhood the walk started in the morning with two professionals from the local Combiwel welfare-organization starting at the 'De Pijp' community-center walking to other smaller community-centers in the neighbourhood, talking with people that they knew passing-by and with people at these community-centers, resident and professionals as well.

So this 'Jane Jacobs Walk' did not start with a group but grew and shrank depending on the complicity of people. Walking along the talking concerning meeting-places in this neighbourhood moved from the available community-centers to the many empty locations that could be used too, school-buildings and shops mostly, see figure 3.

Amsterdam has the tradition in the way the housing is built that the ground floor offers space for shops and other kind of public functions as is needed for dentists, family doctors and small offices. It became clear that most shops had moved to more traffic intensive areas by which many of the space offered show empty, ugly to see and also attractive for bad behaviour of youngsters. It would be wise was said, to use more of these (temporarily) empty places as meeting-places instead of the huge expensive community-centers. Secondly there came clear that residents of different age and lifestyle do search other places and other densities of such meeting-places, because of their different action-radius of mobility, as shown in figure 4. Elderly as became clear do need a more density grit with meeting-place near shopping areas

where they live mainly. Youngsters have great mobility the best thought is to offer meeting-places where they like to go. Laying these grits above each other makes clear that less of the available community-centers lay on the right spots. Most community-centers as told were situated where municipality buildings had came free instead of following the neediness of residents.

Talking over the results of the walk at the end of the day at the coffee-table It became clear that residents are less to none motivated to take responsibility for one or more meeting-places. The entrepreneurs spoken on the way signed more enthusiasm and motivation for such. The manager of on the most central situated supermarket saw possibilities to make the coffee-spot in the shop bigger to become a meeting-point for lonely people. Some restaurants told that the café-table could be used for such during silent morning hours. Some Real Estate brokers saw possibilities to bring-in small empty shops to start meeting-point for young people. There were enough empty shops available to offer another one when the one given was taking for rent again. Hellas all asked serious sums

of monthly revenues for these spatial propositions. Only the supermarket manager asked no fee and could offer facility during whole the day seven days a week. He and the other entrepreneurs were positive motivated to participate in such a new meeting-place program

### Amsterdam-North (October 2012)

In Amsterdam-North the walking was carefully prepared: the walking track was given notice to the people of existing community-centers and to the team of civil-servants from the municipality, the track was given resting-spots with times for people to join in later and appointments were made with the managers of community-centers for a talk with their regular resident visitors, see figure 5.

The positive effect was that residents and professionals really got with each other in conversation, asking each other: what them brought into this walking experience, if they liked the community center and they talked over yearly planning of activities and what kind of people visited the center.

Remarkable difference with 'De Pijp' neighbourhood near the center of Amsterdam is that the Northern area is situated at the other site of the IJ canal, lesser crowded with younger people, families and youngsters and more foreign people although most of these are born in the Netherlands. The area showed in number more community-centers and with that meeting-points than 'De Pijp' neighbourhood. Some of these were private owned and managed by residents already. These residents showed that were motivated in taking responsibility for their own welfare and others. The contradiction was that most of

these meeting-places were typically dominant for one lifestyle group: for elderly, youngsters and family residents (sport location mostly) all more or less meeting their own type of people.

A very differentiated meeting-place was that of 'Noorderparkkamer' where artists of all kind joint their work with residents in mutual projects. This initiative showed to free from subsidizing completely financed by the participants and entrepreneurial funding. The initiative grew during the years from the first initiative token in the 'Noorderpark' park towards streets starting-up project with different themes like there are 'music', 'vintage goods' and 'homemade clothing'. For some impressions see figure 6.

### 'Elsrijk' Amstelveen (April 2014)

At 'Elsrijk' neighbourhood there were two developments in 2014 that led to action from the local Participe welfare-organization to ask for a 'Jane Jacobs Walk' as a try to make the situation in communication with residents clear to find solutions. The first development was the municipality budget-cut on community-centers with the possible effect that 't Open Hof' center would be closed-down if residents would not take-over its management. The other development was the initiative of two local resident organizations (Wijkplatform Elsrijk and NGO 'Stadsdorp Elsrijk') to rebuilt the old open-air amphitheater situated in the park of 'Elswijk' not only for performances also for creating a meeting-center for residents and a starting-point for resident-initiatives. Some initiatives had already started: reading books in groups of elderly, an inventory of empty shops and other building

to reduce vacancy and organizing activities for youngsters for the hours after school-time.

Together with these two organizations and the welfare-organization the walking-track was prepared, to be sure that all the existing and possible meeting-places should be visited. The group of walking-participants was really mixed from-out these organization and also spontaneous participating residents joined the group. Even two residents with disability hooked-up the group with their electric wheel chairs, because they wanted to show that some meeting-places are not accessible for disabled people. The walking event was officially accepted by the 'Jane Jacobs Walk Foundation' by which the participants could download this from the official site, see picture 7.

The result of the walk was that the professionals from the municipality and the welfare organization learned about for them unknown meeting-places, much more places then as they said they could imagine. There were meeting-places in churches, in a dancing school, in schools, in shops and all of these were visited, talked-over and imaginary placed in a network of meeting-places. For an impression of the walking and talking, see picture 8.

Interesting was how both development were talked over in mutual importance. The residents understood that new meeting-places could not be started as long as the existing meeting-place was sinking-away. And the professionals understood that the meeting-places embraced by residents could be more effective and personal for residents as the older places would be abandoned on a period of time. The people from the municipality took notice of all these during the



Figure 6. Impressions of the meeting-places in North-Amsterdam.



Figure 7. The walking track with information on [www.janejacobswalk.org](http://www.janejacobswalk.org).



Figure 8. Impressions of the walking group at 'Elsrijk' Amstelveen.

walk and promised to work all out in the next yearly planning, because funding was part of the local democratic decision-making. At the coffee-table evaluation of the walking and talking all participants showed satisfied. There had been made a start for solving the two developments and there were found unknown opportunities for new meeting-places. Most of these places were already resident managed and that gave the participants good feeling and feelings of trust for the future of living with quality in 'Elswijk' neighbourhood.

## Resident-empowered meeting-places in neighbourhoods

The results of these three 'Jane Jacobs Walks' are be coupled to each of the sub-questions. The 'talking by walking' delivered mutual confirmation of results and isolated results. These all helped to sketch how meeting-places in Dutch neighbourhoods can become resident-empowered, see below:

1. The opinion: 'What are good meeting-places to the opinion of neighbourhood residents'. The most remarkable result from the 'talking by walking' showed to be, that neighbourhoods already do contain 'free' meeting-places created by residents, organizations and local entrepreneurs out of side of the municipality and related welfare

organizations. These places are created in housing-communities of elderly, in schools and public centers like libraries, at sport facilities and at people's homes normally at the dining-table. Local entrepreneurs offer meeting-places to residents too, like coffee-corners in the supermarkets and reading-tables at a coffee-bars. Most places have evolved to be more for one lifestyle than others. These 'free' meeting-places do evolve, new ones start and older stop. Therewith such meeting-places process manually always fit to the residents that seek these according to the quality offered and location. Advantage of these 'free' places is that they exceed the meeting-placed organized by the municipality in number and spread over neighbourhoods and they offer for many lifestyles places of choice. The contra-side is that less of these meeting-places do suite youngsters, people with low income and foreign people, the ones that are born in the Netherlands too. Barriers seem to be the dominant 'white' visitors of these locations and the costs to be made to be permitted, for joining a sporting-club or buying coffee as examples. Still there seem to be enough meeting-places as in a libraries and in supermarkets free of entrée where people can walk-in easily. Most of these 'free' places though show not to be convenient for youngsters and foreign people and the by

municipality created meeting-places aren't better. Meeting-places seem to be 'good to residents' when they fit their needs, when they meet their lifestyle folk, when the distance fit in their action-radius and when using these meeting-places match their room for expenditures. Meeting-places for youngsters and foreign people are less available these could get more attention to be developed and offered. The 'talking by walking' did not made clear if the use of empty shops or other buildings could offer possibilities to create meeting-places to solve this lack. At the other hand such an approach could be very flexible in making meeting-places on the right spot suiting the lifestyle of these specific neighbourhood residents. The 'Jane Jacobs Walks' delivered that insights too.

2. The argumentation: 'How do meeting-places have or should have a function in residents lives. Meeting-places do have that basic function to offer people opportunities to meet others. Residents though search for meeting places and activities, not only to compensate feelings of loneliness also because they like to meet others. Like Watzlawick said: 'people cannot without communication' (Watzlawick et al., 1967). From the 'talking by walking' it became clear too that an important advantage of meeting-places for residents is that these need

organizing, the facilities have to be maintained, activities have to be organized and residents have to be informed. The organizing in togetherness does give people much joy and fulfillment. Youngsters, foreign and unemployed people are unfortunately to them not often involved in these activities and organizing. For those is left meeting each other on the street on 'open' places. Such places do not have to be of second quality, such so called 'porous' places can be of very personal quality having the function of fulfilling the needs of the people that seek these (Schram, 2006).

3. The motivation: 'For which of these meeting-places will residents take responsibility. The three 'Jane Jacobs Walks' made clear that many residents are willing to take responsibility for meeting-places for the benefit of themselves and others. Most of these volunteers seem to be 'white' elderly people. Talking with these the most of them showed to be very open to all kind of people, their passion was grounded in the organizing part of being a volunteer not to a kind of people to meet. These volunteers were very willing to invest many hours and enthusiasm in meeting-places and they were arranging subsidizing too. Unless these efforts there showed to be a continue shortage of money. As the volunteers told, there is less difference in between by the municipality created meeting-places and such 'free' meeting places, they need a basic amount of money contribution from government. The motivation of the people involved, volunteers and professionals, showed also to be coupled to this availability of governmental money contribution. They understood the shrinkage trend concerning the governmental money-contribution to neighbourhood meeting-places and they told to be willing to take responsibility over as residents. Still the fear that the lesser money availability would end-u in no money availability reduces much of their motivation, as they told.

## Remarks to the 'Jane Jacobs Walk' Action-research methodology

The research methodology of 'Jane Jacobs Walking' was positively embraced by the participants. The 'talking by walking' delivered results and new insights as predicted on the three levels of opinion, argumentation and motivation. The instrument of walking events could be improved by stimulating youngsters to join these. The talking over meeting-places would also be more effective when the municipality budgets would be more clear in advance. Finally it was the advice of the walking-participants to test the sense of reality of the conclusions in a pilot neighbourhood to professionalize 'Jane Jacobs Walks' as an example of action-research methodologically

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## **Track 4**

**Jane Jacobs and the reshaping of  
old urban fabrics in Chinese cities**

**Track 5**  
**Jane Jacobs and**  
**organised complexity**

# Self-organization gone wrong?

## Study of residential mobility trends in Tehran metropolitan region

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**Abstract** – In a complex world, any level of understanding requires a framework of assumptions and expectations through which one sees any phenomenon. Jacobs' ideas of "organized complexity", "web way of thinking" etc. can help in building such a framework, regardless of debates on their applicability. This article aims to use these notions along with other developments in the field of complexity and complex systems to make sense of the changes the metropolitan region of Tehran has gone through in recent decades in terms of residential mobility. To do so, plans, policies and decisions made in this context and the actual realization and consequences of them have been reviewed and in some cases interviews have been conducted to shed light on otherwise vague aspects. The findings suggest that planning interventions in the region have mainly turned the inherent capacity of self-organization to solve problems into a rather harmful occurrence through processes of excluding parts of the network. A relative disregard for the people as part of the network and their complex interactions, the silo mentality which consequently has brought about a rather fragmented decision-making processes in a context intensively linked through the mobility of people and capital, and creating and promoting isolated projects or in Jacobs' terms "project land oozings", are some of the examples of such behaviour. The research also demonstrates the strong reliance of the region's planning practice on the role of experts and significant lack of citizenry in decision making. All of these findings have resulted in the formation of many unintended consequences where residential mobility is concerned. Consequences which then in turn have and will lead to more environmental, social and economic issues through the context's endeavour to correct itself through a bottom-up process of self-organization.

**Key words** – Tehran metropolitan region, organized complexity, self-organization, residential mobility, decision making process

### Introduction

For years planners and governance authorities in the city of Tehran and Tehran metropolitan region have tried to make sense of the reasons that the provided plans are not realized or implemented accordingly or why in the specific case of residential mobility, informal and illegal settlements are formed and grown despite their efforts in housing and employment provision. This article argues that looking at these problems through the lens of complexity can help understand firstly why things happen the way they do and secondly what direction should future effects take.

This article suggests the use of the notion of self-organization,

as part of the complexity theory and complex systems theory, to show that the outcomes mentioned above, often considered negative by planners and administration, are actually the residents' efforts in trying to create a better situation for themselves. With this explanation, it seems that these occurrences should generally be positive because they are based on the needs of the residents, realized by them, and also because they are collective actions and not individual endeavours. But where does the conflict come about?

In the following sections, first there would be a brief review of the concepts of complexity in urban context and the notion of self-organization and residential mobility. Then the existing

processes in the context in terms of decision-making and planning are introduced and analysed to show how the conflict between the efforts of the people and planning and administrative actions arises. The article goes on to explain how these observed trends in the region, dubbed in this article as processes of exclusions, provide the contextual conditions for the self-organization to have incompatible and conflicting outcomes. In other words the context's role in translating the efforts of the population into more imbalance.



## Complexity and Cities

In recent decades and with the development of new technologies, global reorganization of relations and environmental risks, the urban areas have gone through fundamental changes resulting in a new outlook on the roles of location and periphery, definitions of space and place, mobility and etc.. Complexity and its theories have tried to provide a framework for understanding the new dynamics and their chaotic nature and unpredictability.

Although these efforts are gaining momentum in theoretical studies, they are still rarely utilized in practice. Especially in the context of this study, Tehran metropolitan region, where the modernistic ideas of top-down control are still the prevalent discourse. In this section, the concepts of complexity and self-organization are reviewed, both from Jacobs' initial ideas of organized complexity and from the future developments in the field.

Complexity thinking could be useful for studying processes of change in complex network environments because it explicitly focuses on the dynamics of systems. It approaches systems as being in a continuous flux, in processes of becoming instead of being, emphasizing the continuous interaction between different elements forming a system (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edel, 2013).

When Jacobs first used the term "organized complexity", Ideas about complexity in science were brand new and it was perhaps too early then to define in more precise terms what kind of complex systems cities really are. Clearer formalization of social networks took another fifty years to emerge. The spectacular diversity and scope of new urban forms and growth patterns that we observe in cities worldwide today was also still unknowable then (Bettencourt 2013).

Therefore even though Jacobs insight is valuable the concepts have been significantly further developed through this time and according to the changes the contexts experienced. This fact, however, does not deem her ideas invalid and they can be considered as part of the ground the new literature has been built upon.

The use of complexity theory in the analysis of urban areas has occurred only within the last 15 years (i.e., fractal analysis, cellular automata). For many, the

book that introduced complexity to the study of urban areas, was *Fractal Cities* by Michael Batty and Paul Longley (1995). While Batty's books concentrates on methodology, others are applying the philosophy of complexity theory to planning. Patsy Healy (2006) has just recently published another seminal book, which takes the application of complexity theory to the practice of urban planning. Healy and Batty have started a movement that is building momentum in urban planning literature (McAdams 2008).

Complexity deals with multiple causes, patterns, networks, interdependence, nonlinearity and structure. Bar-Yam states that the central questions in analysis of complex systems are about 1) Emergence (relationship between fine and large-scale behaviour) and 2) interdependency (how does one part affect the other parts or the system?) (Bar-Yam 2015).

In complex systems, which are part of the broad literature of complexity, parts of the system are considered agents. These agents (considered as individuals or organizations with certain characteristics) associating with other do not interact randomly or capriciously but self-organize in a manner that is dynamic, but also non-linear, resulting in states of existence, referred in complexity theory as 'emergent states.' The systems are open such that new elements or agents can come into the system to change it to another state (McAdams 2008). The two notions should not be confused though, properly defined "self-organization" and "emergence" can happen without the other.

Cities as complex systems share the same characteristics. A city is composed of layer upon layer of interactions which represent a multiplexing of networks acting to deliver energy, information, materials and people to its parts in such a way that the networks contain great redundancy. If fractured, cities usually continue to work although if their key hubs are attacked they will break down. In the same way if they become overloaded, their networks jam but in general, because they operate from the bottom up through the actions of millions of individuals, they tend to adjust easily and quickly to changed circumstances (Batty 2011).

When discussing urban complexity another emergent theme evident in the literature is that this

complex system is not bounded inside the traditional definitions of boundaries and city limits. In this regard, Healey uses the term "urban region" stating that "There is no objectively coherent functional entity that can be called a 'city' or an urban 'region'... Instead, 'placings' are produced through the dynamics of relational webs that connect the place of one node with others, near and far..." (Healey, 2007).

Consequently, the traditional territorial viewpoints will be challenged as well. In relational viewpoint, a region is "the product of the networks, interactions, juxtapositions and articulations of the myriad of connections through which all social phenomena are lived out." Such "border and scale-crossing" complexity becomes clear when we look at regional assemblages, politics, and power in the context of governance. Even so, their idea of a region as a relational assemblage can be pushed further to take a broader look at the complexity of actors involved in region building (Paasi, 2010).

These notions generated a large body of literature, starting from fundamentally challenging the definitions of place and space, as we knew it to putting forward newer concepts such as "space-time compression", "relational geography" etc.

Observing the changes of the city of Tehran and its permanence in the surrounding area and later formation of other settlements in the region, can be a clear attestation to the fading of the traditional notions of boundaries. Although the traditional definitions are still glaringly present in the administration and legislation. It also demonstrates how important relations and connectivity is in the region.

Metropolitan regions, either viewed as an agglomeration of interconnected cities or the vast physical expanse of one city in a geographic space (either attached or with distance) too share this behaviour.

Although Jacobs does not discuss this matter in the same light but "she never suggests that there are great gains to be made by enlarging city boundaries" (Sancton, 2000) and she seems to acquire a rather dismissive approach towards the debate of municipal boundaries, considering "debates about municipal boundaries to be irrelevant, sterile and unproductive. She believes it is better to get on

with what needs to be done than to become involved in never-ending disputes about how the real city should be bounded” (Sancton, 2000).

What was mentioned demonstrates that when studying or planning for cities, urban regions and urban life, drawing clear separating lines would not be very conducive. At the same time a total detachment from this notion is not possible either, since the political and administrative layers still function in bounded manner.

There is a common theme in most of the literature of complexity, that (effective) relationship between actors and agents plays a vital role in the behaviour and survival of complex networks. This concept has brought about a large body of research and has led to the perspective of looking at space and place relationally. One of the people who has elaborated on this notion not just theoretically but in the practice of urban planning as well is Patsy Healey in her book “Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies, Towards a Relational Planning for Our Times”.

## **Complexity and residential mobility**

According to their advocates, concepts of complexity and relational thinking challenges human geography by insisting on an open ended, mobile, networked, and actor-centred geographic becoming” (Jones, 2009). Over the last decade, this fascination has produced an outpouring of work loosely organized into what Sheller and Urry (2006) term the new mobility paradigm. This ‘mobility turn’ casts movement as an ontological category providing structure to the contemporary world (Coulter, Ham and Findlay 2013).

With all the changes the urban context has gone through such as technological advances, the blurring of boundaries and etc., mobility has become a central, persistent and influential matter in urban areas. The large influx of population to the region, historically first to the main city and then to the metropolitan region, is a demonstration of how residential mobility has affected the organization of the region, all the while adding to the complexity of it.

These movements can either be the result of top-down policies and strategies or bottom-up spontaneous decisions. Because people have more

capabilities for moving, they respond to changes with a bottom-up process of mobility, be it moving themselves or movement of their capital, knowledge or etc. That is how mobility can be a tool for the system and its agents to self-organize.

One of the areas that have witnessed a significant amount of mobility through time is metropolitan regions. In *The Economy of Cities* (1969) Jacobs explicitly states that a metropolitan area in political terms “means a city that has physically expanded beyond its formal boundaries, in the process engulfing former towns and, in some instances, coalescing with other, formerly separate cities” (Sancton, 2000).

Some believe that the metropolitan development we see today is not the Jacobs’ way of living and that the people have not conformed to her ideas of living in the city, the vitality of it and etc. introducing the continuous process of suburbanization in metropolitan regions as “The most notable sign of Jacobs’s limited influence on metropolitan development.... Jane Jacobs’s vision of the ideal place to live simply was not shared by the great majority of people” (Teaford, 2013).

Even though Jacobs’ herself might not have seen this choice of lifestyle coming either due to a fondness for the lifestyle she promoted or just because of the different contextual conditions of her living years, her ideas of organized complexity and the irrelevance of setting boundaries are very much in line with the reality of metropolitan regions of today.

## **Self-organization**

Self-organization is generally associated with complex system thinking as developed in physics, and broadly described as the emergence of new structures (‘order’) out of ‘chaos’. Self-organization can be defined as the emergence and maintenance of structures out of local interaction, an emergence that is not imposed or determined by one single actor, but is rather the result of a multitude of complex and non-linear interactions between various elements (Meerkerk, Boonstra & Edal, 2013).

A key feature of systems that regenerate themselves is that they do so spontaneously. To do so otherwise would require control of every basic element of the system and it thus follows, that systems

of any complexity must effect self-regeneration through self-organisation from the bottom up (Batty, 2011).

One of the first people to consider cities as self-organizing systems is Juval Portugali. In his concept, the system of a city consists of an infrastructural layer, being ‘the space of houses parcels of land, networks of streets and so on’, and on top of that, a ‘superstructure layer of free agents’. The city is a reciprocal product of the initiatives of actors, influenced by personal/individual motives (caused by their environment), interacting with spatial developments that are in their turn product of collective actions. The outcomes of such processes manifest themselves in specific urban forms and patterns (morphological or functional), physical growth or the emergence of new socio-spatial groups as a result of certain geographical settings or characteristics such as houses, lots and housing blocks (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

In an urban context Boonstra and Boelens (2011) define self-organization as “initiatives for spatial interventions that originate in civil society itself, via autonomous community-based networks of citizens, outside government control” (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). They use this concept to explain why and how citizens contribute to urban development out of their own motivations. The continuous movement results in patterns and unforeseen initiatives emerging spontaneously, without being controlled by one central manager or director. An emergence of social structures or patterns without the machinations of external agents or in other words a process of autonomous development and the spontaneous emergence of order out of chaos (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

Self-organization here is essentially a new way of seeing, of realizing that self-organizing systems, be they humans or cities, are essentially and profoundly unstable, chaotic, far-from-equilibrium, unpredictable, and that therefore we have to find ways to live with their complexity. From this perspective follows, for example, a new type of action in the city, a new type of city planning, the aim of which is not to control, but to participate (Portugali, 2000).

## Case study

### Tehran metropolitan region

Urban environments such as metropolitan regions are dynamic systems which will show reactions to any change that affects them. These reactions are generated by the parts/actors/agents and aside from being reactive, are also adaptive processes demonstrated by said parts, either for survival or to reach equilibrium again. The residential mobility observation in a region can be looked at through this perspective as well. They are the result of some decisions made by agents and consequently they affect the decisions of some agents as well.

In the following parts, this article aims to introduce the processes contributing to the residential mobility trends in the metropolitan region of Tehran as parts of the complex behaviour of the system of the region. This article, as was mentioned before, focuses on what I call the processes of exclusion, the processes that demonstrate the relations of the planning organizations, administrating body and the residents.

There have been a few plans that consider the metropolitan region of Tehran as a functioning entity aside from its cities and rural areas. And only one of them tries to incorporate the relations between the cities and rural areas into the decision-making process. The plan, called Tehran Metropolitan Region Plan, calls for more collaboration and coordination in the governance of the region. It proposes the formation of a single unifying institution to manage the decisions in the region, which considering the track records of these institutions in Iran and also the size of the existing administrative body, does not seem to be a viable solution.

In this plan and according to the law the metropolitan region of Tehran consists of nine provinces, 55 cities and more than 1500 villages (according to the 2006 census data, the latest publicly available census) (Figure 1).

The historical formation of the metropolitan region of Tehran can be divided into four eras (Figure 2): 1) The formation and evolution of the historic Tehran, 2) The formation and evolution of the new Tehran, 3) organization and the evolution of the metropolis and

4) the formation of the metropolitan region. Some of the reasons contributing to this evolution are the decentralization of population and activity from Tehran, peripheral growth, sprawl, and informal settlements. In general, it can be said that the formation of this metropolitan region is mainly

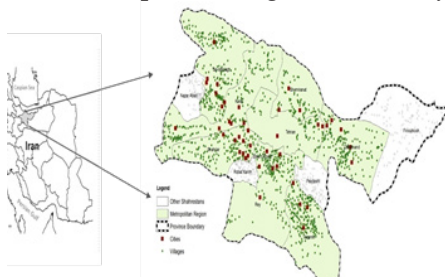


Figure 1: Map of Tehran metropolitan region within Tehran province

the result of internal forces of the planning, legislations and governance decisions in the region rather than external forces of globalizations and economic reconstruction (Hajipour, 2009).

Administration/governance structure in the region can be divided into two classes, governmental and non-governmental & public organizations. Table 1 shows the different institutions in each category in the national, regional and local scales.

Reviewing the history of the plans provided for the region and their objectives demonstrates that:

-With regards to administration and governance, the condition of the Tehran metropolitan region is reminiscent of the optimism of 60s about the "potential for government action to improve the quality of life. For many urban experts, especially public administrators and political scientists, the first prerequisite was to reorganize (Sancton 2000)".

-The strategies and policies are, in the words of Patsy

Healey, "cosmetic rhetorical invocations required to meet some legal or funding requirement, a conception of a rigid plan, form of

	Governmental	Non-governmental & public
National	Ministry of interior Ministry of road and development Supreme council of architecture and urbanism Ministry of industries and mines Ministry of power	
Regional	Ostandari * Farmandari * Bakhshdari	
Local	Dehdari *	Municipality City and village councils

Table 1: Governance/administrative structure in Tehran metropolitan region \*Organizations corresponding with administrative divisions of the country and considered as subdivisions of the Ministry of Interior

a comprehensive spatial pattern or a coordinated, sequential program of action (Healey 2007)".

Looking at the processes of decision making and how the region has evolved also reveals the following trends in the region:

### Fragmented essence of decision making

Despite the significantly connected nature of the region, decisions are made without any regard for the surrounding areas. The plans for the city of Tehran and its municipality still do not take into account the effect of their decisions in the surrounding areas, whether immediate or not. Decisions such as permit to build extra housing units than what has been approved in the plans, gentrification of an area, transportation initiatives are made with the assumption that their ripple effect will somehow be contained within the official boundaries of the city. According

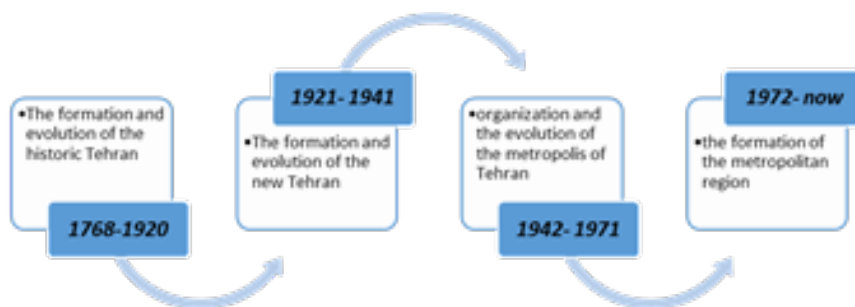


Figure 2: Stages of the historical formation of Tehran Metropolitan Region

to a study about the consequences of the urban governance in the city Tehran (Kheyroddin, 2010) the decisions made in the central city have rendered a large number of people unable to reside in the city, inevitably creating a movement towards periphery, despite numerous vacant housing units inside the boundaries of the city (Figure 3).

The fact that metropolitan areas are “not recognized in the urban planning regulations or administration levels of government and that they are not “legal establishments”” (Asgary and Kazemian 2006) feeds the fragmented process of decision making as well. The necessity of considering the relations and connectedness of the region is not acknowledged yet.

### Relative disregard for people

When it comes to the role of people, the planning discourse and practice in Iran is still at the very early stages of participation, and even this level of participation is only evident in some cases in the local level and does not have much resonance in the regional or national level. The participation of citizens in Iran has “in practice merely enabled citizens to criticize and react to spatial proposals made by the government agencies” (Boonstra and Boelens 2011). Although there are very few instances of efforts of stepping beyond this stage, but mostly in urban renovation projects in which a kind of “public-private partnerships or a new kind of entrepreneurial style of planning (Boonstra and Boelens 2011)” is being promoted.

A study by Kazemina and Mirabedini investigates the role of different institutions in policy making in Tehran using questionnaires and conducting interviews with authorities in governance and urban administrative organizations. The results show the insignificance of the role of the citizens (Table 2). A closer look to the results related to housing and land market reveals and interestingly high effect of the economically powerful groups with 48% frequency in answers and second after the municipality.

These results are compatible with the existing regulations regarding urban planning in Iran, since there’s no regulation that explicitly ties the legitimacy, approval or implementation of a decision to the consent of the target groups, and planners and decision-

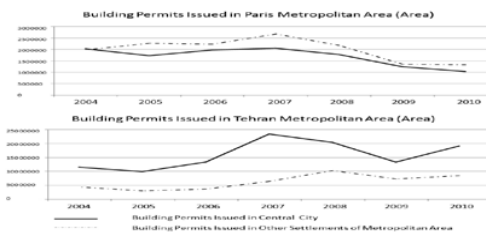


Figure 3: Area of Issued Building permits in the city and metropolitan region of Tehran, source: (Kheyroddin, Piroozi and Soleimani, 2015)

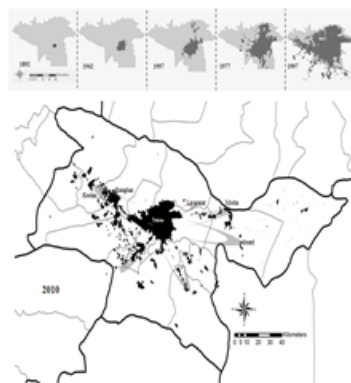


Figure 4: The evolution of the city of Tehran and Tehran Metropolitan Region, source: (Kheyroddin, Piroozi, et al., 2013)

Policies-Institutions	Town Council	Governments	Municipality	Unofficials	Citizens	Private sector
Housing and land (house provision and housing market control)	%14	%70	%20	%48	%22	%28
Infrastructure provision	%22	%54	%64	%24	%0	%22
Physical development and growth	%34	%46	%42	%36	%0	%6
Economic development and decisions	%20	%60	%22	%30	%22	%14
Transportation (inter and intra city)	%18	%46	%68	%44	%4	%0
Problem/conflict solving	%16	%72	%82	%26	%22	%0

Table 2: the frequency of the questionnaire answers about the role of different institutions in policy-making in Tehran, source: (Kazemian and Mir Abedini 2011)

makers have authority over the proposals and their approval. It seems the more dominant reading of the space, is the one belonging to the governing body and experts.

### Silo mentality

The instances of the existing of silo mentality in the region can be summarized in the following points:

- parallel works/ fragmented works and decisions
- disregard of what’s being done in related organizations
- environmental disregard
- the reliance on the role of experts and planners in decision making process

When approving a project in the region, there is usually little to no coordination with other related organizations. This is especially evident in the case of the development of new settlements which has reciprocating relationship with residential mobility (Figure 5).

In the plan for these projects one part of the study is related to the provision of utilities such as power and water to the new settlement. These studies are usually done using the information provided by the organizations in charge of water and power provision, i.e. the maps of the current networks of the utilities, but without any direct discussions with them in terms of implementation.

In the case of the new town of Pardis (Figure 6), even after the building of the different phases of the project had started there was debate about how the required water for the 170 000 population (plan of 2004) of the town would be provided. After a third party carried out a research study the Latian Dam was chosen as the source for water, despite stating that the dam, already providing part of the water for the city of Tehran and other areas, cannot provide for all the predicted population. In addition to the dam another temporary solution was proposed in the form of two deep wells being excavated in the area. In the meantime, the plan went through a series of changes and according to the last revision (2010) the city will go on to have 400 thousand residents in 2026 (Tehran Province Water and Wastewater Organization (Eastern) 2007), (Pardis Municipality 2009), (Mahdi Zadeh 2013).

The conflicts go on even after the complete building of the houses, in 2015, when 20000 houses in one of the phases of the plan of the city were built, an agreement

between the city's administration and Tehran province water and wastewater organization was made to finance the provision of the water for these houses (News-MRUD 2015), (Hamshahri, 2015). Along with water, other utilities have the same conditions.

The cost of these provisions are also mostly miscalculated or disregarded in the process of plan provision and approval. For example in the case of Pardis, the cost of provision of utilities increased the cost of the built houses at least about 35 percent (Eghtesad, 2015), making it unaffordable for a large number the initial applicants, which has become an on-going conflict between the people and the administration in the new town.

Asgari and Kazemian (2006) believe that the existing silo mentality is in part due to the institutions' "willingness for spatial and functional segregating instead of collaboration and synergy, their competition towards attracting the most resources and a general blaming attitude".

Another example of the silo mentality in the context is the significant reliance on the role of experts, as is evident from what has been mentioned up to now. This reliance is to the point that even concepts such as participation that are by nature a way of limiting or balancing the role of the planners, has become tools in the toolbox of planners and it is often used to legitimize their decisions. In this regard, participation of the people is defined as choosing the most appropriate alternative considering the needs of people, however, the alternatives are still solely formed by the planners.

## Discussion

Almost all of the decisions made in the context of Tehran metropolitan region have had unintended outcomes. Outcomes such as unexpected and widespread fluctuations of land prices, displacement of inhabitants and high level of mobility, formation of unplanned settlements, changes in the labour composition, environmental consequences, etc. This article used the notion of self-organization in complex systems to make sense of these happenings.

In the bottom-up process of self-organization, when faced with non-inclusiveness and other problems and along with the fact that feel like that they are left to fend for themselves, people try to solve the problem by moving, converting land-uses, changing profession and etc.

This reactive action is not specific to the people in the lower socio-economic strata though. The higher groups who have the upper hand in power relations, also will start to seek their own benefit, even more so in the chaotic behaviour of the system in disequilibrium. And because they have the capital and power, they end up affecting the system significantly too. A good example that demonstrates both

time its outcome.

In terms of house/residence seeking and also as a result of the interplay of housing market and labour market, Self-organization demonstrates itself as the abundant formation of informal settlements, whether along the main road connecting to the city or as peripheral and edge neighbourhoods around the city and to a degree as forms of physically detached settlements in different distances from the main city.

In the self-organization process actors/agents pursue their interests. Generally the interests of the actors do not align and different groups try to enforce their own interest whether though their power or abundant number. Based on this perspective what happens in the region is presumably the right choice for individuals or groups, considering the conditions, but may not necessarily be the best choice for the overall system on a move towards equilibrium.

In this sense, self-organization has gone wrong in this region because one of the basic ingredients of it is missing: multiple interactions between all of its components. One densely connected system is forced to work as two or more parts. The non-inclusive decisions of the plans has intensified the spontaneity of some other decisions.

The state's role in urban planning here has become a non-zero-sum-game where agencies of government become partners in the private development process. And people faced with no possibility to affect the decisions being made, try to self-organize in the form of power undermining emergent (unexpected and unaccounted) actions. This happens outside of the limits of government and administration and therefore often does not comply with rules and regulations, set by said government.

Although there have been efforts to remedy this situation through participation, at least in some levels, these efforts have not been successful because "Participation is always based on the idea of a conflict between the powerful and the powerless, in which the powerful determines the procedures along which the powerless shall participate. This could explain why public government seems not to



Figure 5: The placement of new towns in the region, source: (Kheyroddin and Naderi, 2016)

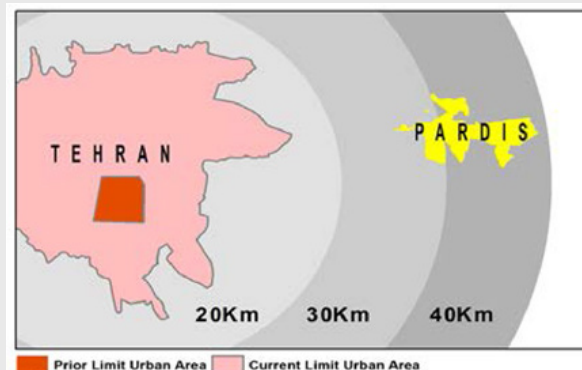


Figure 6: The placement of the new town of Pardis, source: (Kheyroddin & Naderi, 2016)

end of these self-driven efforts is the land-use conversions to residential uses. At one end, the people with less socio-economic means will move to the green or agricultural lands around the main cities and choose to reside there, sometimes illegally, so that they could benefit from the services of the main town. On the other hand, a lot of agricultural or garden land-uses in environmentally favourable areas (usually rural) far from the main city, are converted to luxury vacation houses, functioning mostly as a second home (map). This residential mobility can be a tool for self-organization and at the same

be very adaptive to initiatives that emerge from the dynamics of civil society itself, and thus is unable to address the growing complexity of present-day society (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011)."

In their study on metropolitan region governments in 2006, Asgary and Kazemian describe the power structure in Tehran metropolitan region as divided and chaotic, with three elements (Asgary & Kazemian 2006):

- The pro-centralization official and administrative power
- The semi organized and affluent economic power
- Un-organized power of citizens with short-lived periodic demonstrations

Considering the introduced processes of exclusion, this sentence would be true in terms of their effect on initial policy and decision-making processes. However, observing the mobility trends and its effect on the study region clearly demonstrate that citizens and their collective decisions have been very influential on the evolution of the region. Yet since they are not recognized in the official processes and since their interest do not align with that of the affluent economically advantageous groups or governmental and official administrations, their self-organizing efforts have been deemed illegal, destructive and unfavourable for the region as a whole.

Considering what was mentioned, these self-organizing efforts are not conducive to the overall equilibrium of the system and therefore the whole system moves towards more chaos and instability (Figure 7).

## Conclusions

Cities are living, self-organizing systems that grow organically from the bottom up. To survive and to respond to new challenges, cities are continually regenerating and renewing themselves. Whether or not the processes of regeneration are sustainable and lead to a better quality of life is not assured simply because a city reproduces itself. Cities change through positive feedback. Change builds on itself and if there is growth or decline, regeneration might reinforce the cycle, each wave of change building on the previous, often spreading out as well as polarizing through intricate patterns of diffusion (Batty, 2011).

Self-organization is not focused on predetermined 'grand ideas' or ambitions, such as the democratic promise of empowerment or political renewal. It simply happens or not. But when it does happen (and of course planners can play a crucial role in 'making it happen' by being part of the initiating actor-network assemblages), it does represent the needs and urgency for translating existing place characteristics, institutions and communal activities emanating from society itself

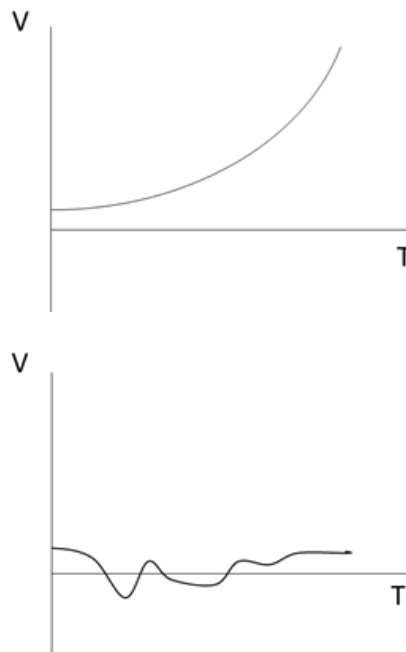


Figure 7: The evolution of two complex systems, on the left the system goes through different stages but in each stage eventually moves towards the starting point (equilibrium); on the right the complexity of the system continuously increases until the system collapses or becomes dysfunctional

(Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

Considering this representation, it is safe to say that in this context the choice of residence in the periphery of Tehran or the metropolitan region may be the best possible option for the actors that choose to do so, as they are excluded from other dynamics. However, this does not mean that this move will bring about advantages for them or the region but compared to their status quo, this may be the only viable decision. The only way they can try to make conditions better for themselves, even when there is no guarantee.

In conclusion, it seems necessary to try to understand such systems through studying their actors and relations and the definition of the system should come afterwards. There should be an

emphasis on the necessity of looking at space, place and geography openly and relationally and recognizing the role of actors. Then trying to adjust the planning perspective accordingly.

In this process, the first step is accepting that this self-organization happens. This acceptance can finally lead to the governing bodies becoming more facilitating than dominating and thus aligning the different sections of the system together. In order to achieve this some of the suggestions include discarding the traditional notion of long-term planning and reorganizing the role of planners and the nature of the process.

Healey states that dealing with complexity and conflict needs institutional work. We should acquire strategies that are orientations and justification for specific interventions. These strategies exist as revisable, fluid conceptions, continually interacting with unfolding experiences and understandings, but yet holding in attention some orienting sensibility (Healey, 2007).

As concluding remark, when dealing with complex systems, planning would not be a pre-given guide or conditional system for self-organization, but should be the outcome of self-organizing principles. This would require analyses with respect to the following (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011):

Who are the relevant actors and what are the relevant factors, what are their motives and objectives (like ethnicity, politics, spatial issues, transnational identities, and economics)?

What are the networks and associations, how are the actors and factors organized, what keeps them together, on what is their 'collectivity' based (endogenously by self-defined rules or, for instance, exogenously by administrative divisions, etc.)?

What is the relation of the network with its institutional environment (aiming at taking over tasks, being complementary, seeking autonomy, etc.)?

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# Planning in a world of (self)organizing complexity

Different types of action conditions from a Jacobsian perspective

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**Abstract** – The paper discusses the issue of action and the nature of contextual conditions that influence its development. Despite such issue is central in Jacobs' thoughts, the paper argues that a deep investigation about the different types of action conditions is missing in her writings. By looking at the theories of emergent orders, the article proposes a typological classification of action conditions which underscores the peculiarity of planning. Like Jane Jacobs, it also claims that, while avoiding excessive top-down interventionism, planners should provide certain basic conditions that enable the evolution of good emergent orders which rely on self-organization. These conditions regard the construction of the public city by means of certain spatial goods, and the creation of a good planning and building codes which regulate the spontaneous development of the private city.

**Key words** – self-organization, emergent order, Jane Jacobs, action condition, New York

## Introduction

Cities are settlements that consistently generate changes from place-based actions and interactions. Both result of planning activities and a complex set of spontaneous actions, at the heart of cities' processes there are actions which are the preconditions for emergent (or unintentional) outcomes (Batty, 2007; Bertaud, 2002; Lai, 2004; Ikeda, 2007). From this perspective, the works of Jane Jacobs are surely prominent examples.

In her writings Jane Jacobs reflects on the dialectic between self-organization and planning; that is, the difference between emergent orders that are the result of many uncountable numbers of actions interacting, and made/exogenous orders that are the result of top-down planning interventions (Cozzolino, 2017). Her famous contribution regarding the kind of problem a city is stresses the issue of complexity as an unavoidable feature of contemporary cities. Such a complexity regards the whole city functioning, which is explained by the author like the complex result of many people trying and carrying out different plans and

actions which give rise to what she calls “a marvellous order” (Jacobs, 1961). Jane Jacobs argues that even without a comprehensive/detailed ‘central’ plan, the final outcomes of many spontaneous actions may give rise to an emergent order which provides information and conditions that enable agents' self-coordination.

The issue of action is central in all her writings on cities. Presented as a living system (Jacobs, 2000), the city is described as an interrelated whole that undergone never-ending processes of changes and adaptations which show both emergent patterns and regularities (Partanen, 2015; Liebowitz et al., 1995; Kostof et al., 1991). Space becomes a frame of conditions which structure people's actions and interactions. Eloquent are the reflections provided by Jane Jacobs on the conditions that favour the emergence of vibrant and successful neighbourhoods or, on the contrary, give rise to perpetual slums (Ibid.: chap. 15). From this standpoint, Jacobs clearly maintains that the more the city works spontaneously, the higher are the possibilities to have successful and vibrant neighbourhoods. Moreover, time is a fundamental aspect: “Change is so

major a truth that we understand processes to be the essence of things” (Jacobs, 1992: 191).

Despite the author probably wouldn't have liked to be associated with a particular school of thought, in the last years some scholars have underscored some connections between her contribution and the Austrian School of Economics (Ikeda, 2007; Gordon, 2012). Let me be clear: not everything she says can be associated with such school of thought, but some connections are evident. In particular, it is evident the connection between her view of self-organizing processes in cities and the theories of emergent orders. In both cases, we may see the link between ‘action conditions’ and the dynamic dimension of complex systems. The main common idea is that, given these conditions, independent and differentiated individuals act and self-coordinate within an adaptive system which activates and provides the use of the so-called dispersed knowledge (Hayek, 1945).

Her main thesis is that planning should above all provide certain conditions within which



good self-organizing systems can emerge and be adapted over time (Cozzolino, 2015; Moroni, 2016). In *Death and Life of Great American City*, for instance, valid examples are the ‘conditions for generating diversity’ or the ‘tactics’ which should help depressed neighborhoods to turn into spaces open to new actions. However, I believe that a sharp distinction between different types of conditions is missing in her writings. For instance, there are conditions that are progressively changed and adjusted from the bottom in ways that are beyond anyone’s control; while there are other – let’s say - ‘intentional conditions’ that can easily stifle the adaptation of the whole system reducing its capacity to take advantages from the dispersed and local social capital. In this regard, the theories of emergent orders offer valid suggestions to fulfil this ‘lack’.

The idea of the article is to extend the contribution of Jane Jacobs in such a way that it would be possible to identify different types of ‘action conditions’ and understand the peculiarity of those provided by planners.

The outline of this paper is as follows. In the next section (2) the article presents the legacy of Jane Jacobs regarding the idea of ‘the city as a problem of organized complexity’. In the third section, the paper reflects on the main issues regarding the theories of emergent orders and their connection with the author. In the fourth section, it distinguishes different types of conditions providing a matrix that sums up the various possibilities. In the fifth section, it reflects on different types of condition taking as an example the evolution of New York City. In the last section (6), the article brings together all the insights and reflections on action conditions advancing some implications for urban policy and planning.

## Jane Jacobs and the problem of organized complexity

Jane Jacobs (1916 Scranton, Pennsylvania – 2006, Toronto) was a young girl when she moved to New York City in 1934 “to seek her fortune” (Jacobs, 1961). Her glorious career of writer and journalist has been consolidated while dwelling in the Greenwich Village: the famous neighbourhood

that, together with SoHo and Little Italy, she saved from slum clearance. Her vicissitudes with Robert Moses have become a classical reference in the literature of contemporary cities (Flint, 2011).

Written between 1935 and 1937, ‘Flowers come to town’ is the title of one of her first publications. In that article, she describes the processes through which flowers arrived and then were distributed in Manhattan following invisible processes and networks that preceded their consumption. At that time, she was already fascinated by the complex self-organizing functioning of the city. Jacobs’ understanding of cities, interconnectivity, and dynamics was in notable contrast to the progressivist spirit of rational modernism that was taking hold around her (Callahan et al., 2014).

Her figure is controversial. Architects, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, and planners indicate her contribution as a fundamental reference to understand the processes of contemporary cities. Despite not having an orthodox academic background (she attended single courses in economics, political sciences, law, biology, and geography at Columbia University), Jane Jacobs acquired most of her knowledge of cities and their emergent orders observing and studying real social processes in space. Married to an architect, early in her career Jacobs wrote mainly on economics. Then, with the passage of time, and thanks to the productive collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation, she shifted her interest in architecture and planning (Laurence, 2016).

Her most influential thoughts regard the relation between the physical and social dimensions, as well as the effects of planning interventions on cities processes (Goldsmith et al., 2010). In particular, she stresses the concepts of order and knowledge by reflecting on two main questions: which kinds of orders exist in cities? Is scientific knowledge enough to plan and manage cities? Inspired by Warren Weaver’s essay *Science and Complexity* (1948/1991: 449-456), Jacobs’ answers came from an investigation of the nature of urban problems.

In *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961: 429-448), Jacobs raises three questions. First, she wonders if the city can be treated as a problem of simplicity. A problem of simplicity usually has two variables – cause and

effect – which are easy to study, and scientifically governable. By looking at the city in this way everything becomes predictable, and the role of planners is essentially that of providing the best rational collective solutions. She proposes the approach of Howard and his garden city as an attempt to reduce the complexity of the city into a problem of simplicity (Howard, 1965). In Howard’s mind, like in physical science, simple planning models based on few variables may provide efficient solutions to lead the urban system toward ‘perfect’ state of affairs. To give an example, in the garden city model, planners are supposed to plan the exact number of jobs or green areas needed by a certain system by simply considering the number of inhabitants. Jacobs refuses this approach. In her view the city possesses higher levels of complexity.

Having established why the city cannot be a problem of simplicity, Jane Jacobs wonders if the city can be a problem of disorganized complexity. Differently from a simple problem, in problems of disorganized complexity, we have a high number of variables that, however, can be still studied and analysed scientifically. Urban systems are not totally predictable, and planners cannot easily find the best solution since all variables are all interacting and changing simultaneously. There is no certainty about future events: the only thing that planners can grasp from their analyses is ‘probability’. On the one hand, with this approach, the city becomes a mathematical problem; on the other, planners become even more important since they are asked to calculate the right solution intervening on precise variables. The overall coordination of the urban system is possible in the name of an ordered constructed efficiency. The *Radiant City of Le Corbusier* (1967) is the example used by Jane Jacobs to confute and disprove this approach. For Jacobs the main problem with this approach is that planners do not consider people as agents and, consequently, they do not consider either the vulnerability of the system deriving from people’s spontaneous actions. Moreover, planners believe that scientific knowledge is enough to understand the complexity of cities while Jacobs radically refuses this idea.

Jane Jacobs goes a step forward by claiming that the city is irremediably a problem of organized complexity. She recognizes the city

as a complex system that reaches a level of internal organization that is always (with different degrees) beyond people's direct control. In other words, she admits that the city possesses emergent and unintentional characters that are the result of place-based processes of self-organization. Most of these processes are not based on scientific knowledge but, coherently with life-science, on tacit and practical ones (Polanyi, 1951): this is a fundamental feature of urban mechanisms. This kind of knowledge is dispersed among the whole society and irreducible to one single mind. For this reason, she sustains that planners' excessive interventionism (for instance through large-scale masterplans) undermines the city functioning and raise unintended effects which threaten the self-organized order of cities (Ikeda, 2004). However, she doesn't say that planning intervention is bad in se, but that it should above all favour the creation of self-organizing systems and avoid the emergence of negative externalities.

In brief, while most of her predecessors looked at the city as constructed order or as a disorder that needs to be re-organized, Jane Jacobs was able to describe the beneficial aspects of self-organization in complex systems. Her main goal was that of making

believing that a perfect city could be possible or desirable, Jane Jacobs was convinced that cities were often unpractical and inefficient places. In her view, the economy of cities derives exactly from this inefficiency (Jacobs, 1969).

## The theories of emergent order

The idea that from spontaneous actions can emerge unintended ordered configurations that facilitate the functioning of the social systems inevitably associates the contribution of Jane Jacobs with the theories of emergent orders.

The theories of emergent orders have a long tradition but, for different reasons, they were almost forgotten during the twentieth century. In fact, for much of this period, they were trumped by various doctrines of constructivist rationalism (Harper et al., 2012). According to Barry (1982: pp.7-58) "The attraction of rationalism stems partly from the success of the physical sciences with their familiar methods of control, exact prediction, and experimentation [...] which associates the benefits of civilization not with spontaneous orderings but with conscious direction towards preconceived ends". In the last decades, however, we have been witnessing a moderate rehabilitation of such theories (O'Driscoll & Rizzo, 2014). In particular, these theories can be useful to stress the work of Jane Jacobs, and therefore identify different types of action conditions.

Before showing what the theories of emergent orders imply in general terms, it is worth analysing how they define the concepts of order and emergence. In the case of the concept of order I refer to Hayek's definition (1982: 36): «[Order is] a state of affairs in which a multiplicity of elements of various kinds are so related to each other that we may learn from our

acquaintance with some spatial or temporal part of the whole to form correct expectations concerning the rest». In other words, an order is a the comments made by Jane Jacobs when, speaking of urban efficiency, compares the "efficient Manchester" (and its subsequent decline) with the "inefficient but competitive Birmingham", in *The Economics of Cities* (1969: 86-94).

system of interrelated parts that shows a certain level of regularities and patterns which create intersubjective conditions which enable agents to interact by means of common expectations. "Orders involve elements plus certain relations between them" (Hayek 1952, pp.47). Following Heath (2013) "The elements of an order might be physical, numerical, symbolical, verbal, or human; its relations might be temporal, spatial, causal, logical, mathematical, evaluative, hierarchical, or functional". For instance, in economics, an example of emergent order is the system of prices which co-ordinates aims and purposes of countless and unknown actors.

Hayek distinguishes two kinds of order: taxis and cosmos. Taxis is the constructed or made/exogenous order which can be defined as designed/intentional order; whereas, cosmos is the emergent/unintentional order. Michael Polanyi says that an emergent order "Is achieved among human beings by allowing them to interact with each other on their own initiative". The crucial point is that "The use of this spontaneous forces implies that many features of the process creating the order will be beyond our control" (Polanyi, 1951/1998: 195). The main issue is that, in orders of this kind, individuals may freely use their knowledge, while society may employ its dispersed knowledge (Hayek, 1945). Emergent orders show two fundamental relations. One is synchronic and regards the relation between the elements of a certain system in a particular time. The other is diachronic and regards the path dependent evolution/adaptation of a given order as time passes.

Emergent orders are neither a specific product of deliberate human action nor full natural phenomena independent from human action (Hayek, 1967), but the emerging product of uncountable number of actions that shows a certain level of regularity and patterns. Patterns are not mere aggregations of actions but systemic wholes. Emergent orders differ both from chaos and constructed orders. On the one hand, they cannot be compared with constructed orders since they possess emergent and unintentional characters (nobody planned them in detail or may precisely predict their evolution). On the other hand, they cannot be compared either with chaos, since they possess a certain level of internal conditions

	Problem of simplicity	Problem of disorganized complexity	Problem of organized complexity
Science	Physical science	Physical science	Life science
Variables number	Few	Many	Uncountable
Analytical method	Cause and effect	Statistics	Path dependency and regularities
Knowledge about future	Predictable	Probability	Unpredictable
Role of planners and plans	Find the best rational collective solution	Public intervention is required to coordinate complexity	Enable self-organization, avoid negative externalities

Figure 1: Different roles of planners according to the chapter "The kind of problem a city is".

professionals conscious about the fact that it is simply impossible to completely substitute the emergent functioning of cities with apparently perfect designed solutions. On the contrary, she affirms that the more cities work spontaneously, the better is for their survival.<sup>1</sup> Far from

1 In this regard, see for instance

which favour social interactions and collaborations.

These theories are often applied merely in the field of economics as if the market is the unique kind of emergent order we can notice. Nevertheless, economic actions are only a certain type of action. Thus, it would be insufficient to consider the general theories of emergent orders as if they address only economics. For instance, demonstrations of different kinds of emergent orders are the evolution of languages, the internet, or social institutions in general. Emergent configurations are noticeable in other numerous systems. As Jane Jacobs well demonstrates, one is surely the city: the spatial manifestation of uncountable actions of individuals (Hakim, 2014; Hèlie, 2009; Nilufer, 2004; Talen, 2016; Totry-Fakhoury, 2017). From this perspective, the city becomes a problem of organized complexity exactly because its internal order emerges in ways that most of the time are beyond anyone direct control (Portugali, 2011).

## Different types of action conditions

From a jacobsonian perspective the city is first of all made by people: the nature of complex social processes is what structures its identity. If we accept this idea, we might also intend the city both as the product and space of actions. Space becomes a set of contextual and specific action conditions or, in other words, a frame of reference for new actions, as well as a grammalogue of problems and possibilities related to the performance of actions (Werlen, 1993). Therefore, conditions may change from place to place influencing social interactions and the use of space. Both Jane Jacobs and the theories of emergent orders highlight the link between action conditions and the dynamic dimension of complex systems.

From this perspective, every action, in order to be effective, must be adapted to specific circumstances which condition what agents can do or not. Nevertheless, this does not mean that spatial conditions directly determine individuals' action in space. Space, at the most, may only partially condition agents' actions but hardly their totality.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> An extreme case may be that of a prisoner who is constrained to spend his days in a little jail. Although his contex-

The subjective sphere (i.e. idea, needs, creativity, means, etc.), as well as the way in which individuals interpret such conditions, is undoubtedly crucial too (Mises, 1963). The importance or not of certain contextual conditions strictly depends on the kind of action that the agent is promoting and, consequently, if these conditions positively or negatively influence such action.

Despite action conditions are subjectively perceived, by looking at Jacobs' contribution and the theories of emergent orders we can identify different types of conditions. This distinction depends on two main variables: firstly, by their social or material nature; secondarily, for their genesis which can be natural, unintentional (i.e. emergent), and intentional (i.e. planned). This classification helps us in understanding the peculiarity of planning rules compared to other kinds of conditions.

## Social vs material

A first distinction concerns the differentiation between intangible conditions (for instance the relationships between people or institutions), from the tangible conditions (e.g. the set of objects or material artefacts). In other words, conditions can be material or social (Popper, 1979).

Imagine for example an immigrant who is going to open a new restaurant, and he or she is exploring for the first time the city where he would like to locate his or her business. Now, let's try to understand which kind of contextual conditions could hinder such action. As regards some material conditions, for example, among many others, we can imagine: the opportunity to find a suitable building that can accommodate his or her business; good accessibility (for example the presence of roads, car parks, and etc.); the insertion of the restaurant in a dense urban environment or in a strategic place; the possibility to easily obtain all the necessary ingredients; the possibility to have an outdoor space for the summer; etc. As regards some social conditions, for instance, we can imagine that the agent will wonder if there are problems in interacting

tual conditions highly determine his daily movements, in the end, he can still decide between infinite ways of spending time. For instance, he can choose between "stay in bed waiting for release" or "writing a novel".

and learning a new language; if the local demand for a new restaurant is good or not; if there is the possibility to obtain the license; what are the hygiene standards required for such activity; if forms of racism against foreign traders are present; if the neighbourhood is relatively tolerant of possible noise coming from the restaurant; if taxes are high; if the rent is cheap and affordable; etc.

What is worth underlining with this very simple example is a first demarcation and distinction between material conditions (that is: the objects and their complex relationships), from social conditions (that is: the subjects and their complex relationships). As we will see, social and material conditions present different kinds of implications in planning.

## Natural vs artificial

Friedrich von Hayek (1982) overtly discusses the genesis of conditions that affect actions in space. Following my own interpretation, it is fundamental to distinguish two macro-categories of spatial conditions: natural conditions independent from human action, and artificial conditions depending on human actions. In particular, a specific feature of artificial conditions is that, besides being distinct among material and social conditions, they can also be distinguished by looking at their genesis which may be intentional (i.e. planned) or unintentional (i.e. emergent). In fact, Hayek's main point is that there is a third category that is neither natural or intentional but emergent.

In the case of natural conditions, agents deal with conditions that have an evolutive character and are independent from human action. It is possible to speak of natural conditions in all cases in which such conditions are pre-existing and change evolutionary falling outside human wills and power. Illustrative examples are, for instance, natural streams, mountains, the soil, the sea, the growth of forested areas, etc. The peculiarity of these conditions is that they are given, or they occur independently from agents' actions; at the most, agents can modify and alter them, but natural conditions remain unavoidable.<sup>3</sup> However,

<sup>3</sup> The relationship between nature and human beings represents one the most open question of Western societies (see for instance Jacobs, 1961: 444-445). The topic

human perception makes these natural conditions valuable or not. Natural resources only become so through human agency. For example, such things as harbours are sites for cities but how a city is situated on that site, at least in the beginning when it is a small settlement, is the result of intentional action.

## Unintentional vs intentional

Artificial conditions are conditions created and perpetuated through human agency. In the case of unintentional artificial conditions (i.e. emergent), we speak of conditions that are not the result of a single action, rather are the unintended products of an uncountable number of actions over time. That is, all that has been created independently from a single mind or plan and is the unintentional result of distinct individual actions. Their existence is emergent.

In general, this kind of conditions is the intricate sum of a plurality of objects, subjects, and their complex relationships. Such conditions, with the passage of time, change incrementally as a result of uncountable number of actions. Conditions of this kind can be observed and interpreted by looking at their evolutive process of formation.

Within this macro-category, we can make a clear distinction between social and material conditions. Specifically, we may speak of unintentional social conditions in the case of all those conditions that are handed down over time and structure the interactions and relationships among people. Clear demonstrations are, for instance culture, religion, traditions, the market, customs, language, rules of behavior, etc. (Granovetter, 1985).

On the contrary, we may speak of material unintentional conditions in the case of the overall existing artefacts and objects, as well as the relationships between them, that are the result of human action over time but do not correspond to any specific plan or design. These conditions are definable as the material result of the aggregation of countless micro-actions in space which singularly possess their own rationality, while they do not reflect an overall plan (Alexdander, 1967; Lefebvre, 1991). Some examples are (for certain aspects) the city

would deserve deeper explorations.

as a whole, processes of activities agglomeration in space, the distribution of the urban fabric, the local construction types, the evolution of roads networks, etc.

In general, it is significant to emphasize that in the case of unintentional conditions it is impossible to identify a single agent (or a group of agents) who has direct responsibility for their creation. In other words, we cannot attribute to anybody a direct responsibility for their existence. What we see, by looking at this kind of conditions, is the emergent outcome of a complex system.

Now we turn our reflections to intentional artificial conditions (i.e. planned). In this case, we speak of voluntary actions that are the result of a specific will, plan or design. Also in this case, as for the previous, we make a clear distinction between intentional material conditions and intentional social conditions. However, it is crucial to underscore that any intentional action produces (potentially and with different degrees) a variation on the overall existing and emergent state of affairs. Such a process occurs by inserting new conditions (both social and material) that are the result of a particular design, within an existing state of affairs.

In the case of intentional material conditions, we may imagine all those conditions that are the product of a specific action which purposefully alter the material space through the construction (or modification) of new objects and artefacts (for examples: the construction of a new house, a road, a residential neighbourhood, a simple fence, a park, etc.). In the second case, namely the case of intentional social conditions, we may imagine all those conditions that contribute to the modification of the social infrastructure. A particular kind of intentional social conditions are surely formal institutional facts (Searle, 2005). One peculiarity of such conditions is that they affect the compositions of rights and duties between agents. Some examples are, for instance, civil codes, taxation, formal government institutions, ownership, contracts, etc. In particular, within this group of conditions, there are also land-use plans and building codes (Alfasi et al., 2007).

## The example of New York City

New York City is a perfect example to reflect on the different types of actions conditions. The land in which New York (originally New Amsterdam) is built was once natural, it had become a resource only when around 1660 was chosen by the Dutch colonialists for strategical and commercial reasons.

The construction of the first dwellings inside the borders of New Amsterdam gave rise to irregular streets layout and an overall organic configuration. Since then, a uncountable number of unpredictable changes occurred within this historical layout. For evident reasons, most of them couldn't be predicted four centuries ago by the Dutch colony who considered New York to be less valuable than Suriname (Easterly, 2015). Today, despite the presence of numerous modern skyscrapers that gradually have replaced the old buildings, this 'historical' part of the city (namely, Lower Manhattan) still offers a unique character.

Lower Manhattan is easily distinguishable from the rest of the city built during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The great growth of New York City came with and after the realization of the famous grid planned in 1811 which had highly structured the evolution of New York City (Ballon, 2012). Despite its rigid character, most of the development occurred within the grid - let's say "the fine grain of the blocks" - have been evolving unintentionally showing clear emergent and unpredictable features that anyone could forecast when the grid was simply designed on a map (Koolhaas, 1998).

The grid can be considered as an unmovable condition that, with its blocks, still structures the entire city from the 14th street to the South Bronx. Product of the same monotonous spatial repetition, however, the growth of the city gave rise to unique orders and characters regarding both the city in se, and its internal districts which show different urban environments, cultures, economies and population. This diversification has been possible because of the large room left to spontaneous actions and the high flexibility inside the blocks.

Obviously, with the passage of time, the growth of New York was continuously influenced and corrected by numerous planning

interventions. This happened (and happens) through the direct construction of new public infrastructures (e.g. subways, bridges, public buildings, etc.) as well as the introduction of new building and planning rules.

During the twentieth century, Manhattan gained a mythological status in urban studies because of its unstoppable growth and never-ending rapid changes, but also because it was a city offering infinite opportunities to poor, artists and creatives. Certain areas have drastically changed in the last decades. For instance, places like Harlem or South Bronx, once considered depressed and dangerous, gave room to a tremendous number of newcomers, and became also the places in which jazz and hip-hop were born. Nowadays this character seems to be lost. What once was a 'delirious', today has turned into a meticulously planned city (Gleaser, 2011). An example is the enormous increase of special zoning districts. Introduced by the Planning Commission in 1969, the legal status of special zoning district allows planners to "achieve specific planning and urban design objectives in defined areas with unique characteristics" through specific and detailed regulations that protect the city from unwanted changes.<sup>4</sup> Since then there has been an unstoppable increase in the number of special zoning districts. Today the city has about 80 special zoning districts. Among them, for instance, there are famous areas like Little Italy "to preserve the charming historical district", the 125th street district in Harlem "to stimulate creation of local performing arts spaces", the Garment district in midtown Manhattan "to preserve the garment-making industry", the Special Mixed Use District of Williamsburg in Brooklyn "to encourage investment and enhance the vitality of existing neighborhoods", and others (Gasper et al, 2013: 37). The extended use of special zoning district is irremediably conditioning the evolution of New York limiting its level of internal self-organization.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/zoning/districts-tools/special-purpose-districts.page>

## Implications for urban planning

The main thesis of Jane Jacobs is that planning should above all provide certain conditions within which good self-organizing systems can emerge and be adapted over time. In other words, from a Jacobsonian point of view, planners' intervention is not required to find the best collective solution, neither to coordinate the complexity of the whole system; rather, planning interventions are needed to enable the self-coordination of the system and generate an intentional framework in which people can act and interact producing good emergent configurations. However, as planning conditions are inserted into world of self-organized complexity, they give rise to unintentional variations of the overall existing state of affairs. In fact, how people will react to these new conditions cannot be easily predicted (Moroni, 2012; de Roo et al., 2012).

According also to the theories of emergent orders, planning conditions are not placed in a vacuum, but they are imposed over another kind of conditions emerging unintentionally from the bottom which already enable and structure agents' self-coordination and the use of dispersed knowledge. This type of conditions may be social (for instance the relationships between people or institutions), or material (e.g. the set of objects or material artefacts). The peculiarity of these conditions is that despite we cannot attribute to anybody a direct responsibility for their existence, they highly condition the evolution of social processes.

The conditions provided by planners are by definition intentional and, following our interpretation, can be distinguished between material and social. In the first case, we may think of certain spatial goods (e.g. streets, buildings, parks, facilities, etc.); while, in the second case, we may think of the institutional framework (i.e. planning and building codes). Consequently, it follows that in order to favour the developments of spontaneous actions and the evolution of (acceptable) emergent orders, planners can provide two different types of condition: on the one hand, (i) good planning on public spaces to grant certain 'generative' spatial goods (Gadanho et al. 2014; Porqueddu, 2015); (ii) good rules for private spaces that allow high degree

of flexibility, experimentation and self-organization (Buitelaar et al., 2014; Slaev, 2014).

Planning interventions are relevant to address the emergence of a good development or favour the evolution of certain situations in complex systems. However, it is exactly because the city is a problem of organized complexity that only certain types of planning conditions which, at the same time, respect and enable self-organizing processes are better suited to deal with it (Moroni, 2015).

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# Diagnosing a City's Social Diversity

Jane Jacobs and The Wire's Baltimore

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**Abstract** – Of Jane Jacobs' four conditions for optimal diversity in the city, only the fourth deals with social diversity and it is exactly this condition that continues to spark criticism. To widen the perspective and obtain a comprehensive view of a city's social diversity it would be helpful to use a broad diagnostic tool like the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model from organizational studies. This model is used to diagnose social diversity in the city of Baltimore as portrayed in the television series *The Wire*. The perspectives of Jacobs and critics are plotted in the Model, showing what other perspectives are relevant for diagnosing a city's social diversity.

**Key words** – Jane Jacobs, social diversity, *The Wire*, Organizational Discourse Analysis Model

## Introduction

According to Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) the concept of the city as an organism required diversity. Jacobs distinguished several conditions for a city's diversity, which became commonplace in the domains of urban planning and inner city architecture. Several social sciences disciplines, however, voiced criticism of Jacobs' fourth condition that addresses social diversity. To gain a full understanding of the concept of diversity, it is wise to investigate it from different angles and different disciplines (Hospers et al., 2015). A multiperspectivist tool that would serve that purpose is available. Developed in the field of organizational studies, it is known as the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model (ODAM). This tool is helpful to analyze 'a body of citizens' (polis) in the process of organizing. This paper focuses on the question of how the Organizational

Discourse Analysis Model enriches Jacobs' condition of a city's social diversity. We will briefly discuss the conditions for diversity formulated by Jacobs and her critics. We will then describe the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model and explore multiperspectivism and how this influences the organizational analysis of a city. The model will then be applied to the city of Baltimore as depicted in the HBO series *The Wire*. We will conclude by showing the angles on a city's social diversity that are missing from Jacobs' and her critics' analyses, but are revealed by the diagnostic model.

## Jane Jacobs: The Importance of a City's Diversity

Jane Jacobs is best known for her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961), an ethnographic description

of urban life. Jacobs views the built environment through an anthropological lens (Wortham-Galvin, 2012) and includes in her book everyday mini-narratives about real-life urban experiences (Hirt, 2012). At the core of her investigation is the question of how livable a city is. Where Le Corbusier sees standardization as the ideal and looks at a city as a machine, Jacobs' ideas about the city are based on a concept of the city as an organism (Jacobs, 2009; Lengkeek, 2009). She sees the city as an animate object or an organism, with streets, parks and squares full of inhabitants, that has an ability to revitalize itself and is characterized by diversity. Jacobs (1961) distinguishes four conditions that are indispensable for a city's diversity: 1. A mix of primary functions: living, working, recreation and culture; 2. A mix of old and new buildings that enable the mix of functions; 3. Blocks of mixed sizes, and lively sidewalks; and 4. A sufficiently

dense concentration of people and a variety of people. A city must meet all four conditions to continue to function and to be an economically viable and pleasant place to live. The absence of any one of these conditions undermines the diversity of the city and will eventually facilitate the city's decline.

## Criticisms of Jacobs' Views on Diversity

One of Jacobs' greatest critics is sociologist Herbert Gans. In *City Planning and Urban Realities* (1962), he argues that human behavior is not so much dictated by the physical reality of the city—the streets and building—as it is by the culture of the social group to which the city dwellers belong. For example, in working class culture, social life takes place outside the home, while family life takes place inside the home. That is why blue collar neighborhoods have such lively streets, even though the principle of diversity might be largely absent as the inhabitants often form a homogeneous group and the buildings are not very varied either. When this type of neighborhood is close to downtown, it attracts artists and other bohemians. They too spend a lot of time outdoors, adding to the liveliness of the streets. Gans argues that middle class desires dominate urban planning and new developments and that this social stratum does not prefer diversity per se, as Jacobs does. According to Gans, it is social, economic and cultural factors that determine a city's livability or unlivability for that matter. To him, it is not the city and urban planning that is the problem, nor the absence of diversity, but poverty and segregation. Unlike Jacobs, Gans addresses the issue at a national rather than a local level (L'Heureux, 2012).

A second point of criticism is that Jacobs' assumptions about people's sense of community blind her to the political dimensions of city life. She ignores city government and city politics (Harris, 2011). In the same vein, she largely disregards opposing interests and oppositions, i.e. deviants, misfits and local weirdos that live in every city (Mennell, 2011), factors which can inspire exciting creative processes

in a neighborhood. In fact, such contrasts partly determine a city's charm (Page, 2011). Cities are complex places constructed around people (Hollis, 2013).

Both criticisms primarily address Jacobs' fourth condition—diversity in numbers and types of people. This paper will deal exclusively with this fourth condition of 'a variety of inhabitants', which we interpret to mean 'a city's social diversity'. In order to get a clear idea of that type of diversity, we will first define a city's social diversity and then analyze it systematically.

Social Diversity	Individual differences	Cultural differences
Observable characteristics	Race/ethnicity, sex, age, body size, visible disabilities, class	Language, group size, customs, rituals, symbols
Mindset elements	Values, beliefs, attitudes, gender	Morality, ideology, religion

Table 1: Social diversity as a research object

## A City's Social Diversity as a Research Object

Diversity is about differences, identities and categories. These differences are also constructed in a city, as the production of difference takes place in the social context (Hearn & Louvrier, 2015).

As there are many different lenses through which social diversity is viewed, a classification by levels would be helpful. At surface level, diversity refers to readily seen attributes, such as race or ethnicity, sex, age, body size, visible disabilities or class/socio-economic background. Studies at this level focus on similarities and differences in those demographic characteristics. At a deeper level, diversity refers to a non-observable type of diversity: values, beliefs, attitudes and identity aspects of gender. They can be revealed through verbal communication and nonverbal cues (Lambert and Bell, 2013). Both of these levels (easily observable attributes and aspects of people's mindsets) concern differences we can distinguish between individuals.

Aside from distinguishing

between individuals, we also look at the differences between cultures and subcultures when studying a city's social diversity. Diversity in cultures and subcultures is about groups that delineate and identify themselves in relation to other groups (Latour, 2005). Group members expect a certain combination of attitudes and behavior from each other. This combination is visible in features like language, group size, customs, rituals and symbols. A combination of attitudes and behavior is justified by a mix of morals, ideology and religion. The concept of social diversity is directly connected to concepts such as equality, democracy, solidarity and tolerance (Fainstein, 2010). We acknowledge that this link exists, but for the purposes of this paper we focus solely on social diversity as a research object (see Table 1).

Obviously, this human diversity is observable in an urban setting as well. We define a city's social diversity as the way in which a city organizes and reinforces these differences between people. We focus mostly on observable characteristics, and deal with mindset elements wherever possible.

The field of organizational studies provides a diagnostic model that takes a broad approach to texts and images, the differences between individuals and groups, and the ways in which they collaborate effectively or ineffectively. This model is the topic of the next two sections. Section 4 introduces eight metaphors and assigns them a place in the organizational surface current and undercurrent. Section 5 adds two metaphors that connect both currents and thus completes the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model.

## Eight Metaphors in the Surface Current and the Undercurrent

Gareth Morgan (1986) distinguishes eight metaphors or perspectives from which to look at organizations. Each metaphor reveals relevant aspects of the organization. Van Es (2011) reinterprets the eight metaphors and assigns them a place in either the surface current or undercurrent of the organization. The surface

current encompasses anything rational, conscious and directive in an organization, while the undercurrent comprises anything emotional, subconscious and associative. Accordingly, Morgan's eight perspectives are divided into two sets of four.

In the first set of four perspectives, organizations are seen as Machines, Political Systems, Cultural Units and Brains. If we look at organizations as Machines, then we pay attention to input, throughput and output. Efficiency,

information, how it organizes feedback and adapts to signals from both internal and external sources. The emphasis is on improvement and change based on familiar learning patterns.

In the second set of four perspectives, organizations are seen as Organisms, Moral Concerns (originally Instruments of Domination), Self-Restriction (originally Psychic Prisons) and Flux, respectively. If we look at the organization as an Organism, its key concern might simply be survival,

are key.

Each set of four metaphors has an internal coherence. The first set—Machines, Political Systems, Cultural Unity and Brains—represents the organizational surface current. Together, they give us an idea of how management and board steer the organization. The second set of metaphors—Organism, Moral Concerns, Self-Restriction and Flux—forms the organizational undercurrent. These metaphors provide us with clues about how individuals, co-workers and friends perceive the organization and how they deal with, and sometimes even adjust, the collective course set out by management and board.

## Completing the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model

To connect the four perspectives in their respective currents, we need two additional, interdependent metaphors. These complete the ten perspectives of the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model.

The first connective metaphor is Stratego. It is the game the management plays of drawing as many connections between the surface current's perspectives in order to reinforce their message. It is a deliberate attempt to leverage the undercurrent. This is a classical example of strategy (Whittington 1993) used as a conscious policy instrument. It is the ninth perspective in the model.

The second connective metaphor is that of the less well-known Rhizome (rootstalk), a notion coined by Norma Jackson and Pippa Carter (2007). The Rhizome is located in the undercurrent and connects the four metaphors there. If we look at organizations from this perspective, we discern desires, beliefs, motivations and experiences that cannot be predicted or caught. In this metaphor, we see behavior in and between organizations as a cluster of accidental connections. Pressure on one point in the undercurrent can lead to unexpected counter pressure with unforeseen consequences at other locations within the undercurrent (before this pressure is even transferred to the surface current). This subsurface exchange is what we see when we look at the organization as a rhizome. Jackson and Carter point to

<b>Discourse Analysis Model</b>	<b>10 perspectives: looking at organizations as...</b>				
<b>Surface current</b> Rational, Directive, Conscious	<b>1 Stratego ↔</b> Deliberate rational connections				
	<b>2 Machines</b>	<b>3 Political Systems</b>	<b>4 Cultural Unity</b>	<b>5 Brains</b>	
<b>Catchwords</b>	Control Efficiency	Promoting interests Coalitions	Collectivity Homogenization	Information Learning	
<b>Dynamism</b>	↑	↑	↑	↑	
	<b>6 Organisms</b>	<b>7 Moral Concerns</b>	<b>8 Self-restrictions</b>	<b>9 Flux</b>	
<b>Catchwords</b>	Vitality Health	Wanting respect Wanting justice	Personal beliefs Security	Openness Alertness	
<b>Undercurrent</b> Emotional, Associative, Subconscious	<b>10 Rhizome ↔</b> Immediate emotional connections				

Table 2: The Ten Perspectives of the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model

technology and cost effectiveness are key. If we look at an organization as a Political System, we focus on the tactical promotion of interests in power struggles. Everything is negotiable. Coalitions and conflict management are key. If we look at an organization from a Cultural Unit angle, we concentrate on an organization's social development. We see coherent and homogenized symbolism and actions, aimed at creating a social reality in line with management's wishes. If we approach the concept of the organization from the Brains perspective, we study how the organization learns and processes

but more often it is staying healthy and balanced. Everything is geared towards sustainability. Continuity is key. In the Morality metaphor, it is all about the stakeholders' interests and moral rights. Justice and fairness are the main concerns and the focus is on preventing unfairness and exploitation. In the Self-Restriction metaphor, we look for constraints and taboos. Key concerns are conservatism, keeping things the same and reducing insecurity and 'splendid isolation'. And finally, in the Flux metaphor, we look at the organization from the perspective of flow and momentum. Change, open-mindedness, alertness and creativity

coincidence, contingency and open-mindedness toward the unexpected. The rhizome draws on a history of old pain, shame and mistrust, but also on old pleasure, pride and trust.

The Stratego and Rhizome perspectives describe the dynamism of the organization's surface current and undercurrent. The dynamism of an organization can be interpreted as a meeting of perspectives, or as the two layers acting as communicating vessels. The strategic attempt to leverage the undercurrent can never be fully or permanently successful. When the drive for maximum efficiency becomes unbearable, people's survival instinct kicks in. The perception of unfairness and exploitation is the underbelly of the power play. The unconscious and the unimaginable keep growing, in inverse proportion to the pressure of being forced onto the 'same page'. A lack of open-mindedness and creativity is the price to pay for a fixation on information processing and fixed learning patterns.

The dynamism in the undercurrent is expressed as a need for operating informally, without pressure or budgets, without accountability and based on personal insight. Like the Stratego perspective, the Rhizome-inspired focus can only be sustained partially and temporarily; coordination, money and a degree of formality are indispensable in the organizational process. They are the antidote to the eruptions of laziness, arbitrariness, unbusinesslike behavior, routine and laissez-faire attitudes that would otherwise become the norm. Surface current and undercurrent keep each other in balance. Table 2 shows the full-fledged Organizational Discourse Analysis Model.

In Section 7, we will apply this diagnostic tool to Baltimore's social diversity as depicted in the HBO series *The Wire*. First, we will briefly introduce the series in Section 6.

## ***The Wire: Portrait of a City***

The HBO series *The Wire* (2002-2006) takes place in Baltimore, Maryland. For five seasons, this city is the backdrop to the intertwined stories of more than 50 protagonists, including corner boys, neighborhood dwellers, junkies, drug dealers, teachers, students, police officers and politicians (Alvarez, 2009). We look at *The Wire* as an ethnographic document of an American metropolis that provides both a view of the diversity of its inhabitants

and the development of the city as an organization.

Season 1 focuses on the drug trade, and in particular the activities of the Barksdale gang and the Baltimore Police Department's war on the gang. The scenes take place on street corners and in police stations in the economically depressed district of West Baltimore. On both sides of the law we see "cultures of addiction to power, ambition and dope." (Alvarez, 2009). We also see great inequality. As Detective Carver says about street corner drug dealers: "They screw up, they get beaten; we screw up, we get a pension."

Season 2 is largely about the decline of the port. The dockers' union, headed by Frank Sobotka, has lost most of its clout. To survive, the union has started smuggling goods and laundering money. Sobotka is desperately trying to find self-respect in a world he no longer has any control over, as is made clear by the discovery of 13 unidentified women's corpses in a container: evidence of human trafficking. Meanwhile, with Avon Barksdale in prison, the drug business continues unabated under the leadership of Barksdale's deputy Stringer Bell, whose influence keeps growing.

Season 3 introduces a series of new characters—drug dealers, politicians and civil servants. One of these is City Councilman Tommy Carcetti, a rising star in local politics. Major Colvin of the Baltimore police covertly creates a drug tolerance zone called Hamsterdam. The experiment works, until politicians and the media get wind of it. This costs Colvin his job and accelerates business for the drug lords, presenting them with new opportunities and new ways of plying their wares. Some of them, like Stringer Bell, start to think of themselves as businessmen and even enroll in college courses. Others reject this, insisting that "the street is the street."

Season 4 portrays the public education system by following four pupils and various teachers. On the whole, the level of education is extremely low because of a lack of funding from the school board, a lack of interest from the students and a growing helplessness on the part of teachers. As an experiment, the school starts a special class where students are taught their subjects in a way that reflects the world they know. Ex-law enforcement officers, including Colvin, contribute to this special class with varying degrees of success. Meanwhile, the

Barksdale gang has to learn to deal with growing competition from the Stanfield gang.

Season 5 deals with the question of why there is change but no improvement. The extra focus is now on journalism. Who reports what and how? And who is pulling the strings behind the scenes? Everyone is caught in compromises. Together we come up with the biggest lies and, if we can, we live with it. The only thing you can do in journalism is investigate things thoroughly, as editor Gus Haynes of the *Baltimore Sun* exclaims. "You need a lot of context to examine anything." And the problem is, those who are doing the examining need to "do more with less."

Using *The Wire* as a case study, we remain close to the mini-narratives of real-life urban experience that are so characteristic of Jacobs (Hirt, 2012).

## **Diagnosing a City's Social Diversity in *The Wire's* Baltimore**

Our working definition of a city's social diversity is: the ways in which a city organizes and produces the differences between people (individuals and subcultures).

Let us first look at the distribution of four relevant differences—race, sex, age and class—among the main actors in *The Wire's* Baltimore. We define those actors as the twelve professional roles that shape the city as an organization: gang leaders, gang members, police commissioners, detectives, dockworkers, union leaders, middle school teachers, the justice department, civil servants, politicians, editors and journalists. There are considerable social differences between those groups. The drug ring leaders are 100% black, while the editors of the local newspaper and the union leaders in the harbor are 100% white. Also, they are all men. There are a few women among the detectives and the gang members. Women dominate the profession of middle school teachers and are a sizable minority as office workers at the justice department and the city administration. Table 3 shows an overview of four of the immediately observable differences between the twelve actors.

Now we are going to look at how the differences in the city are orchestrated and reinforced

Four differences 12 Actors	Race/ ethnicity	Sex	Age	Class
1 Gang leaders	100% black	100% male	30-50	Lower-middle
2 Gang members	100% black	90% male	10-40	Lower
3 Police commissioners	70% black	100% male	50-65	Higher-middle
4 Police detectives	80% black	90% male	30-65	Middle
5 Dockworkers	95% white	90% male	20-55	Lower
6 Union leaders	100% white	100% male	50-65	Lower-middle
7 High school teachers	80% black	60% female	25-50	Middle
8 Justice department	60% white	60% male	35-65	Upper
9 Public officers	80% black	60% male	30-65	Higher middle
10 Politicians	80% black	80% male	35-65	Higher middle
11 Editors	100% white	100% male	50-65	Upper
12 Journalists	80% white	60% male	30-65	Higher middle

Table 3. Four observable differences between the 12 basic actors

using the ten perspectives of the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model.

Let us start with the five metaphors that make up the surface current of the city as an organization. If we focus on the differences from the Machine perspective, we see that both the police and the drug gangs are organized strictly top-down. The police commissioners use written reports, data-driven meetings and broad, formal instructions, while their detectives work with photographs and wiretaps. The drug kingpins, on the other hand, use oral reports, informal and personal instructions, and the lower-level drug dealers use pay phones.

If we look at the organized differences as a Political System, we see that negotiation, as well as promises and alliances are used to protect personal (and organizational) interests. Police commissioners can promise promotions and raises to their subordinates. Gang leaders

can seldom do the same: you keep working in the role that fits you. There are few opportunities to rise through the ranks, but there is a lot of under-the-counter money to be made. Alliances come and go and only survive as long as everyone clearly sees the benefit. The gang leaders' co-op for buying drugs survives for a relatively long time, until the upstart Marlo Stanfield ends it in a bid for power.

If we look at the organized differences in the city from the angle of Cultural Unity, we immediately feel the tension. The Baltimore Sun strives to be a collective and hence to homogenize values and behavior. But the editors are all white males of 50 years or older who think and write in standard American English. Their ideas about honest reporting are based on their decades of making a print newspaper. Young journalists do not have that experience and may feel differently about this, in part because they feel at home in the world of social media and sociolect.

Injecting a bit of fiction into the facts does not seem all that wrong to some of them. This is why Scott Templeton, a young journalist, invents a source to quote in his articles.

If we look at the organized differences from the Brains perspective, we can see the problems in the school system. Schools can hardly make a difference when there is a lack of money, facilities and good teachers, and the pupils show no interest. The school board's only concern is that the pupils' test results are good enough for the school to continue to receive funding, so teachers are just "teaching to the test" and students are forced to play along. They are not interested in the curriculum because it is irrelevant to their lives: "They are not learning for our world, they are learning for theirs."

Looking at differences from the Stratego angle means looking at the underlying, rational reinforcements of the policy in the surface current of the city as an organization. Officially, this is a type of Public Management, but to many policy makers rational self-preservation and reputation management are key. This is why any changes in policy are piecemeal. They might appear wholesale, but the underlying balance of power must remain undisturbed.

Moving on to the five metaphors that make up the undercurrent of the city as an organization, we can look at the differences from the Organism perspective and focus on individuals' and groups' personal space, vitality and health. For example, we see how Cutty's return to the streets and to his work as a drug lord's bodyguard after years in prison is not a success. He has changed and no longer fits into the drug gang game, so he wants out. Gang leader Avon Barksdale understands and lets him go, and later even sponsors Cutty.

We can look at the differences from the angle of Moral Concerns too and focus on feelings of respect, dignity and justice. Detective Bunk sits on a park bench with Omar, the series' informal avenger, and talks about the decline of their West Baltimore district. They were both born and raised there. Despite everything, it used to be a tightly knit community, Bunk tells Omar. But that has all gone down the drain. Bunk holds Omar partly responsible for the decline, telling him he is contributing to it. This gives Omar pause for thought and prompts him

to later help Bunk collect evidence against a gang.

Organized differences can also be analyzed from the perspective of Self-Restriction and looked at in terms of personal beliefs, taboos and security. The institution of a free zone (Hamsterdam) is a daring experiment on the part of Major Colvin. He takes the initiative based on his personal beliefs. Everywhere else in the city, drugs are now strictly forbidden and the people that live in those neighborhoods are very happy about this. Hamsterdam is a dilapidated and largely abandoned neighborhood where drugs can be freely dealt and used without the police stepping in. This works pretty well until the media, the police commissioners and politicians learn of the experiment. This type of drug tolerance is absolutely taboo in American public opinion and is therefore spun as an attempt to “legalize drugs,” while, in fact, safety in the city had increased.

The organized differences in the city can also be investigated from the angle of Flux, where we look for signs of alertness, pleasure and improvisation. When detective-turned-teacher Pryzbylewski (Prez) tries to teach his classroom full of black students something, he notices how wide the social gap is. His pupils show no interest in his general stories: what relevance do they have to their lives on the street? Prez manages to connect with them by teaching them mathematics by means of estimates and card games that his students use on a daily basis. That improvisation creates commitment and learning outcomes. Learning now becomes instrumental to life on the street. This raises the question whether education should not serve another goal as well, but that brings us back to the Moral Concern perspective.

And finally, we can look at the organized differences in the city from the undercurrent perspective of the Rhizome, where we focus on immediate emotional connections. What is true for many of the inhabitants of West Baltimore is that their lives are fraught with insecurity, that violence is always lurking around the corner, that their jobs, income and health are not guaranteed and that the only thing they can be sure of is that this is not likely to change anytime soon. There are plenty of changes afoot in this city district, but they are seldom improvements.

<b>Discourse Analysis Model</b>	<b>10 perspectives on a city's diversity</b>			
<b>Surface current</b> Rational, Directive, Conscious	<b>1 Stratego</b>			
	<b>2</b> <b>Machines</b>	<b>3</b> <b>Political Systems</b>	<b>4</b> <b>Cultural Unities</b>	<b>5</b> <b>Brains</b>
<b>Dynamism of a city's social diversity</b>				
	<b>6</b> <b>Organisms</b>	<b>7</b> <b>Moral Concerns</b>	<b>8</b> <b>Self-restrictions</b>	<b>9</b> <b>Flux</b>
<b>Undercurrent</b> Emotional, Associative, Subconscious	<b>10 Rhizome</b>			

Table 4: Analysis of a City's Diversity: Mapping Jacobs, Gans and Harris to the ODAM.

## Diagnosing a City's Social Diversity

Jacobs has given us the four conditions that a city must meet to be livable, ranging from the built environment to social diversity. Her fourth condition is that there must be a sufficiently dense concentration of people and a sufficiently diverse population. This was the condition that Jacobs' critics disputed most often. For example, Gans stresses the cultural differences among inhabitants, while Harris highlights the political differences at play. If we overlay the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model with Jacobs, Harris and Gans' approaches to social diversity, we can see that these cover perspectives 2, 3, 4 and 6 (see Table 4)

Our analysis of the city of Baltimore as portrayed in *The Wire* shows that there are six other

perspectives that can help us understand the city's social diversity. In the surface current, we can analyze the diversity in terms of Stratego and look at the differences in how policy areas are rationally reinforced; and we can analyze diversity in terms of the Brains metaphor and focus on how information is learned and processed. In the undercurrent, there are as many as four additional perspectives that we can take: Moral Concerns (differences in feelings of respect and justice); Self-Restriction (differences in personal beliefs, taboos, and feelings of security); Flux (differences in alertness, pleasure, and improvisation); and the Rhizome, which zooms in on immediate emotional connections, often a matter of pride or trust.

## Conclusions: Diagnosing a City's Social Diversity

This paper has investigated how the Organizational Discourse Analysis Model enriches Jane Jacobs' fourth condition for a city's diversity, namely social diversity. Jacobs argues that the population needs to be sufficiently large and diverse. Her analysis of how cities function covers two perspectives of the 10-perspective model presented in this paper. She critiques the city as a Machine (in her denouncement of LeCorbusier) and idealizes it as an Organism. The ODAM offers eight additional perspectives from which to examine a city's diversity. The Political Systems perspective focuses on the promotion of interests and the balance of power, which Harris calls attention to. Gans emphasizes the importance of cultural differences, a perspective which focuses on shared values and behavior within the Cultural Unity angle of the ODAM. From the remaining six perspectives that the ODAM offers us to view the city as an organization, two are in the surface current. From the Brains perspective, we can analyze a city's diversity with a view to differences in information processing and learning. Taking the Stratego perspective, we can focus on differences in the attempts to rationally connect policies. This leaves four perspectives in the undercurrent, where emotional, associative and subconscious motivations play a role. The Moral Concerns perspective lets us focus on feelings of respect and justice; the Self-Restriction angle turns our gaze to differences in personal beliefs, taboos, and security; from the Flux angle, we look for differences in alertness, pleasure, and improvisation; and finally, from the Rhizome perspective, we construe diversity as differences in immediate emotional bonds, often concerned with pride or trust.

Using the ODAM to analyze the diversity in the city of Baltimore as represented in the HBO series *The Wire*, we have shown the benefit of using additional perspectives to highlight interesting aspects of a city's social diversity.

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# Is new work really built from old work?

And if so, what does this mean for the spatial organisation of economic activities in cities?

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**Abstract**-Jane Jacobs developed a theory of the 'self-generating economic culture of cities' (Soja, 2000) with new work being built from old work, through dynamic economic branching. She saw local economic development as an emergent process, characterised by organised complexity, as opposed to be something that could be developed top-down through a strategic planning vision. Jacobs has directly influenced a long-standing debate in human capital economics on the relative importance of cross-sector and same-sector knowledge sharing to bottom-up innovation. However, Jacob's vision of emergent job creation is more complex than this, with her ideas perhaps best being reflected in the discipline of evolutionary economic geography, with its multiple influences from thinkers such as Darwin and Schumpeter, and the complexity theorists. Jacobs' ideas were strongly spatial, and she saw the physical properties of buildings and streets in cities as both enabling and constraining the emergence of new work from old. However she did less to theorise the broader spatial morphology of self-generating city economies. The paper concludes by asking whether more recent architectural theories, such as space syntax, can enhance our understanding of the physical embeddedness of new work creation.

**Key words** – economic diversity, organised complexity, Jane Jacobs, space syntax

## Introduction

This paper aims to explore the relevance of Jane Jacob's ideas about 'new work emerging from old work' for our contemporary understanding of economic growth in cities. Jane Jacobs developed a theory of the 'self-generating economic culture of cities' (Soja, 2000) with new work being built from old work, through economic branching. She saw economic development as being an emergent process, characterised by organised complexity, as opposed to something that could be developed by strategic 'city visions'.

Like Massey (1984), Jacobs saw economic activities as being intrinsically 'spatial' – not only in terms of asserting that most emergent economic branching occurs in cities, but also in terms of stressing the location of economic activities in physical buildings and streets. She famously explored the key factors which might support bottom up entrepreneurship at the neighbourhood level (1961), such as small block size, the intermingling

of commercial and residential uses, and high population density. However in her later works she did less to imagine how the physical structure of cities as a whole might enable or constrain the development of new work from old. The paper argues that the discipline of space syntax – itself based on theories of emergence and organised complexity – has something to contribute here.

The paper is organised into three main parts: part 1 explores Jacob's ideas on new work creation, while part 2 identifies similar ideas within the discipline of economics, and highlights recent relevant developments in that discipline. Section 3 considers the implications of theories of emergent job creation for the spatial organisation of economic activities in cities.

## New work emerging from old – a summary of Jacob's ideas

In her book *The Economy of Cities*, Jacobs (1969) argued that new work emerges on the basis of the fragments of older work. She famously gives the example of the New York dress maker who began to experiment with bra-manufacture as a result of dissatisfaction with the fit of her clothes on her clients. Once this side-line started to be successful, the dress maker abandoned her former line of work, developing a new local bra-making business. Jacobs sees this development of new work on the basis of old work as a 'branching' process that is fundamental to the way that economic growth happens in cities. She suggests that it is often not the needs of current customers which drive economic branching (as they often want 'more of the same') but rather the imagination and problem solving of workers, who

develop new work after ‘tinkering, taking apart and reproducing’, and sometimes grappling with design problems over many years. Importantly she sees new work as developing from smaller fragments of older work, as opposed to the old work as a whole. She identifies that sub-departments of larger firms sometimes develop new products which then spin off from the larger firm. She finds that companies with cultures of relative inefficiency are often the most fertile grounds for new innovation, as the elimination of waste often removes the potential for experimenting with new ways of doing things. For similar reasons she saw smaller firms as being more likely to generate new lines of work as larger firms become the prisoners of their own established ways of doing things and their frequent drive towards management efficiency. She considered that emergent economic branching takes place in all sectors of city economies, from manufacturing to services.

Jacobs argued that processes of economic branching were in fact responsible for the first origins of cities – with cities emerging through the gradual multiplication of different types of economic activity as they started to export products to each other in trading networks. She saw that cities first develop exports and the supply chains associated with these exports; then entrepreneurs within the supply chains start to create new products themselves, leading to new exports. Importantly Jacobs did not see new job creation in cities as always being a process of pure innovation – indeed she celebrated entrepreneurship in cities that develops on the basis of imitation, through the process of import substitution. She pointed out that as people retail and repair imports from other cities they often start to experiment with new ways of producing these products locally, and these new spin off products aimed at local markets may ultimately themselves become city exports. Her theory was therefore more a theory of entrepreneurship in cities, as opposed to a theory of innovation per se. This is a point rarely acknowledged clearly in the literature on her work.

Jacob’s suggests that cities are the best place for new work to be built on old for a number of reasons – firstly she saw that cities were more likely to host diverse activities which then provide the basis for a further branching off into new innovations. As cities become more

diverse, this sets up a virtuous circle – ‘the greater the sheer numbers and varieties of divisions of labor already achieved in an economy, the greater the economy’s inherent capacity for adding still more kinds of goods and services’ (1969 p.59). Secondly cities host dense populations with relevant skills (what she called the ‘close-grained juxtaposition of talents’ (1961)). She saw that it was often difficult to transfer a business away from a city to a completely new place, as people would not have the complex skills locally required to produce its products. Thirdly, because cities host diversity they are able to provide the complex supply chains that new firms need when they are starting out. For example the bra manufacturer in New York needed a whole host of different inputs when setting up her new company including packing, advertising and distribution. And fourth, cities themselves host the dense populations that can act as markets for city products.

Jacobs identified that for cities to flourish they need to continually develop new product lines, otherwise they can start to stagnate and fail – the process of innovation has to be continuous. This is partly because as businesses develop and mature, they often leave cities to produce their products in smaller towns or rural areas where they can achieve greater economies of scale through cheaper land and labour. However, a review of the city case studies which she presents (including Detroit, Birmingham and Manchester) reveals that the process of city diversification only seems to happen in fits and starts. Indeed, Read (2015) points out that in fact cities have been responsible for both diversification and homogenisation over their history. As he writes, cities have ‘complexified and opened rich and diverse opportunities for livelihoods in particular times and places and decomplexified and closed and diminished opportunities in others’. Jacobs saw such opening up and closing down processes as key to the economic history of individual cities.

Jacobs had little time for top-down city economic development strategies, rather seeing economic development as an emergent process, and in this she was influenced by developments in the physical and natural sciences. She saw new lines of work as emerging as part of a spontaneous unplanned process, with overall economic patterns being the product

of the accumulation of many different individual actions. She was particularly influenced by Weaver’s ideas about different types of order, and different types of complexity. Weaver (1948) saw that there were simple ‘bilateral’ relationships between one factor and another, disorganised complexity (which can best be analysed through statistics as it does not assume relationships between individual parts of the system) and organised complexity, which for Jacobs involved, “dealing simultaneously with a sizeable number of factors which are interrelated into an organic whole” (1961 p. 432). She saw economic growth in cities to primarily involve the latter ‘organised complexity’. Ellerman (2015) points out that for Jacobs a sense of ‘entanglement’ is key to successful local economies. She also compared cities to natural systems, such as tropical rainforests, where development of complexity occurs due to the passing around of energy in a complex diversified web of relationships, with each type of plant or animal adding new types of use of the energy, with cumulative consequences (Jacobs, 2000). Further, Jacobs reportedly told Ikeda that she thought that her most important contribution to economics was, “the discovery of the fractal”; that is, the fact that complexity exists symmetrically at different orders of magnitude (Callahan and Ikeda, 2003).

## How Jacob’s ideas are reflected in the broader economics literature

Jacob’s ideas have not been accepted easily into the economics mainstream, in part because she was not a trained economist and made no serious attempt to situate her ideas within the context of other economic thinkers (Hall, 1985). Indeed, she criticised mainstream economists for being ‘plantation thinkers’ – abstracting economic decision-making from the complexities of real time and space. She also failed to formally test her ideas in the traditional economics sense, drawing instead on her own observations and anecdotes to back up her ideas, although Marshall (2012) points out that she did establish hypotheses which she invited others to test.

Jacob’s ideas on the generation of diversity in cities are also at variance with some

mainstream ideas in economics. Jacobs criticises Adam Smith, for example, for failing to understand the generative nature of the division of labour. Smith sees diversification as being part of a drive to efficiency, as individuals and firms perform different parts of the production process separately, thus achieving economies of scale and new levels of effectiveness. Scott (1988) calls this process vertical and horizontal disintegration, and explored how such processes have led to diversification in a number of inner city neighbourhoods. Jacobs argued, however, that such theories miss the fact that the division of labour can either be largely stagnant (in the drive for efficiency) or it can create 'special footholds' for adding new goods and services into economic life. Jacob's criticisms of Adam Smith have been identified as naïve (Callahan and Ikeda, 2003), and it would seem that both Smith/Scott and Jacob's ideas are useful to our understanding of economic diversity in cities.

Jacobs has perhaps been most influential in human capital economics and the field of 'new growth theory'. Desrochers and Hospers (2007) summarise the development of a long debate in economics which started with an influential article by Glaeser (1992) who cited Jacobs as arguing that 'the crucial externality in cities is cross-fertilisation of ideas across different lines of work'. Glaeser contrasted such cross-sector Jacobs-externalities with same-sector 'MAR'-externalities which had been emphasised over time by the economists Marshall, Arrow and Romer. Each of these economists felt that knowledge sharing within individual sectors was more important to growth than cross-sector knowledge sharing. Duranton and Puga (1999) perhaps provide the most useful conclusions to this debate, when they argue that spill overs generated by diversity are more important for smaller start-up firms in larger 'incubator' cities, while same sector economies are more important in 'spin off' production plants in smaller cities where mass production predominates and firms are more homogenous. Like Jacobs, Duranton and Puga see that some cities can be 'sowers' of new economic growth, while other smaller towns are often 'reapers' of resulting scaled-up industries. They give the examples of London (as a sower) and Sheffield (as a reaper) in the UK, and Paris and Clermont-

Ferrand (respectively) in France.

While the above debate may have been useful in raising awareness of Jacobs' work, it seems to have been based partly on a misinterpretation of her ideas. A close reading of *The Economy of Cities* (1969) reveals that while diversity is central to Jacob's thinking, knowledge-sharing is much more rarely mentioned. Jacobs sees diversity as being important in quite a specific way to 1) the multiplication of opportunities for new work to develop on the basis of fragments of older work and 2) the availability of complex local supply chains which will allow new firms to enter into production (with cooperation therefore often being pecuniary and very pragmatic – the provision of printing, marketing, raw materials supply etc). She does not elaborate a great deal on the role of diversity in supporting the development of new 'hybrid' ideas through knowledge-sharing. Indeed when seeking to explain innovation she seems much more interested in the role of problem-solving based on ideas generated from the materials and tools that producers have to hand. As she writes, 'suggestions – afforded by the parent work seem to be vital to the process' (1969 p. 59). Only occasionally would a new development come from 'someone else's work that comes under his observation'. As such her reference to other people stresses the importance of observational learning as opposed to knowledge-exchange.

Jacobs focus on the role of concrete problem-solving in spurring innovation has been developed elsewhere in the economics literature - for example, Jensen et al (2007) argue that much innovation comes from 'doing, using and interacting' (DUI) as opposed to formal scientific research and development practices. Cooke (2016) argues that such innovation is like 'dark matter' in that it is largely invisible to research, but is very much responsible for what he calls 'generative growth'. Elsewhere Toner (2011) has argued, like Jacobs, that middle-level workers are particularly important contributors of such incremental innovation - as Jacobs writes – 'when humble people, doing lowly work are not also solving problems, nobody is apt to solve humble problems' (1969,105).

The economics discipline which comes closest to sharing Jacob's more complex ideas on new job creation is perhaps evolutionary economic geography (see e.g.

Boschma and Martin, 2012). This latter discipline also rejects more abstract neoclassical models of economics to understand the dynamic evolution of economies in a particular time and space. A key early thinker in this discipline was Schumpeter (1911 (1934)) who documented how economies evolve through the process of new innovation, and who anticipated the ideas of Jacobs in pointing to the importance of recombinant path interdependence, with entrepreneurship arising out of new combinations. He also made a clear distinction between innovation (which he felt to be based on recombination) and entrepreneurship (which could be imitative).

The evolutionary economics discipline is influenced, like Jacobs, by the physical and natural sciences – in particular Darwinian evolution and complexity theory. Kauffman (2008), while not an economic geographer, sums up the relevance of these theories for economics rather clearly. Firstly, he points out that Darwin's idea of 'pre-adaptation' helps us to understand that while a technology may serve a particular current purpose (e.g. a screwdriver functions to insert and remove screws), it may also have characteristics which mean that it could be used in a different way in the future. Gibson would call these characteristics 'affordances' (1979). There is always potential for existing tools to be repurposed to create new product lines. Similarly Desrochers and Leppala (2011) talk about general purpose technologies – such as the steam engine – that have the potential to be used in a myriad of different situations to accomplish different tasks. They see the industrial revolution as being as much about the multiplication of uses of the steam engine, for example, as about the dawn of mass-production. This idea chimes closely with Jacob's idea that the materiality of tools and products can itself offer 'suggestions' for new types of innovation. Darwinian theories of evolution also help us see how technologies and products can cross-fertilise over time, with new combinations creating new ways of doing things – indeed Desrochers (2001) points out that a key difference between natural and artefactual reproduction is that there can be cross-fertilisation between all artefacts, as opposed to reproduction being limited to within a particular 'species'.

Two ideas from complexity theory that seem to be particularly relevant for Jacobs ideas of new work developing from old work are the ‘adjacent possible’ and phase transitions. Kaufmann describes the ‘adjacent possible’ as constituting a possible set of circumstances (untapped potentials) which a current situation can evolve into. Phase transitions are associated with the fact that systems can build to a critical point after which they change exponentially. For example, the economist Krugman (1996) (who had a relatively brief flirtation with the power of complexity theory), supported Jacob’s assertion that import substitution could lead to ‘explosive’ city growth by showing that a cities can experience an exponential growth in import substitution once a market size has reached a critical point.

Complexity theorists have also confirmed that cities tend to become more and more diverse as they grow, with diversity growing in exponential fashion (i.e. with superlinear as opposed to linear growth). Youn et al (2016) have explored how economic diversity scales with city size, looking at data on NAICS codes for 366 metropolitan statistical areas in the United States. They identified super-linear scaling of economic diversity, suggesting that cities keep adding new work to old, and support economic branching even when very large. This is despite the fact that the total number of establishments and total number of employees only scales linearly. They identify that “the capacity to generate open-ended diversity is one of the most important characteristics of many complex systems, from ecosystems to modern human societies” (Youn et al., 2016). They point out that initially, small cities, with a limited portfolio of economic activities, need to create new functionalities at a fast pace. Later, as cities grow, the pace at which new functionalities are introduced slows down dramatically, but never completely ceases. They point out that large cities must presumably rely primarily on ‘combinatorial growth processes’ for developing new relationships among their many existing functionalities when very large. Lin (2009) also found evidence to support Jacob’s ideas of emerging diversity in cities, through analysing micro-data for US cities on changes to occupational titles between 1977, 1991 and 2000. He found evidence that workers are more likely to be

observed in new types of work in locations that are initially dense in both college graduates and industry variety. Lin defined new work as ‘jobs requiring new combinations of activities and techniques that have emerged in the labour market in response to the application of new information, technologies or ‘recipes’ to production’.

Perhaps the most interesting recent development in the field of evolutionary economics geography – which adds considerable value to the ‘new work from old’ concept - has been the growing literature on the importance of industry and product ‘relatedness’ to the development of economic complexity (see e.g. Neffke et al., 2009, Neffke et al., 2014). The Harvard Centre of International Development has started to explore the ‘adjacent possible’ of economic structures at national and regional levels through better understanding the relatedness inherent to existing economies. The Centre sees economic complexity and diversity as essential to economic development, arguing that a country’s economic complexity is a better predictor of economic growth than many other well-known development indicators, including measures of competitiveness, governance, finance, and schooling (Hausman and Hidalgo, 2014). Their research builds on theories developed within evolutionary economic geography of ‘related variety’ (Boschma and Iammarino, 2007), which asserts that the process of economic diversification is not entirely random - as new work emerge from old, some types of new work are more likely to evolve from the parent work – in particular types of work that share common skills sets and technologies. Again this is a multiscale process based on organised complexity and a fundamental inter-relatedness between different types of production. Processes that influence branches at the firm level, then come to influence the trajectory of whole cities and regions, with Neffke and Henning (2008) pointing out that regional portfolios of industries are usually not random but rather a coherent set of related industries.

While evolutionary economic geography often focuses on regions as opposed to cities, there is a recent resurgence of interest within economics on the role of cities in promoting economic growth, particularly in the context of the knowledge economy. This literature in particular focuses on

‘agglomeration economies’ in cities. In seeking to describe agglomeration economies, Duranton and Puga talk about the ‘micro-foundations’ of ‘sharing, learning and matching’ in cities: within their conceptual framework, ‘sharing’ includes the joint use of indivisible public goods, market places and supply chains; ‘matching’ includes the improvement of complementary matches of skilled people in the labour market, and ‘learning’ includes the spread of knowledge and ways of doing things. These concepts seem to relate rather closely to Jane Jacob’s own vision of cities as being economic hubs due to their complex supply chains, dense populations and the diverse talents that they host.

## What does this mean for the spatial arrangement of economic activities in cities?

While Jacobs’ ideas are clearly still relevant to contemporary economic theory, and are being built on in interesting ways, one area which remains to be fully explored is the spatial dimension of Jacobs’ economic theories. In particular, if new work really does develop out of old work, in a process of organised complexity, what are the spatial implications for how industry becomes organised in cities?

Jane Jacobs firmly embedded her ideas about social and economic activities within an understanding of the importance of the physical properties of cities. The *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) in particular went into detail about the physical factors necessary for lively city neighbourhoods. These include (1) different primary uses, such as residences and working places, must be mingled together, insuring the presence of people using the streets on different schedules but drawing on consumer goods and services in common; (2) small and short blocks, (3) buildings of different ages, types, sizes and conditions of upkeep, intimately mingled and (4) high concentrations of people (Jacobs, 1969). Later, Jacobs talked about the role of the local ‘anatomy’ of streets in creating successful commercial centres, and the importance of street intersections in creating local ‘community hearts’, while

stressing the importance of housing-commercial-housing adaptability (see Wetmore, November 11, 2000). However in her later books on the economy of cities, Jacobs focused less on the embeddedness of economic processes in the physical nature of urban environments, preferring instead to reiterate the four principles which she had set out for the working of local neighbourhoods in 1961. We are therefore still missing a methodology to understand how economic branching might work spatially at the level of cities as a whole.

Architectural theory has, however, explored different dimensions of the issue. Jacobs' idea of the need for 'buildings of different ages, types, sizes and conditions of upkeep, intimately mingled' has been developed by a number of architectural theorists. For example, Davis (2013) insists on the importance of developing hierarchies of different spaces in cities as a key tool in encouraging economic diversity and inclusive bottom-up growth, drawing on research in areas of London such as Whitechapel and Dalston. Froy and Davis (2017) identify how railway arches have proved to be an important site of 'pragmatic urbanism' in London with start-up firms benefiting from the cheaper, 'messy', and highly adaptable forms of space provided by such marginal spaces in the context of tight property prices. Rantisi and Leslie (2010) likewise identify how small-scale makers in the creative sector need spaces that are unfinished and expandable.

The importance of small and short block-size in cities has also been further explored, with Siksnas (1998) writing a seminal paper on the importance of block size to city centres in the 1990s. It is the discipline of Space Syntax, however, which has gone the furthest in building on Jacob's hunch that there is a 'supporting anatomy' of streets that might help economic development. This body of research, initiated by Bill Hillier and Juliette Hanson in the 1980s, has grown around the key concept of 'spatial configuration' (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) which underlines the fact that city spaces do not exist in isolation, but rather in relationship to all other spaces in a given system. In particular, the amount of pedestrian movement in a particular street is determined by its accessibility to all the other streets in a given city. Interestingly, the space syntax discipline is also

built on an understanding of the importance of organised complexity and emergent growth – with street systems being seen as strongly relational, and street structures being understood to have often evolved organically over long periods of time, as a product of a myriad of individual building decisions.

Space syntax has extensively used graph analysis to better understand the relationship between urban form and the location of economic activities, helping to identify why certain businesses may locate themselves in particular parts of cities in order to maximise accessibility to pedestrian movement. Space syntax has also gone some way to suggest how the pedestrian movement promoted by building and street layouts might promote social encounters and hence opportunities for economic collaboration. Hillier and Hanson (1984) suggest, for example, that certain spatial configurations produce 'strong probabilistic interfaces' at the local scale that create encounters and co-presence between strangers. At the building scale, space syntax research has also shown that building design has a role to play in determining levels of innovation within scientific research centres, because of the types of encounter that building layouts create between researchers (Hillier and Penn, 1991).

However there is still little understanding of the role of the global street structure of particular cities in promoting economic branching and the 'development of new work from old'. In exploring agglomeration economies, economists frequently assert that it is the size, and potentially density, of cities that counts, without reference to the internal structuring of city street systems. But this remains to be properly investigated. One interesting current line of enquiry is the role of local-citywide spatial linkages in supporting bottom-up job generation in cities. Read (2015), for example, identifies that cities are multiscale, with their residents ideally having access to both their local neighbourhood, and broader city level networks at every point in the urban system. Broader city level networks (the superstructure or 'foreground' structure of most frequented urban streets) have been identified as being particularly important for economic networking, maximising the possibilities of encounters between people with complementary skills

and technologies (Hillier, 2016) – they may therefore play a role in the functioning of 'sharing, matching and learning economies' identified by Duranton and Puga. Read (2015) documents how 'fine-grained neighbourhood to city economic relations' have been key to the flourishing of city economies at certain points of history, such as Paris and Shenzhen, where somewhat haphazard informal neighbourhoods (characterised by a high level of organised complexity) are effectively linked into broader city markets promoting exports and trade. Some city street networks seem more effective than others at linking people between local and global city networks through 'switch points' (Read and Budiarto, 2003) or 'stitches' (Turner, 2009) and this may boost economic networking in the city as a whole. Interestingly, such local-global stitches seem to develop naturally when cities evolve organically over long periods of time, with Hillier documenting that residential streets in the city of London, for example are never more than two turnings away from the city-wide street network of most prominent streets (1999).

## Conclusions

This paper set out to explore the contemporary relevance of Jacobs' idea of 'new work being created from old work' in cities, identifying similar ideas within the economics literature, and recent advances, such as the exploration of industry relatedness in cities and regions. It also started to explore the implications of these ideas for our understanding of the organisation of space in cities, including the types of urban space that are conducive to entrepreneurial experimentation, problem solving, and economic networking.

An exploration of the economics literature in Section 2 has identified that different strands within the economics literature are exploring similar ideas to Jacobs, in terms of recognising the organised complexity inherent to emergent growth and better understanding 'how new work is developed from old'. While in some cases Jacobs ideas have been interpreted narrowly (for example in the MAR-JACOBS debate), her ideas about the importance of the materiality of tools and products, and individual problem solving, to

innovation, are also echoed elsewhere in the economics literature. The discipline of evolutionary economic geography was identified as perhaps being closest to her ideas, being similarly influenced by the natural sciences and evolution and complexity theory. Recent work in this discipline on relatedness and economic complexity shows that the process of 'new work coming from parent work' can shape the development trajectories of whole cities and regions. Jacobs' ideas on the virtuous growth that develops as cities increase in diversity has also been confirmed through large scale statistical analysis, particularly in the United States. In addition, while cities have long been 'out of favour' as sites of economic growth and innovation, there is a refocusing now on cities as sites of emergent growth, with a burgeoning literature on the city agglomeration economies – and in particular Duranton and Puga's identification of the value of 'sharing, learning and matching' mechanisms in cities. In this context economists may be wise to revisit Jacobs work.

In section 3 it was demonstrated that there has also been a good deal of thinking within the discipline of architecture in recent years which builds on Jacobs understanding of the importance of the built environment in cities for social and economic activities. While relevant work has been developed on Jacobs ideas of the need for a flexible 'intermingling' of different types of commercial and residential spaces in cities, perhaps the most interesting research has been done by the discipline of Space Syntax, which has further explored the 'supporting anatomy' for economic development in cities, demonstrating that the organisation of street networks in cities as a whole can play a role in the economic success of particular neighbourhoods, and perhaps in cities as a whole. Theorists are now investigating how the global street structure of particular cities might influence the extent to which these cities are well-placed, or not, to promote economic branching and the operation of agglomeration economies.

A number of the theories described in this paper, including Jacobs' own ideas, evolutionary economic geography, the study of industrial relatedness and space syntax, all have in common a philosophical basis in ideas of organized complexity and emergent growth. This paper has thus also

highlighted the continuing potential of these ideas, developed from the physical and natural sciences, to help explain urban economic phenomena. In terms of future research, it would be interesting to explore whether there might be a way to further theorise the relationship between the economic networks that seem to be so central to agglomeration economies and to economic branching, and the material arrangements of urban space.

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# Assessment of the consolidated tissue

Looking for new ways to prevent the disappearance of urban complexity and maintain a compact city model

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**Abstract**-This paper is based in the research and conclusions of the doctoral thesis: "The value of geometrical projects; generation, permanence and adaptability of some urban tissues under the grid form: The case of San Miguel Chapultepec neighborhood in Mexico city" (García, 2006). The objective of this work is to highlight the advantages of the built-up connections of the urban tissue under a grid form, with a point of view influenced by Jane Jacobs and other authors' way to explain the physical and social dynamics of an organized complexity, in order to learn from it. At a time when multiple urban interventions occur, reducing functions and decreasing the capacity of interaction and development of its inhabitants. And despite this, the grid urban form is able to adapt its main characteristics in different development stages in order to take in new uses and forms, as studied in the doctoral thesis in a general aspect and in a particular way in a small tissue in Mexico City. Also, this paper seeks to focus on the architectural and urban elements that must be present in actual urban projects at a morphologic and functional level, in order to preserve and improve the urban complexity state of a consolidated urban fabric, with the example of some architectural and urban case studies. **Key words** – complexity, Jane Jacobs, pre-existence, solutions

## Introduction

In recent years there have been a kind of urban projects applied worldwide, that seek to create fragments of monofunctional territory (Muxi, 2011), affecting existing tissues of central urban areas of major cities, both in their physical and social appearance. This occurs both in historical centers and urban extensions of the XVIII, XIX and XX centuries, where the financial and economic force of the main cities remains as well as their built and consolidated framework, highly valued for their consistency and readability.

High quality frameworks related to their physical and social references with a historical value, sense and memory of a place, social and use diversity that grant a historical and cultural identification, qualities that attract new neighbors and investors.

Tissues where there is a big synergy between people and public spaces, established networks and mixed uses, blocks as basic units and streets as neighborhood sustenance

as Jane Jacobs highlights in her writings, as well as other authors like Pierre Merlin (1988) with the review of the urban morphology, Phillippe Panerai and David Magin (1999) with their reflections of how to Project a City, among other authors that try to respond to the question of how to intervene, maintain or improve a established urban tissue?

This is the main question this paper tries to answer, with a brief approach of the main issues that these authors focus in their works, being Jacobs the main author to expose in this writing, among the best solutions to study and apply in projects that seek to preserve or improve the complexity of a established issue, as well as to highlight the principal obstacles to avoid in this kind of interventions, with the help of a recent case completed in the past years in Mexico city.

## Advantages of a grid urban form

It is noteworthy that the physical configuration of an urban sprawl of XVIII or XIX centuries, matches a type of consolidated tissue, unlike a historical center, that has had an orderly development concept, created under specific and clear urban design and requirements, with its own physical-spatial problems, which gives a special valuation within the actions that occur in the central area of a city.

For Stefano Boeri (2002) it is about 'an available context, a surface comprising a geographical environment –somehow homogeneous-, where multiple synergies operate' (p. 37). That is, a structure whose formal and social relationships have absorbed, adapted and transformed different historical and cultural influences over a long period of time, becoming a highly qualified territory today.

These urban extensions



produced city fragments where the street is the main meeting place and exchange, with small shops that open to the outside, where goods and services can be traded, where ‘the sidewalk determines the functions and the social, economic, recreational, cultural and vital purposes of a neighborhood’, as the anthropologist Manuel Delgado (2011) points out at the prologue to Jacobs’ work translated into Spanish with comments (p. 16).

Urban sprawls generated under precise geometry projects, meet design criteria for housing and foot-car journeys, showing the ability to uphold and adapt their initial design scheme, along with the incorporation of new types of housing and uses, keeping a relationship of spatial and social balance between new elements and its structural base (figure 1).

So it is not surprising that this return to the ‘urban’ as Pierre Merlin (1988) indicates, in relation to the morphological analysis of a city, takes into consideration the form of the urban extension regarding functional and social issues: ‘strategic location, road accessibility, low density, high compactness, the existence of services and facilities, all factors that reduce the movement of its inhabitants’ (p. 11); in short, the profitability offered by a simplified urbanized space.

And as Jane Jacobs (2011) indicates, we are talking about an ‘authentic urban structure’ with mixed uses, as she describes this kind of urban tissues and its social functions in order to intervene:

We can get closer to its structural secrets when we treat the conditions that generate the variety. Only the complexity and vitality of use give the different parts of a city with a structure and appropriately form (p. 415).

It’s about main areas where uses and different users of a city help and support each other in a compact, dense and lively way. They are areas of vitality that seek to clarify its remarkable functional order (p. 416).

The complexity and the vitality should be the key elements to be considered by the new urban and architectural interventions now a day, but as we can see in the following section, these concepts are no longer considered in the new developments, and there are no following rules to be established in urban regulations. The new built forms and social elements introduced in the complexity, do not assess the established urban



Figure 1: Image of three tissues that conformed Mexico city urban sprawl in the XIX century: a) Colonia Condesa, b) Colonia San Rafael and c) Colonia Juárez, where different physical and social forms have been introduced over the years, but maintaining the order and coherence of its organization. Source: Digital Globe, Europa Technologies, Google maps, 2006. D) General view of the colonia Condesa, the most ‘european’ neighborhood of Mexico City, where the mixed uses remain. Source: <http://www.atractivosturisticos.com.mx/el-transporte-en-la-colonia-condesa/>

form and the preexisting way of life with its urbanity values -continuity, regularity, heterogeneous uses-, eventually the new elements tend to unify and cancel the complexity, ceasing the vital sense of the sites that once were.

## Interventions in the consolidated fabric

A consolidated urban sprawl is the result of many years of ‘adaptation’ of its original layout by land occupation with the built forms and a saturation processes, where the rationalization of a first grid scheme consisting of main street and blocks design, has allowed the introduction of new forms within a geometric order, under certain logic and coherence that transmit continuity in the urban tissue.

But, the disproportionate size of a new building or a new set that is inserted into the urban core can modify the physical and social, internal and external relationship of the original structure. Presenting new forms of occupation which in turn reflect a new economic process, capital accumulation, a chase yield and generation of capital gains, what Delgado (2011) refers to as ‘Catastrophic Money’ (p. 17).

Settling down only a qualitative not quantitative order, and there are no guidelines to control urban land speculation and the resulting forms that refer the character or significance of a given site. Also, new users no longer share a space, they are ‘incorporeal individuals, aseptic and statistical’ as Manuel Delgado (2011) identifies them (p.18). New neighbors that closes their life into the inside of big building complexes, with no street contact as they come and go by car, and their buildings are no longer mixed-use housing, and no longer participate in the local economy (figure 2).

In this sense, we can see that private investors have promoted new forms of intervention, with the inclusion of isolated monofunctional blocks, highly densified, causing a loss of identity, replacing both inhabitants and way of life, a process that Michel J. Bertrand (1984) describes as ‘staged’, as these urban tissues are renewed under these conditions, sales prices and rents increase hierarchy.

As a result, it can be found practically homogeneous areas of



Figure 2: Recent interventions in Mexico city urban sprawls (2005-2006), showing a new scale and a blind front that breaks the continuity of the urban fabric and social relations. Source: Periódico Reforma, consulted on the 17th of august of 2005.

housing or offices within the built environment, where the traditional uses are not allowed to integrate coexisting harmoniously with the housing, such as small businesses and equipment on the ground floors of buildings to mention a few examples.

These discontinuities in the use of space, promoted by new forms of consumption, seek to condense, intensify and close some parts of the consolidated fabric. In short, to privatize and distinguish themselves from the rest of the structure, as if they could live without it; by doing this, the new built forms are presented as true frontiers, reducing the life chances of the built environment (figure 3).

An enclosure volume that despite respecting the alignment of the facades, introduce a substantial change in the transition between public and private space, decreasing the permeability of the urban tissue, traditionally reflected in the location of several accesses and windows for homes, shops and other facilities that were located on the ground floor.

So the new built volumes have autonomous accesses, proposed under safety and low maintenance costs criteria, accentuating the differences and discontinuities in the

urban set, generating privatization, segregation and insecurity of the public space, when visual and social touch with it get loosed, within the public-private space that characterizes the relationship of consolidated tissues.

In regard this, it should be noted that the isolation of these new units, suppress the notion of ground floor lined at street level, resulting in Bertrand words (1984), a 'disorienting spatial effect', which previously was recognized in the transition from exterior to the interior and now gives no reference regarding the urban fabric in which it is implanted.

Likewise the intensification of land use has been part of proposed urban plans of each locality adjustment, which has also changed the relationship of built space with respect to public space, as new buildings establish themselves between consolidated plots and reflect them clearly alien to the built environment.

In Jane Jacobs words (2011), it's about: 'An unfortunate urbanism, which destroys blindly existing cores in a city and automatically stimulates a new decline, a thoughtless byproduct of its own fantasies' (p. 201).

Thus, the return to the urban, becomes consolidated with new housing products, subject to new provisions, densification, partial and total replacement of both buildings and people, where it does not reconcile the current way of life with the existing one. So now more than ever, new compositional and functional problems arise, a situation where urban design becomes an important tool that seeks the way to solve and avoid fragmentation of these sets.

### How to intervene, maintain or improve an existing urban tissue?

While Jane Jacobs in her *Death and Life of Great American Cities* work (2011) asked herself about 'which principles and urban rehabilitation practices can stimulate social and economic vitality of cities and what principles and practices would kill those attributes?' (p.29), this section will try to expose how to do this from the morphology review of the consolidated tissue. And at the same time, will seek to respond with morphologic elements, the way



Figure 3: Recently built volume at San Miguel Chapultepec neighborhood in Mexico City (2006), with minimum street connection. Source: picture taken by the author.

to promote the necessary diversity that this type of urban structures needs to maintain or improve in which case.

### Summary of the situation

As seen in the previous section, the generosity of a consolidated urban grid form, where the 'rationalization of its plots' as defined by Domingo (1976, p. 44), has allowed the orderly modification of built forms despite the regrouping or subdivision of plots. However the recent developments promoted in these tissues insert single-purpose isolated buildings, highly densified, breaking the traditional physical and social relations of this type of assembly (Figure 4).

Architectural performances designed from the 'geometry of the vacuum' under an international or global aesthetics, with the consequent loss of the traditional image of the consolidated fabric, is an aspect that accelerates the process of urban transformation, which leads to the destruction of the existing structure (figure 5).

The problem is not about an eventual replacement of some buildings of a tissue, just not all at once as Jacobs indicate, but also it is about how they have been replaced and if the new building maintains both physical and functional principles of the one substituted. In Jane Jacobs' words:

'A too fast replacement, in addition to economically damage of the urban diversity, brings the standardizing and denaturant effect for new buildings, also this goes against the objective of preserving as many people as possible by choice and for a long time, people in the old and new buildings with own ideas for the existing buildings and their rehabilitation' (p. 372).

In these sense, Jacobs want to say that the personality of the city is made up of both buildings

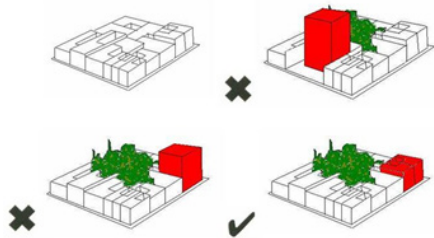


Figure 4: Summary of the intervention process in the consolidated tissues in the recent years and what should result from the current search for the reconfiguration of these sets. Source: Figure prepared by the author.



Figure 5: Traditional building types of San Miguel Chapultepec neighborhood which provide a unique picture of the urban set, which has attracted in recent years both new residents and investors. Source: Photographs taken by the author, 2006.

and inhabitants, and we all have the need and obligation to assert each urban fabric as unique, in order to avoid that all places seem alike.

Likewise, the buildings' mixture from different periods and conditions, partly old houses, give variety to the economic performance of the whole, in a diversified compact city. As Jacobs points out 'the ideal trend is to complete the existing urban life with uses and services necessary for the set' (p. 182).

Therefore in order to intervene, maintain and improve a given context, requires a proper urban analysis of the urban fabric to defend its built frame, reporting the counterfeits of urban actions and everything that goes against the urban way of life. Searching at the same time, a better approach to the urban tissue, in order to understand its development and provide an adequate reconfiguration of it.

## Analysis and projection

Based on the above, we can say that today several questions arise in relation to how to intervene in the established urban tissue, especially when there are, in the words of De

Gracia (1992, p.1) 'several levels, patterns and attitudes towards a consolidated context', so it is not easy to define a new form for a place that already has its own urban form and function.

This requires a research of the formal and functional relationships that have led to the best building-street dealings, where the morphological urban analysis is the one that allows us to detect quantitatively and qualitatively, the advantages that each building type has had throughout the development of a place.

In this sense, one must say that Phillipe Panerai and David Mangin (1999) are also some of the theorists who are committed to end with the functionalist model that has 'simplified, reduced and separated the consolidated fabric', relying instead for 'a complex, close and unfinished assembly' (p. 241), a model that allows new contributions and that will be modified as the tissue needs to arise.

Likewise, these authors assess the interchangeability of a built framework as the proposed widening and equivalent distributions within the same plot, verifying the results of these combinations. For them, the equity and substitutions game allows 'varying densities and measure their effects' (p. 47), following the tissue regularity which shows evidence of these equivalences, unlike other urban forms.

To this end, the authors study the logic of management and different ways to use the same parcel or the same group of plots, in order to show how through a systematic reflection on the possibilities of using the same plot, may arise different solutions.

That is, when studying the initial parceling and its main variants and densities, together with the analysis of the urban tissue evolution, Panerai and Mangin get an inventory of the different modes of land use, detecting average dimensions that can be used to respond to future density, marketing and programming conditions, respect the layout of the whole.

Likewise, the authors take up the analysis of the main physical relationships and characteristics that condition the built urban space, those that determine its capacity for exchange and scale change, condition that the contemporary real estate production considers the most, in order to avoid the irrationality of new paths.

Among the main relationships to value within this urban morphological analysis of the consolidated tissues, one can find the following:

The building physical and social relationship with public access space, highlighting the ground floor permeability for the physical and functional integration with the urban context (figure 6).

The relationship created by little building fronts and the spaced accesses located along two or more buildings aligned on the same street, can provide a transition space and a built front to help identify the continuity of an urban tissue (figure 6).

The advantage of a patio located in a boundary wall, can offer

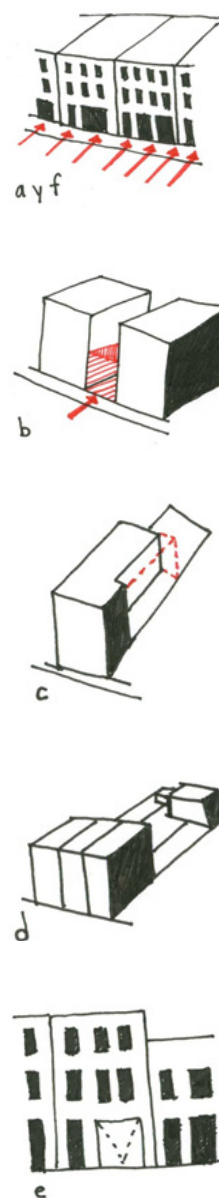


Figure 6: Main physical relationships in a consolidated tissue. Source: Author's drawings.

adequate lighting and ventilation to the adjoining buildings, driving the open space into the rest of the plot (figure 6).

The continuous façade, as the most economical solution, of row houses or townhouses with the same front and a deep backyard allows an internal development, without losing their identification as a type of traditional block of a consolidated urban tissue (figure 6).

The overlapped houses, whose organization allows the combination of homes and business in a given density with a vertical repetition helps with a better definition of accesses and provide a continuous use and safety to public space (figure 6).

The combination of uses at ground floor surfaces, allow the development of various types of shops, including some equipment or services that gives the necessary vitality to the tissues where some of these uses has been reduced or limited before (figure 6).

The last two points related to the combination of uses are the ones that Jacobs (2011) highlights and ensures as the ones that form an 'authentic urban structure' where its complexity and vitality tell us that they have been housed in an appropriate urban form (415).

Thus, one could say that the architect-urbanist have the tools to rearrange a piece of city, rediscovering the urban tissue set, shapes, sizes and ways of grouping plots that form a base frame on which it can retrain an urban system.

Aiming to establish a set of rules, in order to transmit the typological principles of an urban tissue, without reference to internal buildings distribution or facades composition. And for this, it is necessary to establish a model for an urban fabric analysis and ways of intervening in it.

## Application example

This rule setting is the main action followed by the next architectural intervention example, a project that has turned into an urban improvement, a model that has being copied in other actions applied in the consolidated urban tissues of Mexico City.

The proposal of a group of architects named AT103, is part of a regeneration urban process and restoration of old buildings, this occurs in the most amalgamated and old area of the city, at the Juárez neighborhood, a place that has

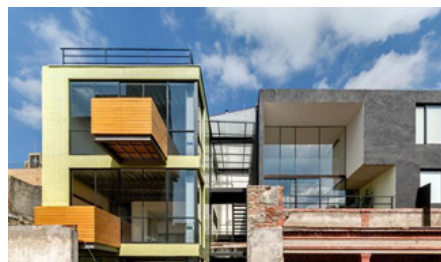
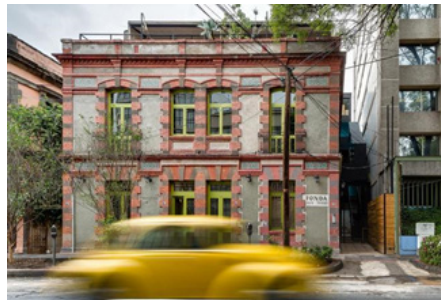


Figure 7: Images of the Havre 69 project at Mexico City. The picture shows the new relations with the urban tissue, the pedestrian life and mixed uses generated. Source: Metalocus. Available at: <http://www.metalocus.es/es/noticias/hablando-con-la-ciudad-havre-69-por-at103-arquitectos>

preserved many old buildings but loosing most of their inhabitants due to the establishments of uses that no longer relate with the housing one; a place where these architects propose a small 'urban condenser' (Lalueta, 2014).

It is called an 'urban condenser' because the project seeks to convert the XIX century house, that initially hold 4 families, into a small city, with 12 dwellings, offices and two commercial uses at ground floor: one bakery and a slight restaurant with a low cost menu. It also opens its façades into public space, including the generation of a new public area inside the set that invites to relate with the rest of the building and its mixed uses, promoting a pedestrian life to the site. (Figure 7).

This project is a good answer to the densification of the current city programs, where there has been only a substitution system of old buildings, which has being replaced with large blocks of residential buildings, instead of promoting a real rescue, revaluation and uses modification of existing buildings that conforms the consolidated urban tissue.

The Havre 69 proposal goes beyond a traditional approach of how to intervene and existing set, because not only consolidates the existing architectural space, but it goes further by proposing new spaces that are used for current needs, bringing life again both into the building and into the unit in which it is implanted.

This type of intervention aims to create new relationships between the building, adjacent buildings, neighborhood and the city in general; is a contribution to both the urban area and their inhabitants.

Also, this project is a significant new threshold that allows us to interpret the historical changes that have occurred in the urban tissue and helps to blow the potential thereof, while respecting the plots measures and the organization of its buildings.

It is a project that increases the scale and complexity of the urban area, without causing disorientation or discontinuities, physical and social disruption like the ones occurred before; avoiding false historical or contradictory forms the rest of the set.

Thus, this type of project or approach to the consolidated tissue allows us on one hand,

identify the morphological and typological categories of the whole, both in character and complexity of an integration with respect to the immediate context. And on the other hand, shows how the mindful characteristics, which interprets existing conditions and induced transformations, set a correspondence between the use and the way that urban space has had during its development.

## Conclusions

As discussed before, the main question for this work is the following: how to intervene, maintain or improve a established urban tissue, without affecting the complexity and the vitality of a given urban set. And for that question it has been proved that the morphological review of the consolidated tissues, is the one able to explain how the rationalization of urban plots has allowed the orderly modification of built forms; and that this kind of urban analysis becomes a useful tool that allows to report de counterfeits of urban actions and everything that goes against the urban way of life.

Also, in section 4 it has been noted that the main worry for Jane Jacobs, falls in which principles and urban rehabilitation practices can stimulate social and economic vitality of cities and what principles and practices would kill those attributes? The first answer for it, relies in the urban design, considered an important tool for solving this paradigm and likewise seeks to avoid the fragmentation of given sets; looking at the same time for a better approach in order to understand the development of a consolidated tissue, providing an adequate reconfiguration of it.

For this reason, it can be say that the urban design is the way to establish a track within new buildings in order to maintain both physical and functional principles of the buildings that has been substituted or improved. And that the 'ideal trend' as pointed by Jacobs, is to complete the existing urban life with uses and services necessary for the set, as the example shown in that section, with its mixed uses and promotion of the pedestrian life.

In sum, current building interventions should promote a real rescue, revaluation and uses modification of existing buildings that conforms the consolidated urban tissue, together with the

creation of new kind of physical and social relationships between the existing building, the adjacent buildings, the neighborhood and the existing urban form in a general way. Also, it can be said that it is possible to increase the scale and complexity of a stablished urban area, without causing disorientation or discontinuity in it.

## Further research

In order to identify the morphological and typological categories of a consolidated tissue, it is necessary to conceive a model that allows confirming the evolution of the different types of buildings in this kind of urban tissue. A model that shows those urban units that, with their repetition, generate a continuous and harmonious urban fabric.

It's not about making a study model that defines all the elements in detail, but to try to stablish a pattern that allows determining the urban relations that should exist between the urban elements, based on their formal and functional characteristics, as well as their size, form of occupation of the plot and location within the block.

The next step to make is to find a way to show equivalence relations that allow us to make the necessary adjustments wherever necessary.

Because a consolidated tissue contains the necessary elements for regulating its form and function, where future solutions meet all urban scales based on these elements and consent at the end, a continuous reading of the evolution of this type of tissue.

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# Investigation of complexity theory of Jacobs in Iranian-Islamic traditional cities

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**Abstract-**This article aims to discern to what extent the formation of Iranian-Islamic cities reflect the complexity theory. So, first of all reviewing the literature on complexity theory with focus on Jacobs as a pioneer who introduced this concept to planning is regarded. Then the relation of complexity principles and Iranian-Islamic rules and principles of city development is revealed, afterward for the verification of the framework investigations of exemplars in Iranian-Islamic cities has been considered. Findings show that separation of the two major domain of individual and authorities power in the formation process of Iranian-Islamic cities complexity enriched the complexity in all dimension of place. The individual legal power in city development with the dominance of freedom concept besides right such as waqf, vivification and Agreements lead to examples which show diversity, fractality, self-organization, which are the focus of Jacobs theory. The article try to illustrate these overlaps in the cases in order to make practical examples of different layers of place intensify complexity, which are best represented in the morphology of these cities.

**Key words –** complexity, Jane Jacobs, Iranian\_ Islamic cities

## Introduction

Urban environments are complex entities, which are vehicle for multiple flows of various functions, activities and interactions. Ignoring such a complex nature of cities, resulted in the contemporary problems in the planning domain. Indeed, “Within the last few decades, urban planners, urban geographers and others have noted the inadequacy of using existing scientific methods based on concepts tied to logical-

positivism such as rationalism, reductionism and comprehensive long-range planning to address the problems and challenges of the urban environment” (McAdams, 2008, p. 1). Therefore, attempts were made to revise planning process. One of these tries was based on incorporation of complexity concept in urban planning, which change the way planners understand cities and plan for them.

Although, complexity theories have roots in physics, mathematics and computer science,

it has introduced a set of principles and metaphors as a new language for interdisciplinary research domain that urban planners and geographers are also engaged in language (Portugali, 2009).

Particularly, in the urban planning and architecture domain there are different note on this topic such as Jacobs’s (1961) and Venturi’s conception, which echoing Jacobs’s historic introduction of complexity science into architectural and urban theory (Laurence P. , 2006a, p. 49). Additionally, Alexander appreciated

Jacobs theories and adopted the more accurate and complex “semilattice” fractal-like conception, that he propose it as “the structure of living things” (Laurence P. , 2006a)4, which finally result on theory of order (Alexander, 2003). There are also Batty 2005 and Healy 2007, writings in the geography domain, which are mostly on the application and philosophy of complexity in urban planning.

Among these, Jacobs with her theory of organized complexity as a an earlier who introduced this subject of to the urban planning is the focus point of this article.

What is worth noticing is the influence of Weaver as a pioneer in the complexity (Laurence L. , 2006b, p. 165). Applying Weaver’s concepts, Jacobs argued that the city was like other living things, a system of organized complexity. To support her argument, she had proposed an understanding of the self-organizing nature of the city, and the resulting conclusion that “A city cannot be a work of art” (Laurence P. , 2006a, p. 50). In her later books, moreover, such as *The Nature of Economies* (Jacobs, 2000), Jacobs has followed the development of chaos theory, nonlinear dynamics and other metaphors of complexity theory’s application to human as well as natural systems (Laurence L. , 2006b, p. 165).

It turns out that almost the analysis by Jacobs (1961) is ignored by the majority of contemporary urban developments (Salingaros, 2000, p. 294), while traditional cities and towns best grow as a whole (Alexander, 2003). Particularly, traditional Muslim cities were characterised by their complex urban fabric, which resulted in a cumulative process of activities over time (Ben-Hamouche, 2009).

So, this study aims to determine to what extend “Iranian-Islamic cities” as a subgroup of “Islamic cities” meet the concept of complexity in urban planning and to present evidences in Iranian urban fabric. For this, based on complexity theory’s implication for urban planning and Jacobs’s principles for achieving organized complexity particularly, framework for complexity in urban planning has been developed. Then it is implemented to assess the texture of Iranian-Islamic cities. Clarifying such conformity that characterizes the best-loved urban fabrics built in the past would lead to knowledge on the practical cases of complexity theory in vernacular context.

However, this article is a primary step in planning science, revealing exemplars of complexity theory in Iranian-Islamic cities for further use in contemporary urbanism in vernacular context and somewhat in general condition.

## Literature review Complexity and urban planning

Complexity theory has a history going back to the middle ages of last century (Gleick 1987). However, introduction of this concept to urban studies began with Jacobs in 1961, although only within the last 20 years its usage in the analysis of urban areas has occurred with concepts such as fractal analysis and cellular (Batty and Longley, 1995). This language in which complex means “consisting of interconnected or interwoven parts” provides the bridge between complex systems modelling and practical applications (McAdams, 2008).

Systemic repeat or feedbacks, self-organization and interactions are some general principles make perception of complex systems possible (Salingaros, 2000) (McAdams, 2008) (Mohajeri, 2008). There are also metaphors like agents, chaos, fractals and self-organizing networks which are used in urban analysis (McAdams, 2008). Although, the literature of complexity is broad, is now rampant (Rowe, 2014), but Jane was an early describer of it and this paper will focus on her notion of complexity.

Applying complexity theory concepts, Jacobs argued that the city was a system of organized complexity consisted of interrelated and interdependent variables like other living things (Laurence P. , 2006a, p. 50). It is noticeable that although complexity theory effect on Jacobs thoughts of complexity but how and to what extend this influence appears in Jacobs theory could be a topic for further research. This article tried to represent a framework for complexity considering Jacobs’s theory as early scientist propose this concept in urban planning.

Although Jane Jacobs did not deliver recipes and best-practice models for planners (Schubert, 2014), because of her weakness in giving strategic detail, empirical verification, and documentation, her theoretical strengths are originality, emotional force, style,

and timeliness (Hill, 1988). With her adorable way of thinking about cities, she argued that grand planning schemes intending to redevelop large swaths of a city according to a central theoretical framework fail because planners do not understand that healthy cities are organic, spontaneous, messy, complex systems that result from evolutionary processes (King, 2013).

An essential quality shared by all living cities is a high degree of organized complexity (Jacobs, 1961). For her, the visual order of cities was a direct reflection of the complexity of underlying processes. “The look of things and the way they work are inextricably bound together,” Eyes that saw only chaos in the city would see it differently when its functional order was understood (Laurence P. , 2006a, p. 55).

By 1955, moreover, a few years before her discovery of complexity science, she already associated the self-organizing dynamics of cities with those of natural systems. Describing the city then, she remarked that as a sheer manifestation of energy it is awesome. she offered that through the embodied energy and experience of their hundreds of thousands of self-organizing designers, new life would emerge out of the nonlinear dynamics of great cities (Laurence P. , 2006a, p. 56).

Rowe 2014, suggests that underpinning all of Jane’s work is the concept of self-organization. Self-organization is one of those things that once you start watching for, you see all the time. Jane was an early observer who write about this today’s common term.

Jacobs observations of the qualities of her immediate block, street, neighborhood, district and city identified a pattern of interconnectedness described in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) which had an enormous influence on urban design theories and practices. After her, Alexander (1966) early recognised that the complexity of organic cities arises from an “inner nature” or “ordering principle” (p. 3). He argued that the units forming a city comprise overlapping and hierarchically ordered sets (Crawford, 2016).

There are different classification around her major principles, while herself focused on (1) diversity which lead to mixed use, (2) small blocks, (3) aged buildings, and (4) a sufficient concentration of buildings (Jacobs, 1961), others

confirm and extend Jane Jacobs' original insights. Rowe as one of her compliant categorized Jacobs' principle as: • Density • Diversity • Social capital • Non-proscriptive • Patterns of interaction: Networks • Autonomy • Particularities and differentiation • Bottom-up • Feedback loops • Informal • Self-regulating • Organized complexity • Generative • Fractals (Rowe, 2014, p. 26)

In this article in order to facilitate the analysis of Jacobs principle in Iranian traditional cities, specific categorization of her principle is presented in the form of a framework. For this, it is considered that complexity of cities should be understood as an embodiment of the complex, historical co-evolution of knowledge, which is driven by the decisions and choices of the multiple agents that are involved in decision making" (Allen, 2011). Therefore, author tried to categorize Jacobs' principle of her theory on organized complexity under three-part Kanter model of place; physical, social and conceptual.

Table 1 represent Jacobs principle lead to new order which she named organized complexity. However the criteria are separately presented according to different aspects of place, but some overlaps are distinguishable. For instance density and diversity can have exemplars in both physical and social aspects.

Being more descriptive about the principles and criteria, it should be noticed that coherent city is not achievable by restricting the element variety and mix. Indeed, urban life arises almost when a

Place dimension	principles	Criterion
Physical	Density	-buildings
	Diversity	-function( retail) - space -age -quality
	Interaction	-semi-lattice network
	Fractals	-fractal geometry( self-similarity)
	Small blocks	
	Connectivity	-streets -sidewalks -spaces
	Diversity	-people
	Density	-people
	Interaction	-people/ people -people/ environment -feed-back loops
	Self-organizing	-bottom-up
Social	Particularities and differentiation	-context base
Conceptual		

Table 1: principles and criteria of complexity according to Jacobs

critical mixture and density of urban elements have been reached, and disappears when one of those essential elements is removed, isolated or concentrated (Jacobs, 1961). So, density and concentration is needed both for buildings and people in a living city. In such places there are lots of different things going on, all the time, by different kinds of people.

Diversity in physical aspect of place could be seen in function, space, also buildings of different age and quality. Diversity has often translated into mixed land uses, zoning that permits a variety of activities, public spaces that support different kinds of activities, policies and programs that support for conditions that foster small business (Rowe, 2014). However, for Jacobs not only diversity by itself cannot deliver quality in urban environment but also it can be misunderstood. In situation that elements have a disproportionate size diversity in urban uses can become a problem ( Salingaros, 2000). For instance in the case of physical diversity at the small scale, units must be of similar size. So any large occupant of street frontage will fail to couple with adjoining buildings of small scale ( Salingaros, 2000).

Another shared principle is being interactive, which emphasizes on the point that everything is connected (Rowe, 2014). "People± people and people± object interactions provide the primary motivation for mankind to erect buildings and cities (Jacobs, 1961 cited in ( Salingaros, 2000, p. 295)). These connections have various representation in physical and social environments. Particularly, patterns of interaction in physical environment are best build upon the notion of networks (Rowe, 2014), which Alexander (1966) think it is a semi-lattice one in coherent places. Representation of this principle in social aspect of place could be traced in people- people and people-environment relation mostly through information. Rowe talks about critical information that only locals know and these should be implemented in decision making process. She stated that one of Jane's great legacies, is the importance of local knowledge to inform land use and planning decisions. Indeed without feedback loop, decisions are made without the benefit of information of locals (Rowe, 2014). Besides, Salingaros mentioned another way information will lead to people- environment relation. He

believes that information contained in the built structures, resulted in this kind of interaction ( Salingaros, 2000).

Beside these three shared principle in physical and social dimensions of place there are some principles just go back to physical aspect. For Jacobs there is always a pattern of interconnectedness in all scales in the city. In other words, this fractal pattern that emphasizes on interconnection is replicated

between block, street, neighborhood, district and city (Rowe, 2014, p. 29). These Models based on fractal geometry can generate patterns using "local rules relating to land development" (Crawford, 2016).

Two other consideration of Jacobs in the physical environment, which also effect on social relations are scale of blocks and connectivity which is based on existence of alive streets and sidewalks (Hirt & L.Zahm, 2012).

There are some principle related to social dimension of space. Society is generative – Jane was a fundamentally hopeful person, who believed that generally people, as a species, would do the right thing ( Salingaros, 2000). Jacobs (1961, 1969) recognised the complexity of cities and the advantages to residents arising from this complexity. For her, such complexity emerged spontaneously and organically from the bottom up. Resilience, and bottom-up, best verify the concept of generative phenomenon of city due to context (Rowe, 2014). Like Alexander, she strongly opposed prevailing planning theory and practice, which intrinsically operated to reduce complexity. For Jacobs (1961), planning was a science of "organised complexity" (Crawford, 2016).

The last principle, which is mostly related to conceptual dimension of place is differentiation. Particularity, differentiation, these reflect Jane's ecological understanding that systems evolve and adapt according to the specific contexts in which they are situated (Rowe, 2014, p. 27)

For her, accordingly, design was a process of revelation, ideally an act of "illuminating and clarifying life and helping to explain to us its meanings and order." Urban design, similarly, should help "to illuminate, clarify and explain the order of cities." Rather than conceive of the city as a work of art, an act tending to repress "all plans but the planners'," the designer could



seek instead to ennoble and enable the spontaneous order that emerged from the hundreds of thousands of plans that shaped the city daily (Laurence P. , 2006a, p. 60).

## Developing a conceptual framework to investigate the formation of complexity in Iranian Islamic cities

Beside the literature on principles of complexity in urban planning, there are some particular approaches investigating such concepts in the process of traditional city formation. Pattern of “Iranian-Islamic cities” as a subgroup of “Islamic cities” can be presented by the literal-philosophical concept of Hezar-Too (thousand-withins), which indeed is equivalent for English words such as complex, intricate, labyrinth (Falahat, 2014).

However for Falahat this concept is not a holistic notion and is not inspired just by form but rather by the conceptual pattern of the complexity within the city. Therefore based on such literature and Jacobs principles , author tried to investigate how and to what extend Iranian-Islamic cities meet the concept of complexity.

Cities are the direct reflection of the life-world of its people, and part of understanding a city is reading its morphology (Falahat & Shirazi, 2012). As urban morphology is used as a source of ideas about spatial elements which can be used in the construction of proximal spatial models of cities (O’Sullivan, 2000), for investigating the complexity of cases this article focuses on urban morphology and the sources behind it. In other words, morphological representation of complexity in all three layers of place such as physical, social and conceptual were searched and presented here.

In recent studies investigating urban morphology of Iranian-Islamic cities, it is revealed that there are some general rules governing urban transformations. In addition, some particular characteristics clarified for Islamic cities. This article tried to present both principles and rules governing the process of urban planning and design in Islamic cities, which intensify these cities as complex cohesive whole.

Islam has some rules which provide legal power for individuals and authorities. These rules mostly effect on environment, too. Legal power of individuals in Islam give a person the right to act on his property, regardless of the consent of any outside party (Ben-Hamouche, 2009). Indeed, it is based on freedom regard to his property. This freedom manifested itself in the process of continuous transformations according to changes in user’s needs. For instance, some rules, which intensify this freedom or legal power of individuals in Islam can be counted as; vivification right, agreement and easement, Waqf and right of pre-emption.

Unowned dead land is named mawat in Islam, which is not necessarily owned by the ruler but any person who develops it could own it regard to vivification right(Ben-Hamouche, 2009). The other effective rule, which mostly played important role in the management of Muslim cities, and deeply shaped their urban structures, is named waqf (Leeuwen, 1999). This concept is related to donating one’s property for a charitable purpose (Ben-Hamouche, 2009). Income from the large number and various types of waqf covered most urban services such as water, traffic and lighting, and responded to social and educational needs (Raymond, 1984). These two rules have great effect on physical dimension of space. Although waqf has social aspects, too.

Beside these, from physical point of view agreements and easement could be considered an extension of the private legal power. According to this right, person could establish agreements with his neighbours for making transformation in the property (Ben-Hamouche, 2009).

Right of pre-emption known as Shufaa, means that in the case that somebody decides to sell his property, an associate or a co-owner have priority in buying the notion of his partners in comparison to others (Ben-Hamouche, 2009).

“In contrast to private action based on freedom, public action in Islamic law is founded on restrictions that are stipulated by it” (Ben-Hamouche, 2009, p. 29). Therefore, for achieving the legal end, two forms of law should be considered: promoting Public Interest and avoiding General Harm (Ben-Hamouche, 2009).

Beside these rules, there are some characteristics in the urban

environment which are mostly result of Islamic concepts. For example one reason for fractal and hierarchical pattern of street in these cities is privacy that is important concept in Islam (Tabibian, Charbgo, & Abdollahimehr, 2009). The geometry of street pattern would have been modified gradually like a fractal jargon through the incremental process comprising the private and collective actions (Ben-Hamouche, 2009a) in regard to this concept.

As a matter of fact there are three basic order creating principles in Iranian-Islamic urban design; natural, geometrical and synthetic (Ardalan & Bakhtiar, 1973). Major principles that intensify these different networks are presented here.

Structure of space has greatest importance in these principles. Connectivity of spaces is considerable in this structure; man should pass space without breaking it by mass, this is a simple reality in traditional Islamic architecture. This characteristic is called positive spatial nesam by Ardalan 1973. In this situation hierarchy of spaces accept change and constancy simultaneously. This space spread throughout the city like a breeze and create sense of unity for passing person (Ardalan & Bakhtiar, 1973) and (Tavassoli, 1991).

Infact, positivespatialnesam emerges and also produces continuity that accepts mathematical rules of similarity, geometry, symmetry and coordination in regard to natural context.

Additionally, in other dimension of place such as social, there are major Islamic concepts which effect urban morphology. These can be named as equality, brother hood, pluralism and social mixing (Naghizadeh, 1998). However among these various concepts, those intensify complexity are investigated. These concepts appreciate people-people interaction in the city. Aminzadeh explained that many spaces formed in Iranian Islamic cities such as Hoseiniye and tekyeh are in response to this principles (Aminzadeh, 1999).

In the conceptual aspect of place the doctrine of Sufism, which is strongly influenced by Islam, form a context in the Iranian-Islamic cities. In This way of thinking, major principle is that the truth is hidden (Ardalan & Bakhtiar, 1973, p. 5) . Due to this principles different layers of meaning were formed in Iranian Islamic cities which are

evident in whole structure of cities to the smallest scale such as art pieces in the architecture.

Waqf is also important in conceptual aspect of place. As a result of strictly excluded from any alteration buildings and objects, which are subject of waqf were saved frozen over centuries from the continuous transformations. Consequently, almost waqf properties became landmarks in the cities for instance; In the district and neighbourhood scale usually construction of Hoseiniye, tekyeh and memorial provide specification for special district (Tavassoli, 1991) (Ben-Hamouche, 2009).

Overall, these rights and rules can be classified under different dimension of place as table 2.

In order to develop a

Place dimension	Rules	Principles
Physical	-Vivification right	
	-Waqf (endowment)	
	-Agreement and easement	
	-privacy	-Hierarchy/ fractal
		-Diversity
		-Positive spatial Nesam
		-Spatial connectivity
Social	-Right of pre-emption	
	-Vivification right	
	-Agreement and easement	
	- Public interest (Maslaha Amma)	
		Social mixing
Conceptual	-Waqf(Land marks)	
	-Sufism	-Semantic hezar too

Table 2: principles and criteria of complexity according to Jacobs

Place dimension	Complexity theory Principles	Criteria
Physical	Density	-buildings
	Diversity	-function( retail) -space -age -quality
	Interaction	-semi-lattice network
	Fractals	-fractal geometry
	Small blocks	
	Connectivity	-streets -sidewalks -spaces
Social	Diversity	-people
	Density	-people
	Interaction	-People/ people  -people/ environment
		-feed-back loops
Conceptual	Self-organizing	-bottom-up
	Particularities and differentiation	-context base

Table 3: conceptual framework on the relation of complexity theory and Iranian

framework to investigate complexity in Iranian Islamic cities and asses Jacobs Idea in these case a conceptual frame work for the relation of these two has been provided. Table 3 try to present this framework.

## Investigation of Complexity in the formation of Iranian-Islamic cities

This article aims to illustrate and represent conformity of Iranian Islamic urban design with the complexity framework due to Jacobs theory. After presenting conceptual framework for complexity and investigation of this subject in literature related to Islamic urban design and describing the match point of these two ,In this section illustration from cases are given to approve the claim. Hassan Fathy writes, “At first sight, the plan of the Islamic city, with its irregularities, might appear to have developed haphazardly. However, . . .from further analysis, we shall see its functional and logical reasons” (Fathy, 1973, p. 322). Indeed, the formation and development of the physical form of traditional Iranian cities is a synthesis of many different factors which makes these cities unique for responsiveness to the Islamic-Iranian culture and the great harmony between its structural design and the natural environment of the Iranian Plateau (Kheirabadi, 2000, p. 78).

Investigating the literature and philosophy of Islamic-Iranian cities’ morphology, revealed a unique type of complexity is in which an abstract or a conceptual notion becomes hidden or resides behind layers (Falahat, 2014, p. 53).

However, the general structure of these cities cannot be perceived at a first look, but subsequent observations reveal more of its main skeleton, which is in fact the result of the superimposition of various layers (Falahat, 2014, p. 193). So, this article subdivide information due to different aspects of place influences on urban morphology and enriched the complexity.

There is of course much to be discussed about on complexity and Iranian Islamic cities, but here author tried to discuss representations of this concept according to frame work developed

in previous sections.

### 4.1 Investigation of Complexity principles in physical dimension of Iranian-Islamic cities

As described earlier in the framework, the conformity points between complexity theory of Jacobs and Iranian- Islamic urban design are illustrated in this part considering different place aspects.

#### Density/ concentration

In Islamic cities generally right of vivification enables residents to appropriate unused/ left-over pieces of land in the city that are adjacent to their houses (Ben-Hamouche, 2009) which really encourages density and infill development.

#### Diversity

Due to the frame work in section 3, description of diversity in physical dimension of place refer to diversity in functions, space and buildings according to their design quality and age. In Iranian-Islamic cities city and district centers are places which represent such kind of diversity. Various functions such as Hoseiniye, tekyeh, and memorial were formed in such places in different geometrical spaces (Tavassoli, 1991). Figure 1 represent a district center in Yazd city with its diversity in space forms and functions.

Waqf process also caused diversity in age of building in the city, which mostly occurs in building with public functions such as mosques and schools. Figure 2 show an example of this issue.

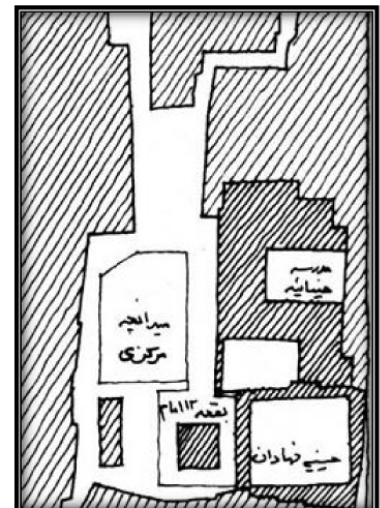


Figure 1: Fahadan district center in Yazd city. Source: (Tavassoli, 1991).

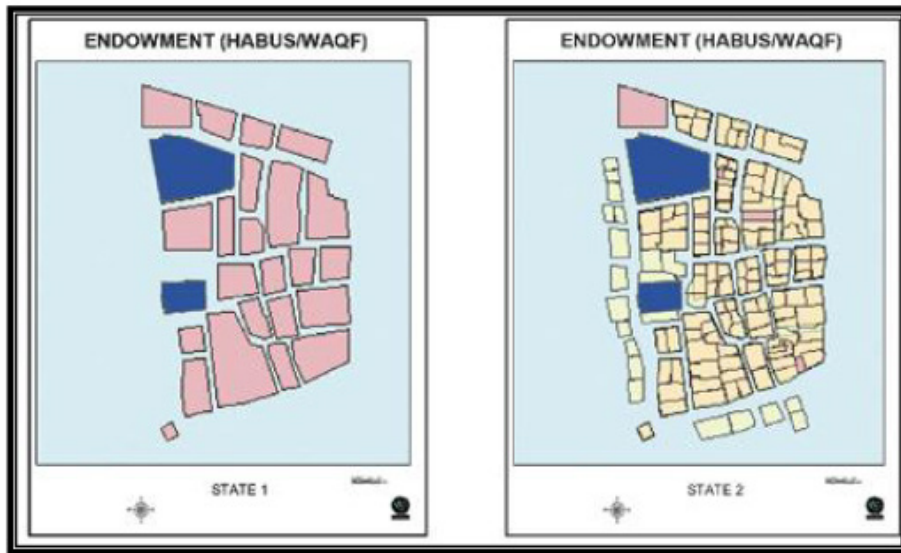


Figure 2: Endowment (Waqf, Habous) leads to the 'freezing' of some properties that last for centuries (hypothetical image). Source: (Ben-Hamouche, 2011).

### Interaction

Ardalan explained that Iranian-Islamic cities are best example of Interaction of time and place which result in plurality (Ardalan & Bakhtiar, 1973). He also believes that this interaction also occurs in different orders which interactively form a whole. This point is illustrated in Isfahan in Safavid period. Isfahan is a cohesive whole that is result of different layers of network interact with each other such as Madies, pass ways and Bazar structure.

### Fractal/ hierarchy

Despite the variety of descriptions of the urban patterns of Iranian-Islamic cities “the narrow, tortuous, often dead-end alleys on which the houses are located” is

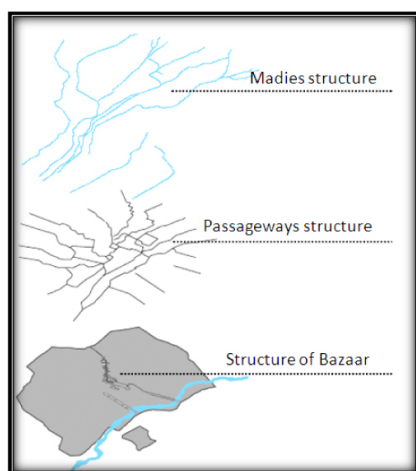


Figure 3 The overlay of natural and manmade structures of Esfahan. Source: (Charbgo, 2011)

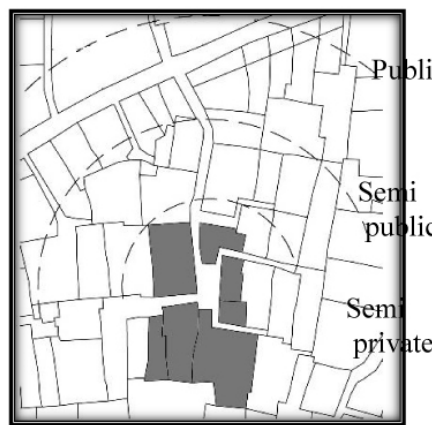


Figure 4: Jargon fractal structure of street pattern lead to dead end space in historical part of Tehran. Privacy and publicity of domains is shown by dotted circles. Source: based on Auto cad map of Tehran. Source: (Tabibian, Charbgo, & Abdollahimehr, 2009).

defined as common character of the old texture of Middle Eastern cities, particularly Iranian ones (Falahat, 2014).

In some cases, dead-ends emerge in response to the need to provide access to deeper shares within the residential block after subdivision into smaller shares. In other cases, they are formed from the blocking of one end of a semi-private street and the addition of an arch or a gate, an action that is often undertaken by neighbours for reasons of security and privacy (Tavassoli, 1991).

This pattern which most resemble fractal jargon have been attributed to city in all scales. The terms “fractals” and “chaos” are organically interwoven, concerned

with irregular forms and complex objects that show self-similarity at each scale, however, in the absence of self-similarity, congruence is the governing concept in these cases (Ben-Hamouche, 2011). Indeed, self-similarity is assessed by numerical parameter called fractal dimension but this number has not so much importance in urban studies. In such domain Successive iterations of subdivision and changes over the decades or even centuries, relativity of mass and space, public and private spaces are important instead (Ben-Hamouche, 2009a). The whole structure of city, hierarchical relation of city center and district centers, additionally structure of bazar in a good example of this claim. Figure 5 shows self-similarity and some-what fractal in Bazar.

The principles discussed above do not form an exhaustive list, but are only examples. Many similar codes that have a direct impact on the generation of “fractality” could be established through an exhaustive study of Islamic law. Complexity and “fractality” in old urban fabric were the result not only of these principles acting separately, but also simultaneously and in parallel. Consequently,

transformations of the site took the form of a sedimentation of successive layers of actions and changes effected by inhabitants over time. Therefore, the older the urban fabric, the more complex its geometry (Ben-Hamouche, 2009a).

### Small blocks

Small blocks is one other

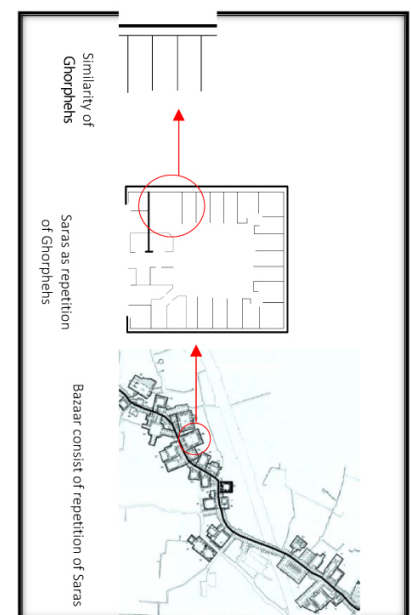


Figure 5: self-similarity and fractal structure

characteristics of these cases. Definitely, in the case of huge block, based on the right of agreement neighbours agree to donate some parts of their property for public space. As it is shown in figure 4 this process would lead to smaller blocks.

### Connectivity

Cohesive relation and connectivity of main urban elements

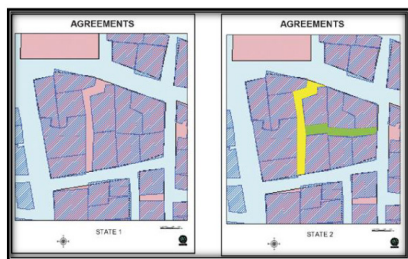


Figure 6. Agreements lead to the interlocking of buildings and the mutual use of common spaces(hypothetical image). Source: (Ben-Hamouche, 2011).

in the city structure is an evident characteristic of Iranian Islamic cities. Connectivity of Bazaar, mosque, tekiyeh are the spurriest exemplar of unity in city structure. (Tavassoli, 1991). The figure 7 below shows connectivity of IsFahan Bazar and Jameh mosque reaches to Zayande rood river and syiose pol as other main urban element in the city structure.

### Investigation of Complexity principles in social dimension of Iranian-Islamic cities

#### Density and diversity

The same as physical



Figure 7. Connectivity of IsFahan Bazar and Jameh mosque reaches to Zayande rood river and syiose pol. Source: (Ardalan & Bakhtiar, 1973).

dimension these two principles are important in social dimension of Iranian-Islamic cities. Concentration and social mixing are two characteristics evident in the architecture and urban structure of these cases. Traditionally nearly most of the times in these cities poors live beside wealthy people (Ben-Hamouche, 2011)& (Tavassoli, 1991), in the district which were characterised by the major vocation of inhabitants. This verifies presence of social diversity in these cities.

### Interaction

This term refers to interaction in two ways, between people with people and with place. Both of these kinds of relation have affected urban morphology in Iranian Islamic cities. One exemplar of this kind of relation between people which has representation in urban texture is application of pre-emption right(fig 6). Other example is best shown in figure 5, which is result of agreement occurs between people.

Beside these, as an exemplar for relation of people and environment, application of the right of vivification is explored. This is presented in figure 8. As a result of application of this right sense of place attachment seems to appear also.

### Self-organizing

According to Kostof this self-regulation is best perceivable from the curved residential maze(Falahat, 2014). Falahat 2014 verify that he

organic growth of Islamic cities and their tortuous access were result of empowerment of self-regulating private communities in the absence of formal civic institutions. It is also perceptible from two levels of rules in Islamic city formation described in section 3; individual level and authorities. At the individual level it is best representative of self-organizing process.

### Investigation of Complexity principles in conceptual dimension of Iranian-Islamic cities

#### Specification

Earlier explained that the doctrine of Sufism, which is strongly influenced by Islam, constitutes a philosophy in the Iranian-Islamic context. The journey toward God is a spiritual for the truth is hidden; it is “a journey in symbols, in which one is constantly aware of the higher reality within things” (Ardalan & Bakhtiar, 1973, p. 5). This make a major specification in Iranian Islamic cities. Therefore, this doctrine is perceivable in all city scales of these cities. So, here the author try to represent different layers of such a conceptual complexity according to the Iranina Islamic doctrine of Sufism in Isfahan city.

According to Ardalan 1973, in a conjunction of different layers

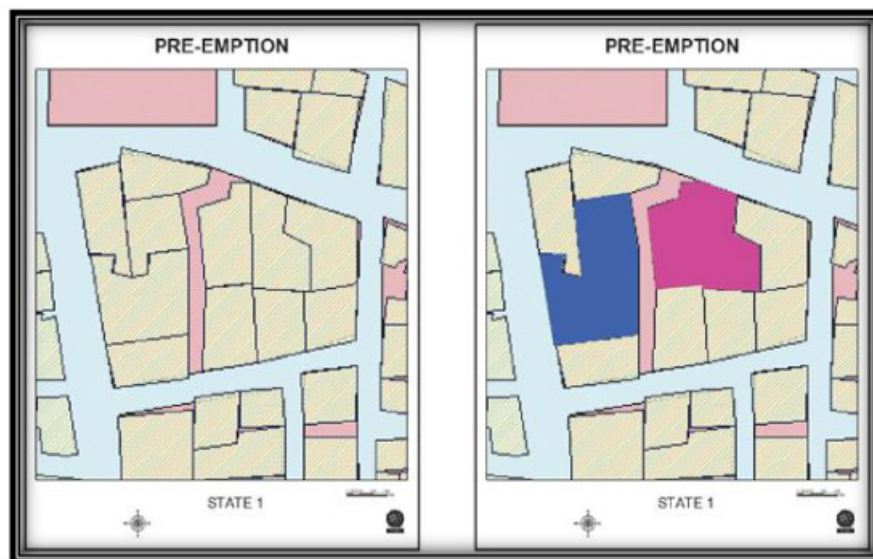


Figure 8. The right of pre-emption tends to unify the fragmented and adjacent properties(hypothetical image). Source: (Ben-Hamouche, 2011).

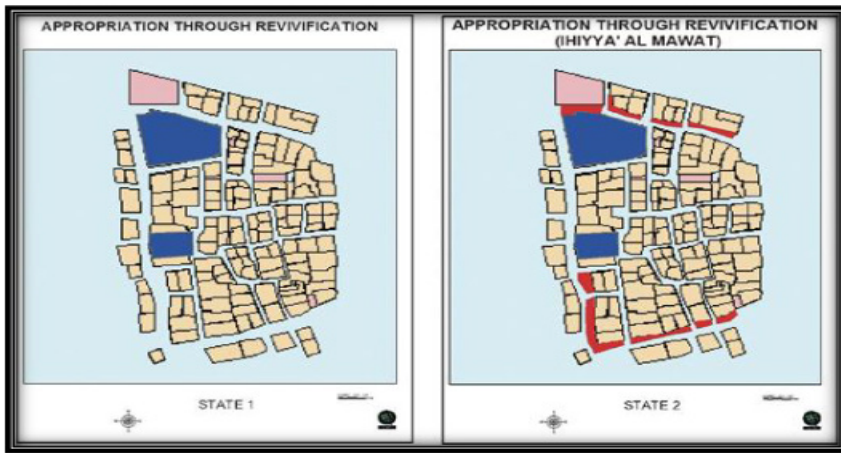


Figure 9. Right of vivification enables residents to appropriate unused pieces of land adjacent to their houses(hypothetical). Source: (Ben-Hamouche, 2011).

of city structure in Isfahan, places for representation of these meanings appear. From the most famous overlay points with thousand within are Naghshe jahan square, Siyoseh Pol, Chaharbagh street and Bazaar, which are shown in the figure 9.

As explained that these cities are examples of thousand within or complexity in all dimensions and levels in each of these overlay point there are thousands of conceptual layers which have reflections in urban morphology and architecture. So, the next example is chose from within of one of these overlay points. Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque is example from another level presented in the figure 10. This urban elements is placed in Naghshe jahan square beside any other valuable urban

element such as Imam mosque and Bazar.

This building try to represent the concept of hierarchy from external public space in the city to internal spiritual space of self under the mosque dome (Tavassoli, 1991). The figure 10 shows the diagram based on the site plan to reveal one aspect of the complexity in this urban element.

The next example is related with another within or layer in Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque itself. Here, this conceptual complexity reach to Islamic art of the mosque's dome, which is symbol of unity and diversity; God and creatures (Falahat, 2014). Figure12 shows another level of conceptual complexity( another within from

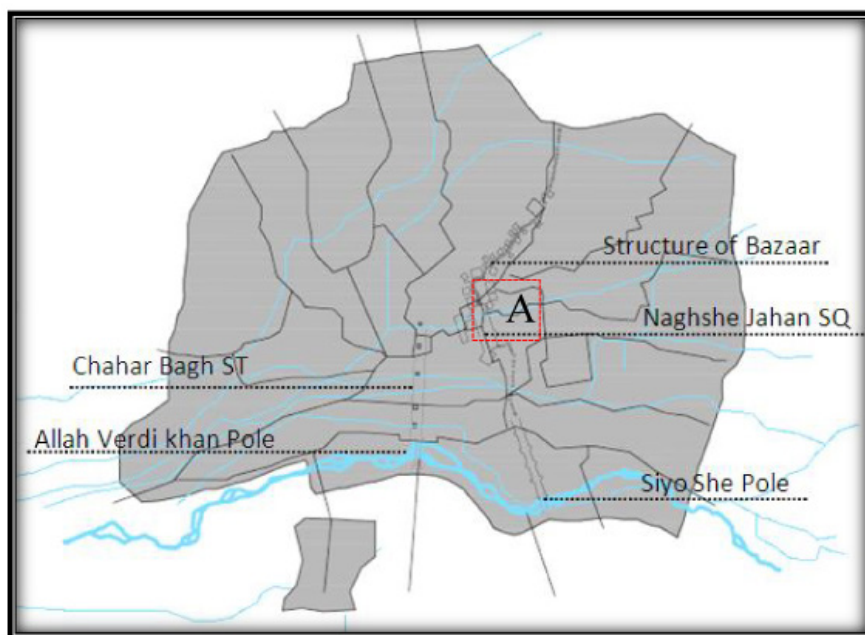


Figure 10. Places of meaning appeared in the overlay points of different structures of the old

thousand within) around suffiam doctrine.

## Conclusions

There are various writings on the complexity of urban environment, among them Jacobs wisdom still is the most critical. However this article tried to face with this concept in a more practical way. In this direction, Iranian-

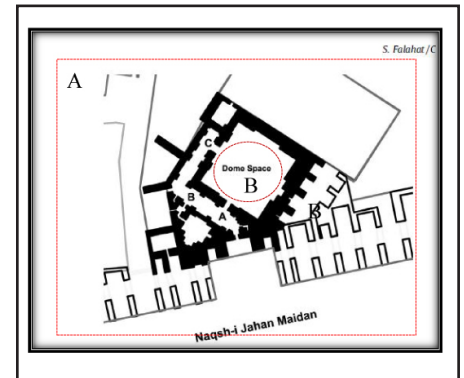


Figure 11. Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque in Naghshe jahan square of Isfahan city. Source: (Falahat, 2014)

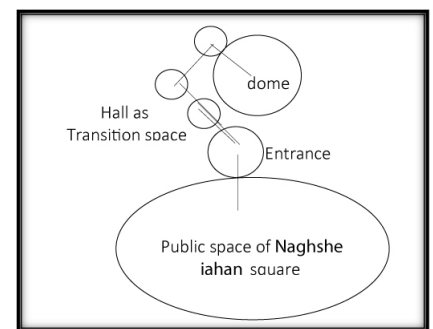


Figure12: Islamic art of under dome space based in the concept of unity; conceptual complexity in Sheikh Lotfollah. Source: based on (Falahat, 2014).

Islamic cities are good exemplars for investigation of representative of this concept. As described in sections 3 and 4 in detail, these cases have conformity with complexity principles in all social, physical and conceptual dimensions of place, which are really result of complex relation of different layers of city. Indeed, two level structure of Islamic rules in city development has the greatest effect in formation of complexity principles in them. Freedom of individual toward his property and benefits of public for authorities are the focal axial in these two level of rules. Beside these rules, which can be counted such as vivification, pre-emption and waqf there are some other principles

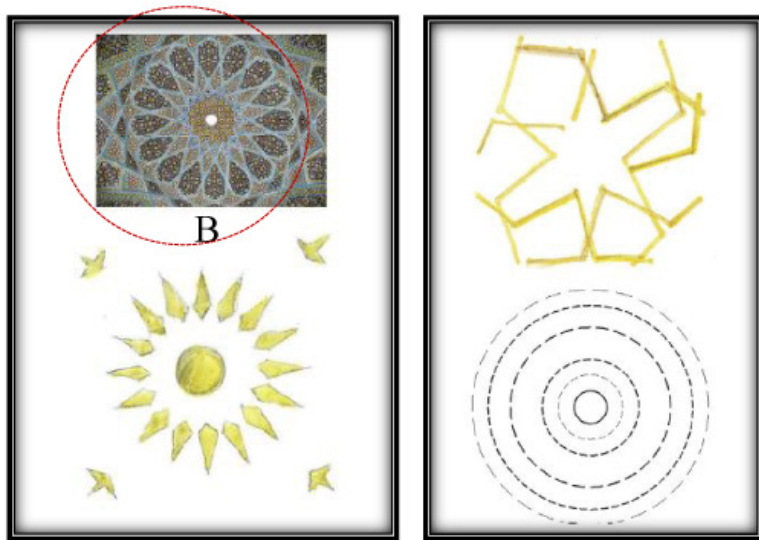


Figure 13: Islamic art of under dome space based in the concept of unity; conceptual complexity in Sheikh Lotfollah. Source: based on (Falihat, 2014).

emerged from Islamic and Iranian concepts. Concept of privacy, which resulted in fractal geometry of street patterns and Sufism doctrine are examples of the latter kind. These rules and principles which are resulted from other Islamic or Iranian concepts interact in the formation of Hezar-too in these cases. This vernacular concept best explain complexity of urban morphology of this type of cities.

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# Spontaneity in space: An Exploration of Socio-Spatial Patterns in Cities

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**Abstract**-A city is what happens when we are making plans. Since there is a continuous and unpredictable action of millions of individuals interacting and affecting not only the social structure but also the spatial configurations in cities. This study values and analyses these 'happened' or 'happening' urban spaces that form this complexity in cities. For this, the concept of spontaneous space is developed to approach cities as organized complexities. This concept explains the parts and fractions of urban spaces that are created or generated by everyday users in different scales and temporalities. Through the lens of spatial dialectics and therefore the theoretical framework of (social) production of space and everyday life this approach is further fed by urban design concepts. After evaluating the spatial perspective on the social production of space, the concept of spontaneity in space is developed through analysing different disciplines explanations. Following this theoretical framework, a visual research focusing on the unique urban spaces created by their everyday users in different Turkish cities is presented. The collected photographs are categorized and evaluated by an urban design perspective with an awareness of impossibility to conclude with a holistic commentary. This analysis is to gather and generate knowledge about almost completely unpremeditated instances that make the cities what they are. This alone commemorates Jacobs in her recommendation to planners to pay attention in the most ordinary events to see the meanings and seeking for the threads of principles that is likely to emerge among them (Jacobs, 1961).

**Key words** – spontaneous space, social space, organized complexity, Jane Jacobs, Turkish city

## Introduction

In cities, streets for vehicle transportation are occasionally transformed into a play field by children. A left-over space at the back of an apartment can be turned into an impelling garden. There are street corners and hidden urban niches that are only meaningful to the ones who use them as meeting points. There are artists picking up certain walls to paint a mural or graffiti. There are insurgencies all around the world claiming public spaces and changing them according to their needs. The villages grow very appealing most of the times. The list may continue, yet the common point among all is important to unveil. That is the making of urban spaces, which implies a process independent from any premediated plan. This

process of bringing life to an urban space through actions, additions and reformations by the individuals and small groups of people can be defined as socialization of an urban space. Rather than posing big questions and concerns for the contemporary problems of urbanism, this research takes a closer look at the ways we, as human beings, incrementally appropriate and (re)produce our living environments and for which reasons, in which forms and processes in our everyday lives.

Alexander states that "... our innocence is lost" and this loss "demands attention, not denial" (1973, p.11). Therefore, the role of individual(s) in making the city needs a detailed consideration since the human dimension is one of the most ignored or neglected aspects in urbanism. Although this

social dimension in space is vastly studied by prominent scholars both in sociology (Castells, 1977; Soja, 1996; Shields, 1999; Gottdiener, 1994) and urban design (Cuthbert, 2006 & 2007; Madanipour, 1996), there is still not an approach to regard the socio-spatial meanings in unpremeditatedly designed urban spaces. Jane Jacob herself remains on the sociological discourse side despite of pointing out the physical problems of the socially transformed built environment. This study believes that the clues of spaces that are made or transformed by individuals or small groups show the very nature of cities that is being in a continuous (re)formation throughout a dialectical relationship between social and spatial.

Adding the discussions on contradictions between the



designer's end product and the user's everyday experience (Jacobs 1961; Rapoport 1977; Chase et al. 2008; Ghel 2010) and the increasing urban interventions and self-made spaces (Lydon et al., 2015, Chase et al. 2008, Hou 2010, Oswalt et al., 2013; Bishop et al., 2012) to study the human dimension and its creative capacity to produce spaces in contemporary cities become significant. Therefore the fundamental problems are defined as the lack of embracing the living social spaces in cities and overlooking the non-designerly ways of space production in cities. Starting from the space producing capacities of refugees in camps out of need reaching to the very basic intuitive acts of (re)appropriation of a street corner in cities, this research is interested to explore and analyse the socio-spatial patterns in cities by using the concept of spontaneity.

To answer "How can the insights gathered from the spontaneous spaces contribute to study the human dimension in urbanism in socio-spatial terms?" question is the main objective for this study. However, the sub-questions are formulated in order to integrate mid-range theories to the overall concern. For instance, "How can the concept of everyday life be studied for the socio-spatial making of urban (everyday) space?" is posed to enlighten the more concrete traces of everydayness in urban spaces starting from Jacobs, Lefebvre and de Certeau's works. Furthermore "How can the concept of spontaneity be interpreted to urbanism and what are the possible urban design principles arising from these spaces?" are the following questions to form the core subject of this study as spontaneous urban spaces.

The main theoretical frame is provided as an encompassing discussion on production of (social) space, spatial dialectics and everyday life to illuminate the concept of socio-spatial in the first section of this paper. An examination of the concept of spontaneity and interpretation of it to spontaneous urban spaces constitute the following section. This is to bridge the theoretical discussions to the examples in (organized) complex nature of cities. The final section illustrates the outcomes of the visual research conducted to collect unpremeditatedly designed urban spaces by individuals or small groups of people.

The spontaneous urban spaces are helpful to conceptualize

and study what we always encounter in cities in our daily lives, the pop-up food counters, the self-designed apartment gardens and alike. In order to reach a meaningful whole, that is the cities, we need to pay more attention to these clues, which are already lying in front of our eyes both in everyday realities and deep-rooted theoretical discussions. The task now is to take on responsibility to observe, to make sense and further explain their meanings to bring fresh breath to urbanism discussions.

## Urban space as a social product

Cities and societies have numerous aspects that are in a continuous interaction following simple rules and creating a rich pattern. They are complex systems that are neither reducible to the actions of a single agent nor understandable with a rigid supra-structure. This research focuses on the interplay between the people and their spaces. Jane Jacobs in her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* (1961) points out the non-functioning reductionist and determinist approach of modern city planning and design. The author insists that the cities are adaptive and complex systems that cannot be controlled through paper exercise.

Jacobs (1961) defends the strategy to approach cities as organized complexities, not as simple or disorganized complexities. Jacob's method clearly offers that studying the un-averages and clues in cities can help us better to understand cities. Jacobs's emphasis on the everyday user and how they appropriate their spaces point out the intermingled relationship between social and spatial production of urban space. First to understand the

theoretical relation between these two complex-systems of cities and societies than to relate this to their main actors and manifestations are significant (Figure 1).

The (social) production process of urban space is an umbrella concept that is supported by the two pillars as urbanism and social processes. This postulate is backed up mostly by Henri Lefebvre's seminal work on the social production of space. He proposes that (social) space is a social product and explain this process with his famous triad: perceived, conceived and lived spaces. To be able to bridge the social and spatial the lived spaces are of utmost interest for this study to emphasis on the use value of an urban space by its inhabitants, since the lived spaces are the spaces of users (Lefebvre, 1991, p.39), .

## Everyday life and urbanism

The capacity of an individual to (re)produce his/her own space is valued. Everyday life is defined as fragmented, scattered, and complicated by Lefebvre. However, he claims that planners and ignorant philosophers try to create an upper order out of this complexity without concerning about the fragments themselves (Lefebvre 2010 [1968], 38). According to him everyday life is the very proof of the absence of a system, therefore it is not easy to grasp, conceptualize and regulate the complex nature (ibid.p. 112). The key point while studying everyday life is to understand the everydayness of the society we live in. Everyday life can be the key to understand the society as well.

"We can define the perspectives and transformations of a society by



Figure 1. Cities and societies as complex systems that are always in interaction producing the socio-spatial. Source: Author



Figure 2. The singular beautification of a house in Edirne / Turkey. The colouring and the plantation add value to the streetscape.



Figure 3. A wall writing saying 'We must re-read Kant'  
Source: Author (Ankara – 2015)

capturing something as an essence and order the phenomena among the things that are meaningless at the first sight" (Lefebvre 2010 [1968], p.40).

Lefebvre's influential study on everyday life is crucial for this study for two reasons. Lefebvre basically argues that planners and planning are the obstacles to everyday life to be lived or be oriented (as he does with philosophy). The effort to systemize it puts everyday life in jeopardy. Since it is not a closed system, instead it encompasses various sub-systems that cannot be systemized with a single perspective. Secondly, theory and practice are not enough to grasp the everyday life since it's an accumulation of non-meanings.

Besides Lefebvre, this study is inspired by Michel de Certeau's work on *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) in which he opens up the discussion with a powerful prologue that calls out the ordinary man, "the common hero walking in countless thousands on the street." What

is significant in his calling is that, Certeau believes that the (ordinary) man is lost among the flow of the scientific developments, among the "the rationalities that belong to no one." He sees the everyday life as the native land of the development of science and argues that it lacks to understand the ways of people re-appropriate language, culture, symbols in everyday situations. He asserts that "the walkers, whose bodies follow the thick and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it" (ibid, p.93). His glorification of man (not in an atomistic sociological way), an inquiry towards his/her ways of operation (in city, with language or art etc.) remains significant for this research.

The study of urban life from the social sciences point of view is significant for this study to understand the prevailing concerns regarding the quality of everyday life of people in cities. Although Certeau and Lefebvre criticize the transforming impact of modernism

and technology on people, they provide some insights for sustain this research. For instance the importance of man, the rich, fragmented and complex nature of everyday life and the pointlessness of systemizing and regulating everyday life. When we move to the urban realm and the everyday life, there is an indivisible relationship in between and it should be studied in accordance with proper urban planning processes and urban design actions in order not to cut the individual from its space in his/her daily life, which at the end makes his/her entire life (Figure 2-3).

Urban planning and design should embrace, explore and learn from the everyday situations that the society is in. The path to this acceptance passes from understanding the everyday life and everyday space. It provides them flexibility and freedom to operate in urban space the design perspective, similarly, should learn from the alternative ways of spatial appropriation.

There are several names given for the recent urbanism approached such as Do It Yourself, guerrilla, tactical, minor, gypsy and everyday urbanism. There can be three main categories among them. The first one is everyday urbanism that values the daily experience of people. It claims that the carefully designed places do not answer the daily needs of people. Second category is the temporary urbanism that implies short-term urban interventions/ events to test the potential urban design improvements before the actual plan is applied. The third one is the tactical urbanism that aims to create long term development through short term change.

All of these and many similar examples emphasize a fading border between the act of urban space making and everyday user of space. They all offer local solutions in small scale environments though space formation or activity organizations by including the existing social capital. However, they continue to fail the dialectical relationship between social and spatial or premediated (designed) and unpremeditated (happened or made). They defend that the traditional planning and design overlooked the ordinary, small scale interventions in urban space and performed almost always top-down. This is similar with the discussions and tendencies in the related literature on the social production of urban space since they missed the spatial or physical realities while trying to emphasize

social space (Soja, 1980, p.209). It is clear that these processes are tightly intermingled in their socio-spatial manifestations. Therefore, it is needed to see and study them in a dialectical manner, meaning that not separating one phenomenon from the other and letting new relations emerge out of their interaction.

## Meaning(s) on spontaneity

The fragments of hope for a better life already residing in various personal and social spaces in today's cities that are almost negligible have given the initial motivation to this study for focusing on the concept of spontaneity. The creative appropriation of urban areas by individuals and small groups are worth consideration. They are the parts that showing what is social and spatial. These parts are the proofs that space is a social product that is produced in everyday life and making the whole, that is the city itself at the end. This making is conceptualized as spontaneity in space by this study.

Spontaneous comes from the amalgam of the two words *sua* and *spontane* in Latin. These directly refer "of one's free will". However, it is useful to consider various definitions of the term in order to extract the key concepts explaining the spontaneity in urban space. Spontaneous means;

"Performed or occurring as a result of a sudden impulse or inclination and without premeditation or external stimulus" [Oxford Dictionary].

"...done or said in a natural and often sudden way and without a lot of thought or planning / doing things

that have not been planned but that seem enjoyable and worth doing at a particular time."

"...arising from a momentary impulse / controlled and directed internally" [Merriem & Webster Dictionary]. For its temporal dimension the initial postulate is the instant quality of spontaneity and for the actor dimension the existence of an abstract and/or concrete actor acting naturally a self-driven condition."

The concept of spontaneity is mentioned within different fields of research including arts, culture and psychology. Psychology tries to understand the tension between the act of one's free will and action and its incomprehensible nature falling in an enigmatic core (Fiumara, 2009, p.5). Kant emphasizes spontaneity many times in his seminal book of Critique of Pure Reason. He defines spontaneity as "the inner action whereby a concept (a thought) becomes possible". Kant uses the term as a theoretical aspect of freedom and emphasizes its practical aspect of autonomy and says that spontaneity is "...Prerequisite for human begins in order to know, feel and act" (Caygill, 1994, p.374). In other words, Kant argues that the source of freedom is spontaneity. According to him, "... every action is spontaneous whenever it depends on a sufficient principle that is internal to the agent" (Caygill, 1994, p.25, p.375).

What is initially understood from the concept is its qualities are dependent on the actor's freewill and voluntarily action without being forced to any external stimuli and these actions occur in a sudden, momentary way as a consequence of a natural impulse. The main characteristics seem to be the actor who acts in a spontaneous manner, the temporality referring to the

momentariness and suddenness. Aside than these, the scale dimension should be added to the concept. The reason behind this is an individual's limited capacity to have an impact in a condition that is defined by its temporality. However, this does not mean that, these limited impacts will incrementally cause a larger impact in different conditions. Therefore, the focus is on the time, actor and scale dimensions residing in various real-life examples in the context of urban spontaneous spaces.

## Spontaneous urban space(s)

There are made, happened or happening spaces that are usually free from any predetermined plan in cities. In the context of this research, they are called as spontaneous urban spaces. They can be exemplified as street corners that change their functions from a meeting or salutation point to a little vegetable counter; or a self-regulated neighbourhood that is developed adjacent to a planned site and producing their own urban and social patterns. People produce their own spaces within cities. This might be related with the social production of urban space. Meaning that, two complex systems of cities and societies are in a continuous interaction and at the point where this interaction become most visible there is a spontaneous act or intervention of individuals or small groups to the built environment (Figure 4).

While choosing a space to perform, the body has to (re) create a space, where as in a refugee camp, the people are obliged to make their own spaces to meet the very basic needs of daily life. To be more concrete, the chairs and tables and tents placed in front of a small shop, the additional structures near taxi stops can be given as examples (Figure 5).

All of the examples have small scales (sometimes forming a large built environment through incremental approaches), unknown creators and questionable temporality. There is no doubt that these exemplary sites have very different motivations behind their emergence. Yet, the concept of spontaneity pieces these together. This research defines spontaneous urban space as emergences as a consequence of the interaction between people and their space, without depending on a (formal) plan, an official program or document.



Figure 4. Cities and societies as complex systems. Their interaction can be studied through spontaneity in urban space. Source: Author



Figure 5. A vegetable counter at the edge of a road  
Source: Author (Edirne, 2015)



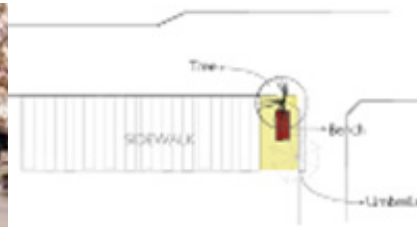
Figure 6. An urban agriculture garden in a front yard of an apartment block. Source: Author (İzmir -2015)



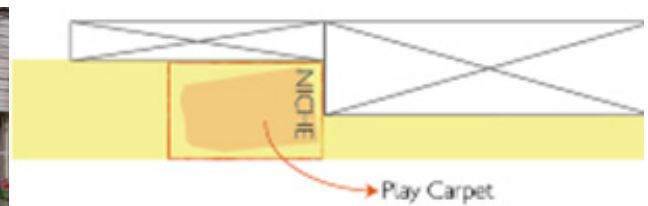
Figure 7. Children playing on a road. Source: Author (İstanbul – 2014)

To study spontaneous urban spaces the indicators to grasp spontaneity can be used. These indicators appeared as the actor and temporality. For a spontaneous act to occur the actor and time is significant. Main focus will be on the scale, actors and temporality of the spontaneous spaces. Additionally, the possible design qualities hidden in these spaces will be commented from an urban design perspective.

Two main categories for these social spaces are defined to conduct this research. The first one is the creative appropriation of space. That covers the fragments of urban spaces that are one's own accord to re-make or reclaim. For instance, the front or back yards of the apartments those are used as gardens (Figure 6), vacant lots that were transformed into the containers of various activities or simply the inner streets of neighbourhood that are used by children as playgrounds (Figure 7). The second channel is the urban areas emerged as a consequence of unforeseen urban developments such as informal housing in the periphery of cities or the slum areas within the city centre. Therefore, this research expects to see how individuals and social groups produce and reproduce urban spaces without depending any legal document or a formal plan; and intends to find the hidden rules, patterns, commonalities in the physical design.



Punctuality: A bench at the edge of a sidewalk. It is defined by a shading unit and a tree. This created a small-scale node Source: Author (Ankara)

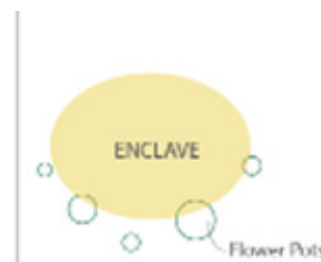


Enclosure: Two children selected an enclosed space to create a play environment. A simple carpet helped them to use this seemingly meaningless spot. Source: Photograph; Durusoy-2015 □stanbul, Drawing; Author

## A designerly reading of spontaneous spaces

When there is a bank in a place that we can comment as odd or when we observe a certain corner is used for waiting for someone, it is highly probable that we ignore or neglect these. However, they point out the life residing in the physical space and the creative capacity of people to make or appropriate urban space.

These examples are gathered from the cities in Turkey to conduct a visual research. The photographs have been used as data generators to gather possible and alternative urban design ideas from spaces where an everyday user created. The cases are selected from small scale interventions (Table 1). The reason for this is first to observe and try to understand real life cases that everybody can easily be engaged. As Jacobs believes this inductive approach is helpful for us to see how things are working while avoiding generalizations (1961, p.442)



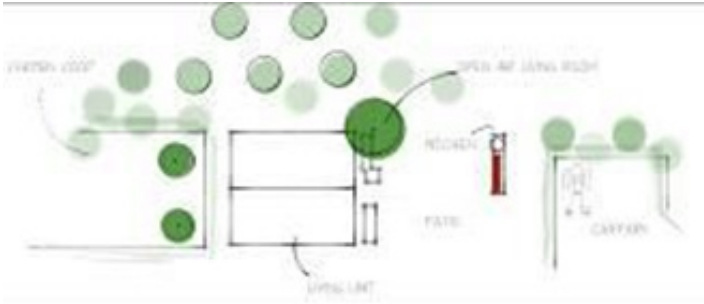
Enclave: Two women are sitting in the middle of the road. Yet they have picked a certain spot that is enclaved by flower pots, which were most probably placed by them. Source: Photograph; Çah□kan-2016, Eski□ehir, Drawing; Author

## Conclusions

Spontaneous spaces in cities is coined as a term hoping that it would connect what is social and spatial in a more relational, dialectical way. The deep-rooted theoretical studies for the related concerns seem to be far away from the very realities the interactive relation between people and their everyday spaces. Therefore an inductive approach is pursued to collect the cases in which individuals or small group of people appropriated

urban spaces. Although they seem ordinary, it is believed that we can learn from their success and failures (Jacobs, 1961, p.6).

The main qualities in spontaneous spaces were the number of actors involved, temporality, scale and possible design quality or principles. This general approach is pursued in order to avoid any kind of strict categorization for a term as spontaneity, which is, in its nature, connote unpredictability and fluidity. It is unmeasurable, by its very nature. For the eyes that can or



A self-designed living unit: Located at the edge of a peach tree garden, this house has an outdoor kitchen, a car park and some other specifically designated spots for various uses. Source: Author (Çizim, Selçuk – 2015)



Patterns: The emergent neighbourhoods, slum sites, some villages are the most durable and visible examples of spontaneous appropriation of space Source: a) Author, Eskişehir, b) Author, Ankara

Table 1. The pictures and drawings presenting the self-created or generated spaces. Each of them points out a different and sometimes alternative concept for urban design

would like to see that it's happening in an urban space, it is there. For this, a new conceptualization as studied in the section IV is used to develop a new approach to study the ordinary in cities. The lexical meaning and philosophical discussion related to the concept was used to reflect the essence upon its probable urban manifestations.

The visual research as shown in the last section is chosen to show these ordinary moments and spaces in cities having the potential to represent the lived spaces in cities.

It is clear from this research that it doesn't require a very well prepared plan or design scheme to create living spaces. However, we need first to embrace these urban realities and then learn from them. For instance, how can we analyse and integrate these spontaneous spaces to the urbanism studies if such a thing is even possible or can we foresee a future in which every person would be creating his/her own space?

The photographs show the unpremeditated yet self-created or generated urban details

or patterns. Although collected from several cities in Turkey, it is a clearly collective reality as well. The examples are the very proof of the undeniable presence and significance of spontaneously produced (social) spaces. This significance is a consequence of their existence that incrementally makes cities what they are at the end.

Although more than 50 years were passed after Jane Jacobs discussed about the significance of first to understand than to study the real life clues in urban spaces, the

human dimension and its capacity to creatively appropriate spaces either remain neglected, understudied and even misled by the related studies. For a more encompassing, not dictating and lively urban future, we need to study this inseparable relation better and thoroughly between social and spatial; a person and his/her own space; a society and a city.

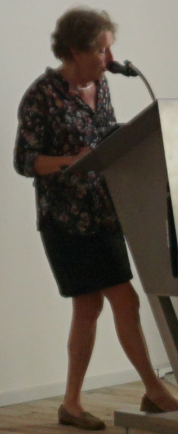
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**Track 6**  
**Jane Jacobs and**  
**safety in public space**



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# Women in Egypt

## The myth of a safe public space

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**Abstract** – To Jane Jacobs, safety was one of the main elements that would ensure creating a successful space used by strangers. That safe space should enable primary mixed uses to run within small blocks of aged buildings mixed with new and frequented by large numbers of different users who keep an eye on that space. If we look at the Egyptian public spaces, we find them as a physical manifestation of Jacobs' elements, however, they are evidently unsafe! A recent UN report stated that 99.3% of women are being harassed in public, this shocking phenomenon has been explained by many scholars as the natural result of the gender segregation within the society. A society with a culture of males perceiving public space as their own territory while females perceive it as a daily ambush. This paper argues that Jacobs did not consider marginalized women when she thought of a safe public space for all, where women and men experience public spaces through a gendered perception in the Arab culture. Concluding that a space succeeds only when people using it feel safe through the interaction between the perceived space and User's Behaviour.

**Key words** – gender, space, safety, Egyptian society, Jane Jacobs

### Introduction

I am an Egyptian woman and I fear walking in the streets of my city. Experiencing the public space as a safe space that encourages equal social interaction among users with diverse interests, opinions and perspectives is a luxury that does not exist within Egypt, and the society does not seem to care to change it. Many studies concluded that one of the main social problems facing the Egyptian society is the gender segregation, which sexualises and discriminates women in the public sphere creating a gendered perception of space. When the Egyptian revolution sparked back in 2011, women thought it was finally their chance to change how the community perceive them through reclaiming their share of the public space. They went in large numbers to Tahrir Square to exercise their right of expressing themselves as political agents in the public sphere. During the demonstrations women protesters and observers were threatened, harassed and sexually assaulted by men in the square and the streets in its proximity.

In the 1960s, Jane Jacobs talked about creating a safe city of active neighbourhoods busy with primary mixed uses within small blocks. Aged buildings could be

mixed with new and frequented by residents and strangers who keep an eye on that space and maintain its safety. If we look at the Egyptian public spaces, we actually find all features existing, however, safety in public spaces for women is a myth that doesn't exist! Cairo expanded in the 60s, 70s and 80s, and experienced spatial, socioeconomic and value system shifts within its community leading to a major transformation of public spaces into gendered domains.

This paper claims that Jacobs' theory of public safety cannot be generalized on various societies due to diverse value systems that control people's perception of women within the society. The paper will explain the situation in Cairo in the light of some literature on the aspect of fear within public spaces, then explores the issue of gendered spatial segregation from a socio-religious and economic shifts, trying to answer the question: in what ways are the experiences of urban spaces gendered in Egypt?

### Literature, The safe space

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.” (Jacobs 1961).

The city is a hybrid place,

full of strangers coming from different backgrounds and using its spaces for different reasons. This diversity of usage colourises its physical nature and gives it different meanings in a process of spatial production that is practiced by everyone. For that reason, the city should be a neutral domain where everybody has some right to it, despite of gender, ethnicity or class. Don Mitchell, in his book “The Right to the City”, describes public space as a representation of the good that comes from the public control. He explains how the practice of public space can be threatened at some stages. That threat is not mainly from the disorderly behaviours, but rather from the steady erosion of the ideals of the public. A public that lost its sense of a collective right to the city (Mitchell 2003, p137). George Kelling goes along that line of thought and defines behavioural disorder as incivility that would threaten urban life and turn the space into a fearful place. He referred to this disorder as equivalent to leaving a “broken window” unrepaired, which indicates a lack of care for the urban space that would intrigue more aggressive behaviours to be committed. With that lack of control, disorder escalates

attracting more potential offenders to the space in an increasing pace of serious criminal behaviour (Kelling & Coles 1996, p21).

According to Henry Lefebvre that space has no power to determine the spatial contradictions within the society norms and different behaviours, which are practiced within its boundaries. One of those contradictions is groups of users practicing power over others. Power, which can be violence, divides the space into several spatial domains and to sustain its existence it keeps what has been divided in a state of separation (Lefebvre 2007, p 358). In that regard, Manuel Castells refers to the urban problem as a series of everyday acts and situations whose performance and features closely depend on general social organization. Those urban problems include the case of women as a specific social group. They are the women who want to leave the private sphere but find it very difficult because of the impediments they encounter in the city on daily basis, one of those impediments is fear. (Martínez & Huertas 2009). In his book *City of Quartz*, Mike Davis discussed how to overcome that fear in some central areas like in downtowns, saying that downtowns can be designed and developed to make visitors feel that it is attractive as a type of place where respectable people tend to frequent, however, the activities offered on the public mainstream will determine what type of people will be strolling its sidewalks (Davis 2006, p231). Paul Hirst also discussed the issue of Fear through the social mobility within the city of some classes looking for a safer neighbourhood, which leads to the increase of the mass production of poor districts with decaying living conditions (Hirst 2005, p17). And to concur this unsafety, Jane Jacobs introduced her idea of “eyes upon the street”, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural watchers of the street. They are supposed to stop any misbehaviour that might threaten some users (Jacobs 1961, p.45). When Jacobs discussed the issue of fear in her writings, she meant the fear of residents against the stranger that uses the street and even against the street itself. She talked about city plans to secure the public space through guarding the streets, while the solution from her point of view was more natural, that is to secure the street and make it safe by its users.

In other words, the

production of space and its success does not only rely on its physical settings, it rather depends on its capacity of insuring safety and equity between individuals. However, when the ideals of some users erode and their behaviour take a violent turn, other groups of users perceive the same space in a total different pattern, as to them it will be an unsafe space devoid of equity.

To link this literature review to the Egyptian reality, the following discussion will focus on the gender practices within the public space in a hybrid city like Cairo. A city that went through various transformations during the last century until present, whether spatial, economic or religious and value system. It will also shed the light on how these transformations caused drastic behavioural changes that affected the recognition of its vibrant public spaces especially for women. Despite the fact that Cairo is a living manifestation of Jacobs’s four urban elements, which she claimed would insure public safety under the control of the users eyes over the space, still safety is an intricate issue facing women on daily basis.

## The Dichotomy

The Egyptian society is based on the principle that men and women have different natures and inherent roles within the family

realm with different parts to play. Traditions and customs are often not actually rooted in religion per se, where religious stipulations are not only mediated by cultural codes but are also interpreted by a male clergy (Al-Ali 2002). This sexist segregation within the private sphere of male dominance as food providers as opposed to female docility, is one of the main reasons why the perception of women has changed along the years. It is connected to several political and socioeconomic factors, such as nationalist movements, the processes of modernization and development, and the tensions between secular and religious tendencies.

*‘The emphasis on Islamic forms of regulation, such as the spatial segregation and veiling of women has been exacerbated as a result of encounters between Muslim societies and the imperialist West. The identification of Muslim women as the bearers of the backwardness of their societies, initially by colonial administrative and later by Western oriented reformers, is mirrored by a creative local discourse which elevates the same practices into symbols of cultural authenticity and integrity.’* (Kandiyoti 1995, p19)

The social classes of Egyptian women in the early 20th century were divided with different shares of the public sphere. It is a time when the ruling-class women ‘Harem’ were secluded and veiled,



Figure 1: On the right elite women protesting for their political freedom, veiled. On the left: lower class women going out in public spaces unveiled. Source: flicker. Available at: flicker.com

they suffered from a dual form of oppression by British colonialism and patriarchy in a way that negated their access to the public space (Mariscotti 2008). Their lower-class counterparts however suffered less oppression and had more freedom to participate publically, as they needed to go out and share the responsibility to support their families. In the 1920s the Harems felt the urge to enter the public sphere and free themselves from the oppressive patriarchal chains. They started feminist groups advocating women of different classes to go out and call for their political rights; to make changes in the personal status law; to obtain equal education and to expand professional opportunities (Al-Ali 2002).

Their role in leading women extended to the times of war in the 1930s and 1940s, when women had effective roles to support their families. They also had their share as political agents revolting and protesting as feminists as well as in many students' movements. This feminist euphoria was embodied in the writings of Jane Jacobs during her time working as an editor at "The Iron Age" in the 1940s. She shed the light on the role of women taking jobs of men at the time of war, showing photos of women in floral dresses operating radiant gas superheat burners. She even tried to unionize the female workers to call for equal pay and freelance writing (Laurence 2016, p65). It was as if she was describing the situation in Egypt and how women were striving

to prove themselves and their capacities as productive members in the society, as well as political parties against the British control and weakness of the state. They successfully started to acquire their share of the public space regardless of their social classes.

The 1950s and 1960s witnessed an economical leap led by Nasser, who called for a socialist Egypt. It was based on everyone sharing equal responsibility in building a new Egypt, education was subsidised, factories were established, the Suez Canal was nationalized and even cars were manufactured. He also issued the 1956 constitution stating that all Egyptians are equal regardless of gender, he even granted women the right to vote and to run for political posts (Al-Ali 2002). It was a socioeconomic boom that was directly linked to political women movements calling for equity, and produced women who were economically independent under the control of the state. In parallel, Cairo started to become a centralised magnet attracting many immigrants from other cities along the Nile to enhance their living standards. This social mobility played an important role in the deficiency of housing provision the city suffered from later (Amin 2000)

The 1970s mark a distinctive regression in the role of women on both private and public spheres. At that time the policy of the state changed from being an agent of social gender equality into an "open

door" policy that was embraced by Sadat. Egypt became more trade dependent, having to import staple foods with foreign financing limited to non-productive sectors of the economy. A process that has increasingly exported over three million of its male labour to the Gulf countries, reducing at the same time the problems of unemployment at home with an increasing reliance upon remittances sent back (Marshall 2013). This policy had demoralizing social and emotional effects on the working class women, who were greatly affected by the high rates of unemployment and inequality of job opportunities. (Al-Ali 2002).

Egypt at that time experienced a general change of the social ties and morals due to an increase in two conflicting ideologies: the westernization and commercialization of the capitalism, and the religious dogmas under radical fundamentalist groups, which declined the importance and influence of females in Egypt through ignoring women's rights in the private family sphere. Veiling, for example, began to increase in the 1980s; however, most scholars noted that this "veiling" was a form of protest against westernization and capitalist imperialism (Braziel 2000). Film director Yousri Nasrallah noted that the popularity of the veil was not due to "sudden religious devoutness among Egyptian women," but to "social and economic pressures buffeting the country." (Boulter 2012). It is a time when capitalism was repackaged as neoliberalism, devaluing the social in favour of the individual, the public in favour of the private, cooperation in favour of competition and gentleness in favour of aggressiveness (Modlich 2008).

This juxtaposition between culture and religion reflected a significant series of behavioural changes that have taken place in Egypt since the 1980s; harsh economy, gender disparities and sociocultural/religious interpretations are the main three reasons behind it (Ilahi 2009).

By the turn of the 1990s, Egypt witnessed increased poverty, polarized wealth and power, and increased labour unrest due to the imposition of a neoliberal order dominated by crony capitalists and corrupted bureaucracies (Marshall 2013). New satellite cities have been built in a housing policy that was unaffordable for the majority of Egyptians. That successive failure



Figure 2: Both pictures show women moving freely in the public space during the 1960s  
Source: Egyptian streets. Available at: [Egyptianstreets.com](http://Egyptianstreets.com)

of the Egyptian government's housing policy (starting with the social mobility of the 1960s) to provide affordable housing for a significant number of Cairenes has led many to informally build homes, either semi-legally or illegally on privately-owned or public lands, owned originally by migrants from Upper Egypt and the Delta. The immigrants brought along a more conservative set of religious and cultural doctrines like veiling women, the female circumcision, gender segregation in public and the domestic oppression which basically limited woman's duties to getting married and raising children. A social mechanism that hindered the abilities of women as independent and active citizens of the society, which all had a big share, on the long run, in reshaping the role of women within Cairo (Amin 2000)

Turning into the millennium, around 26.3% of Egyptian youth suffered unemployment, while 51.2% suffered poverty, and roughly 40% live on less than \$2 per day<sup>1</sup> (CAPMAS 2015). This economic situation affected the life of many Cairenes, especially with the increased cost of marriage for large numbers of people where families with materialistic conceptions tried to ensure a financial stability for their daughters<sup>2</sup>. (Zuhur 2001).

With an overlaid strata of social oppression, economic depression and religious dominance in addition to the sprawling informal districts, Cairo was changing its face with 70% of its population inhabiting its mushrooming informal areas (Sejourne 2009).

## The Informal Cairo

'Urban segregation is not a frozen status quo, but rather a ceaseless social war in which the state intervenes regularly in the name of "progress," "beautification" and even "social justice for the poor" to redraw spatial boundaries to the advantage of landowners, foreign investors, elite homeowners, and middle-class commuters' (Mike Davis, 2006, p.98)

1 According to an issued report in 2015 by the Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics (CAPMAS)

2 A New York Times article recently noted, "Here in Egypt and across the Middle East, many young people are being forced to put off marriage, the gateway to independence, sexual activity and societal respect. And so, instead of marrying, people wait and seek religious outlets for their frustrations" (Ilahi 2009).

Inhabited by over 17 million living in its metropolitan domain, Cairo is the largest city in Africa and the 16th largest metropolitan area in the world. A large portion of its urban population is faced with only three residential options: the physically deteriorating public housing districts which were built in the 1960s and did not get enough maintenance since then; the mass housing in New Towns which is publically rejected due to its distance to the city; and the informal areas which were mostly established on agricultural land in the western and northern parts or at the desert edge of the city. Each one of these residential choices offers a different set of living conditions (Shehayeb 2009).

Two thirds of the population of Cairo found refuge in areas which were cheaper, or closer locations to their jobs and transportation facilities, which are the "Informal Areas". Studies reveal the profile of informal areas to include a wide spectrum of socio-economic groups; its residents could include street vendors as well as judges, government employees, workshop owners, artisans, as well as professionals such as doctors and lawyers (Shehayeb 2009). This diverse population is deprived of many simple rights that would keep their sanity and dignity intact. They fall under the oppression of politics, the dictation of socio-religious values and the frustration of economics that constrain their freewill and deny them from practicing power over the simplest of things in their own private spheres.

When Jane Jacobs talked in her book *Death and Life of American cities* about conserving neighbourhoods, like many other planners of that time, she focused on the importance of the urban form in shaping larger social developments. She argued that urban conservation would always serve the interests of the poorer working class, when too often it has become a middle-class preference. As Edward Gläser argues in his book *Triumph of the City*, working-class people have largely been squeezed out of the sort of urban neighbourhoods Jacobs defended, and the middle class who now dominate them are too often allowed to stop developments that might enable poorer people to move back in (Rogers 2011). That was the condition in Cairo, where the elite and the well-off classes abandoned the centre and moved to new satellites.

Women of the informal districts represent a range of different social strata and live in a variety of social conditions. 88% of the households in the informal areas are supported entirely by women, who share a main role in supporting the finances of their families in addition to their domestic duties. They experience poor living conditions and social discriminations practiced either by family patriarchy, the government or by their employers. Their safety in public is a reflection of socioeconomic, cultural and environmental injustice (Modlich 2008)

'When you have half of Cairenes in slums, when you don't have clean water, when you don't have a sewer system, when you don't have electricity, and on top of that you live under one of the most repressive regimes right now... Well, put all that together, and it's a ticking bomb. It's not of a question of threat; it is question of looking around at the present environment and making a rational prognosis' (El-Baradei, 2010)

In a sprawling wave of frustration and depression, that ticking bomb starts to defuse and people tend to react aggressively to obtain their lost power back, men become violent towards governments, built environment and women. In time of economic despair, this culture of male patriarchy does not accept that women are higher than men, because some women had education and permanent jobs while some men lagged behind. This is when they tend to shock women and force a sexual situation on them anywhere as one way to equalise gender status (BBC 2012)

## The Culture of Impunity and women

In one of the feast Holidays in early 1990s, a girl was sexually harassed in Downtown Cairo in daylight. Another shocking rape took place on a public bus in 1996, and the judge castigated the victim for not wearing the veil (Zuhur 2001). Years later, in 2006 during the feast holiday the city witnessed the first mass sexual harassment's incident in Downtown Cairo. These incidents have been repeatedly occurring during most of the Egyptian Holidays and feasts as well as on a regular daily basis in the Egyptian public streets and transportation (Ebaid n.d.)

Egyptian women are

subjected to daily sexual harassment in the streets, public transport, markets, schools, universities, tourist spots, protests and the workplace. (Booth & El-Husseiny 2015) According to a survey released in 2013 by UN-Women, 99.3% of Egyptian women reported being sexually harassed, with 91% saying they feel insecure in the street as a result. It is a social phenomenon that affects women's freedom of movement and causes a large detrimental impact on their perceived safety of public spaces (UN-Women 2013). This gender inequity and multiple exclusions of women from public spheres produces a space masculinisation within the urban settings (Ilahi 2009).

This problem rooted back in the 1980s with the rise of Islamic conservatism, when gender separations was implemented in all sorts of possible mix-use spaces, becoming the catalyst that fuelled the sexual frustration witnessed nowadays as massive sexual harassments.

Women, in principle, begin to face domestic violence in their private spheres<sup>3</sup>, where home is a patriarchal space ruled by traditions and religious doctrines. It is something Simone de-Beauvoir discussed in her book "The Second Sex", asserting the ways in which the female has been cast as inadequate to man, both biologically and culturally (De-Beauvoir 1968). This domestic violence has an indirect societal impact that generates a climate of fear, insecurity and an inclined superiority of male upon socialization in public spaces. Jane Jacobs addressed the contradiction between contact and safety in public spaces, she said 'sidewalk public contact and sidewalk public safety, taken together, bear directly the most serious social problem; segregation and racial discrimination' (Jacobs 1961, p94). If the social relations between users of the space are broken, then its success as a safe social space is apt to fail.

In a dense city like Cairo, ironically, the urban fabric mirrors

3 A report on "honour crimes" in Egypt provided statistics that 79 percent of honour crimes are murders of a female suspected of sexual behaviour, 9% are murders of a female due to adultery, 6% are murders of a female to hide incest, and 6% are murders for other reasons. The perpetrators of the reported crimes were husbands (41%), fathers (34%), brothers (18%), and other relatives (7%) (Hassan 2009).



Figure 3: Teenagers harassing a group of women while crossing the street in Downtown Cairo. Source: El- al-Arabiya. Available at: English-alarabiya.net

Jacobs's definition of active social spaces of mixed-use within dense urban fabrics that should be monitored by users' eyes on the streets and protected by their positive behaviour. This definition leads the paper to explore the factor of safety in public spaces through visualizing a daily route of an imaginable normal Egyptian woman from an informal district towards Downtown Cairo, drawing attention to the hurdles she goes through and how the public react to it.

### A woman's Daily Trip

Women walk the streets of their neighbourhoods to take either a microbus, a tuktuk or a bus to deliver them to the underground. They might cut the trip in the middle and decide to walk along the bridge across the Nile seeking some fresh breeze away from their sun deprived houses. Few stops using the underground and they arrive in Downtown Cairo. Each of these public spaces is endangered by violent behaviours committed by men and ignored by witnesses:

### Street

She lives in a small flat overlooking one of the side streets of an informal areas. A narrow unpaved street of 3m width, between red brick blocks varying from three to twenty stories with hardly any sunlight exposure. Most buildings have only one façade with windows, with ground floors occupied by small shops. She walks through the arterial Street which functions as an overcrowded daily market with many unemployed young men either sitting at cafes during the day or hanging around at night (GTZ

2009). Women are discouraged from walking through the inner side-streets which are unlit and deserted, (Shehayeb 2011)

"Two girls walked out of school and two guys on motorbikes shouted abuse at them. The girls started yelling. A shopkeeper shouted at the girls not to yell at the boys". (Booth & El-Husseiny 2015 p23)

### Transportation

At the end of the market street, she finds the stop-start bus service where minibuses line up, with young men calling out for the different destinations. It is a chaotic space with people pushing to be the first to get into the vehicles. Minibuses are small-sized buses, popular for its cheap affordable tariff that can deliver the passengers to faraway distances. While trying to get inside a microbus crammed with 13 passengers, she is subjected to ogling, catcalling and touching. If she objects to such behaviour she gets denunciation from other passengers.

"I was on a microbus and a guy grabbed me from behind. I yelled and called to the bus driver to stop. A woman on the bus told me, 'leave him alone, he's an old man'". (Booth & El-Husseiny 2015)

She gets off and decides to take the bus instead, while waiting for quite some time for the right bus she gets irritated by being stared at. Her bus arrives over packed, and while she is hardly standing inside she finds hands touching her from behind.

'One day, two young women got on

a crowded bus. One was wearing a very tight shirt. A boy on the bus started to rub up against her, and she started screaming very loudly. Of course, I intervened to calm things down. I gave the girl my seat and asked the young man to get off the bus.' (The observers 2012)

The underground is not a better option, where she gets unwelcomed attention while crammed into a majority of men.

### Bridges

She feels exhausted and suffocated by continuous misbehaviour, so she decides to walk along the bridge across the Nile which offers a beautiful view with fresh breeze. It is her only free outlet far away from her dark crowded neighbourhoods. She walks along the bridge and undergoes a barrage of stares, catcalls, and occasionally a pinch of a stranger's hand. 'Bridges are one of the places where it is the most intimidating to walk alone as a woman'. (Designboom 2014)

### Downtown

She reaches Downtown, a district famous of its high density of population and activities with mixtures of primary uses and pedestrian-friendly side streets. Its old French-style buildings are mixed in with new, with shops occupying ground floors. Street vendors squat the sidewalks with their goods spread on the floor loudly calling for buyers. Policemen linger around trying to force some control over careless drivers cutting across lanes. The majority of Egyptians frequent downtown for different reasons, either for work, leisure or shopping and recently it is associated to protest activities. While walking on the sidewalks to her destination, she gets harassed again, observed by men sitting in cafes or shop-owners standing at their doors looking with a grin. By the end of her trip she is exhausted, abused and does not feel safe within public.

Many other women, when they describe incidents of sexual harassment speak about feelings of fear, guilt, irritation, disgust, and frustration, whereas men describe their exposure to sexual harassment as amusing, entertaining, funny, flattering, and trivial. Data collected supported the view that sexual harassment is normalized in Egypt by an underlying sexist, patriarchal social and cultural environment<sup>4</sup>. (Greco 2014)

<sup>4</sup> According to a crowdsourcing



Figure 4: Above Overcrowded buses that leave women prone to misbehaved attitudes, below people witness harassment and not interfere. Source: cnn.com



Figure 5: Bridges in Cairo are one way to enjoy fresh breeze away from life pressures. Source: Egyptian streets. Available at: egyptianstreets.com



2016	Dictation of socio-religious values Social discriminations practiced either by family patriarchy, the government or by their employers	Safety in public is a reflection of socioeconomic, cultural and environmental injustice Men shock women and force sexual behaviour on them in public spaces as one way to equalise gender status	88% of the households in the informal areas are supported entirely by women The increased cost of marriage for large numbers of young people
2010	Conservative set of religious and cultural doctrines: veiling women, female circumcision, gender domestic oppression	Gender segregation in public Role of women reshaped into getting married and raising children Marriage meant prestige and escaping family life	Increased poverty, polarized wealth, and increased labour unrest. Imposition of a neoliberal order dominated by crony capitalists and corrupted bureaucracies
1990	From an agent of social gender equality into an "open door" policy	Ignoring women's rights in the private family sphere Women were veiled and acted differently in public spaces, escorted by men Gender segregation in public space	Over 3 million of its male labour to Gulf Women affected by high rates of unemployment and inequality of job opportunities
1980	"All Egyptians are equal regardless of gender" women had the right to vote & run for political posts	The new policies and job opportunities provided women with a huge chance to use public spaces equally to men	Country was drained due to wars Women shared equal responsibilities in building socialist Egypt They were economically independent
1970	Women from different classes political agents calling for their political rights and professional opportunities	Women were in streets and squares revolting also having their share in the war time. They successfully acquired the public space	Women supported their families while men were caught up in front lines during the war
1960	Ruling-class women 'Harem' were secluded and veiled	Ruling-class women had to use public spaces escorted by men	Ruling-class groups owned lands Middle and low classes suffered from the forced labour and low wages
1950	Lower-classes suffered less oppression	Lower-classes needed to use the public space to support their families with no male supervision	
1940			
1930			
1920			
1910			
1900			
	<b>SOCIOPOLITICAL DIMENSION</b>	<b>SPATIAL DIMENSION</b>	<b>ECONOMIC DIMENSION</b>

Figure 6: A timeline diagram to explain the different changes that have affected the Egyptian society along the years 1900s till 2000s, with focus on women roles. Source: Author 2016

## Insertions

There is a fundamental contradiction between Jacobs' idea of "eyes on the street" to ensure safety for the users, and the reality of public spaces in Egypt. People see the incidents and do not interfere, sometimes they urge the victim to not report the assault, and even step in to shield the aggressor or to excuse his conduct. One activist mentioned that 'The silence of the society gave space for harassment to increase.' (Osman 2015). Jacobs paid attention in her writings to the smallest details that would assure the success of a city and the contentment of its

by Harassmap, the reported statistics are striking: 95.3% of female respondents said they experienced sexual harassment, ranging from catcalling (86.7%) to ogling (83.7%) to touching (56.3%). As for male respondents, 77.3% admitted to having committed sexual harassment, 32.4% who had witnessed cases of harassment did not intervene because they did not recognize harassment as a problem, and 37.1% of male respondents maintained that women wanted to be harassed. (Greco 2014)

inhabitants through its streets. Her reflections were mainly derived from the developed West which differs vastly from the nature of the developing Middle East. Her theory of safety is a valid one, only when applied in communities that acknowledge gender equality within public sphere and the right to the space. Fear in the Egyptian society limits women's safe access to public spaces and turn them into discriminated individuals prone to danger under passive supervision of other space users.

To answer the question of how experiencing urban spaces is being gendered in Egypt, three dimensions should be revisited to understand the roots of that aggressive behaviour:

The sociocultural dimension resembled in gender discrimination and patriarchal control within the private sphere, in addition to the religious doctrines that dictate women attitude in public through practices like veiling, women circumcision and gender separation starting at early stages in schools.

The economic dimension of increased poverty and youth

unemployment, who find difficulties in fulfilling the financial demands of marriage. In addition to the fact that Egyptian women work and support their families and can be financially independent, which causes a societal pressure on men and leads them to seek means to compensate their lost power over women.

The spatial dimension starts at the way the society perceives women as the one responsible of the domestic duties serving men within home space. This conception is transmitted into the public sphere through the tendency of men to dominate public spaces as superior individuals as opposed to women.

Many European countries during the last century addressed this domestic dichotomy and tried to find spatial strategies that would reinforce the idea of spatial equality starting from the family space. In 1903, Copenhagen and Sweden created spaces that involve both genders in working together on the household duties, similar projects also appeared in the USSR in the 1920s (Hayden 1980). Vienna, adopted a gender mainstreaming project since the 1990s, aimed

at taking gender into account in public policy, which means city administrators create laws, and regulations that benefit men and women equally. The goal is to provide equal access to city resources, which led to more than sixty pilot projects being carried out to date. As the size and scale of these projects increase, gender mainstreaming has become a force that is literally reshaping the city. (Foran 2013)

The way women deal with urban spaces is affected by those dimensions along the years. They changed from fighting for their right to the space into segregating themselves willingly within feminized spaces as a defence mechanism that would provide a temporal sense of safety, and protect them from the behavioural disorders. It is a step backward that emphasizes the superiority of one gender over the other.

Can we find solutions to correct such spatial disorder? Maybe the first step is to work on a sociocultural level: to reintroduce the domestic gender equality and diminish the hindering patriarchal attitudes towards females, also help women to become independent. Second on economic level: to fight the exaggerated financial demands as the main obstacle for many young men to get married in a way to prevent sexual frustrations. Third on spatial level: to increase the policing of the streets to enforce law and order within public spaces. Encourage societal initiatives to spread awareness of the psychological effects of such behaviours on women, in addition to encouraging women to fight for their right to the space.

The problem is not in the way the public space is shaped, it is rather the way its users deal with that space, and for a case like the Egyptian one, the process might take a long time to regain a city that once have been safe for everyone.

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# From gang turf to playground

How public space in Medellin's most violent neighborhood was reconquered

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**Abstract-** The narrow alleys of Medellin's Comuna 13 have for decades provided shelter for criminal elements, from urban guerrillas to paramilitaries and drug gangs connected to them. During the urban transformation known as 'social urbanism' (2004-2012), mobility was improved in these areas, new public spaces were created and public buildings were erected to signify the new state presence in the area. One of the most eye-catching projects is an outdoor electric escalator. In this area, people feel safer now. This is partly due to the newly created public spaces around it that invite people to linger on the street. Inhabitants, who before would hardly leave their houses and did not trust anyone, are now talking to their neighbors on the street. The surveillance team of the escalator, consisting of local youths, provides additional 'eyes on the street'. The electric escalator is a project that has caught international attention and attracts many visitors from all over the world. That contributes greatly to the pride people feel. With the construction of the escalator the municipality has literally reconquered public space from the gangs. Now the inhabitants are reconquering their neighborhood by a stronger sense of identification and place attachment. This indicates that Jane Jacobs' ideas are even valuable in a completely different geographical and cultural setting. Yet, to establish a causal effect between her ideas and the improvement of security remains difficult. In Comuna 13 the situation remains volatile.

**Key words -** violence, public space, place identification, electric escalator, Medellin

## Introduction

The electric escalator in Comuna 13 is an urban intervention which is part of a larger strategy combining physical, social and institutional measures in poor neighborhoods in Medellin. This strategy became known as social urbanism and was the leading concept in urban transformation during the time from 2004-2011 when two consecutive independent mayors ruled the city. Physical interventions in the Masterplan for Comuna 13 consisted of improving mobility, creating new public spaces and constructing public buildings along these new routes to signify state presence. The electric escalator is just one small project within this approach.

In the summer of 2014 I did research on the socioeconomic impact of the escalator in the neighborhood surrounding it. Through methods like observations and in-depth interviews I tried to establish its impact on the sense of security people feel and on social ties within the neighborhood.

In this paper I argue that the construction of the escalator

and its surrounding public spaces has created more space to interact on the street. People are slowly starting to communicate more with their neighbors, children are playing on the streets and foreign visitors are entering the area. This creates a sense of pride and trust is slowly building up. People also indicate that they do feel safer now.

Despite improved sense of security it is difficult to establish a causal relationship with the escalator, although inhabitants do think it has contributed to making the area safer. This paper concludes that the impact of the escalator is geographically very limited; gangs have simply moved to neighboring areas. The situation remains very volatile and although homicide rates have dropped significantly, other kinds of criminal activity like extortion of shop owners and bus drivers are still very widespread. More longitudinal research is needed to see how the neighborhood will develop over a longer period of time.

## Key concepts

The focus on this paper is on how a physical intervention in public

space can impact a neighborhood socially. Although the escalator is a means of transportation, it had less impact on mobility than on the way people relate to each other and to their neighborhood. This touches on theories of social capital and trust (Putnam, 2000), but also on theories referring to place identification (Di Masso, 2012; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Low, 2009). In a neighborhood with a longstanding violent history like Comuna 13, violence is an issue that automatically comes up when talking to people about their neighborhood. Violence is often connected to factors like police presence and the physical (dis)order of neighborhoods, as various studies based on Wilson and Kelling's broken windows concept show (Chappell et al., 2011; Hinkle & Wiseburd, 2008).

And then there is Jane Jacobs (1961), who more than anyone has made a connection between the physical environment, how people use it and how it makes them feel. Her ideas on the effect of 'more eyes on the street' to create safer neighborhoods and what happens if norms and values

collide in public space and some groups call it their 'turf' were based on the streets of American cities, but proof to be extremely relevant when looking at a poor neighborhood in a Latin-American city.

## Reconquering public space

Since the 1980s Medellín suffered from violence of drug cartels, urban guerrillas and paramilitaries fighting them. Alongside these organizations operated various criminal gangs that were contesting the territory, extorting people and companies forcing them to pay vacunas [protection money], and controlling the micro-market for drugs. "They erected boundaries between neighborhoods and prevented free movement. This led to social disintegration, fear and murder" (IDB, municipality of Medellín, 2011, p. 38).

In 2002 the state police and the military entered the area in an unprecedented four day operation to defeat the guerrillas in the area. This operation had great symbolic meaning, but it did not end the violence. The paramilitaries simply took over. When they were demobilized in 2003, they still ruled the neighborhood through various criminal organizations. Claudia, a 48-year old woman with five daughters, living in the area recalls how the situation was only some year ago: "There were dead bodies in the streets almost daily. I could not go out many times. I had to lock myself up in the house. It was very hard."<sup>1</sup>

Except for Operation Orion during almost three decades the state was absent in these areas, leaving the people to cope on their own. So when in 2004 the first independent mayor Sergio Fajardo came to office he spoke of a 'social debt between the rich and the poor'. With his approach of social urbanism – a mix of physical, social and institutional interventions – he wanted to settle this debt by investing the largest part of the communal budget in the poorest areas. In Comuna 13 they invested in better connections between different neighborhoods and to the metro station, increasing public spaces, and constructing public buildings like schools and libraries along these routes to signify state

1 Interview EEM\_Claudia\_2014.05.26

presence.

Part of this Master Plan was the construction of an electric escalator in a steep hillside neighborhood. César Hernández<sup>2</sup>, who was manager of all five Integrated Urban Projects (PUI, Proyectos Urbanos Integrales), of which Comuna 13 was one, remembers how they literally had to reconquer public space from the gangs when constructing the escalator, during which period about a dozen people were killed in the area.

It is an invasion into their territory. People are entering it...from the construction, the police, the municipality. What happens to them? When they first heard about the project and that we wanted to tear down houses, they took over the territory and said, "No, you can't pull down these houses, they belong to us." They took over the houses [at the moment when the owners were at the municipality, handing in their keys] and took out everything of value: bathroom, kitchen, steel pipes, window panes. [...] It was a really crazy gang. There was a lot of tension between them and us as government representatives.

Despite this in January 2012 the electric escalator was officially inaugurated. It is almost 94 meters long and consists of six parts bridging an altitude of approximately 38 meters. On the top and at the bottom there is a public building



Figure. 1: View from above on lower four parts of escalator. In between there is a new public space with benches.

2 Interview César Hernández, general manager PUI (2004-2011), 2014.06.06

that can be used for communal gatherings and courses. On the top there is a viewing platform and the escalator is connected to a newly created boulevard. Along the route there are public spaces with benches overlooking the valley. So it is more than just a means of transportation offering an alternative to the 357 steps, it has literally opened up the neighborhood.

## Inhabiting public space

When we are talking about public space, we mean space that belongs to the 'people', referring to the Latin word 'populus'. But "for streets to be livable, they must first be recognized as public places" (UN Habitat, 2013, p. 30). Even if we call it 'public' in reality there are all kinds of mechanisms at work that make public space more a space for particular groups, thereby excluding others. Di Masso calls this psychological notion 'territoriality'. Territorial behavior has the objective to establish who this space belongs to. We can see this behavior quite clearly when gangs take over the neighborhood (Di Masso, 2012, p. 126). Jane Jacobs refers to this kind of territoriality, calling it 'turf' (Jacobs, 1961, p.47). According to her impersonal streets with no sidewalk activity create anonymous people who choose to ignore each other. In such a situation it is much easier for others to take control over a street or neighborhood, because the natural mechanisms to watch out for each other and correct each other's behavior are lacking (Jacobs, 1961, p. 57).

In Comuna 13 there were no sidewalks at all, just narrow alleys that provided an ideal hiding ground for criminal gangs. Now the area is much more open and inviting for people to linger. Step by step the people in the neighborhood are taking over these spaces, discovering the meaning of public space. In Jane Jacobs' words: "There must be eyes on the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 35). The surveillance team of the electric escalator, consisting of youngsters from the neighborhood, form an important new group of 'natural proprietors', providing extra 'eyes on the streets'. During operating hours they keep an eye on things, help people, and show tourists around.

Di Masso states that, "public spaces can be central to people's self-definition, both individually and

collectively” (2012, p. 126). This was clearly confirmed in my interviews. One of the neighbors, José, spoke of “a sense of pride” that people feel about “their” escalator. If a social group is connected to a space it has certain expectation about this place and how people should behave in it. This is what Di Masso calls urban place identity. The residents of a place connect the place to their self-image. In this way the identification with an urban space becomes closely connected to their personal identity. There is a strong social dimension in place attachment. People connect to places because they feel attached to a social group that this place represents (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p. 4).

Many people in the area have been living there for a very long time. They have fled the violence of the guerrillas in the countryside and bit by bit build the neighborhood together. So in that sense they have a strong connection to the neighborhood and very few want to move elsewhere. Yet, during the years of violence, they did not trust anyone outside their own family. One of the neighbors, 26-year old Soreida says:

Before people were scared and kept to themselves. They stayed more in the house. There was less contact with other people because you never knew who you could trust. Now people are much more open. It would have been inconceivable before for investigators to do research. Nobody would have opened the door. Now everybody feels free to talk to anyone.<sup>3</sup>

Now people are using public space to chat, let their children play, and consider a ride on the escalator as a nice way to make a stroll through the neighborhood. So next to the “strong ties” of family as Putnam calls them, “weak ties” with neighbors are beginning to develop (2000, p. 23). Bit by bit trust is building up. “Honesty and trust lubricate the inevitable frictions of social life” (Putnam, 2000, p.135). All these casual contacts help to strengthen public identity and a sense of trust. “The trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts. [...] The sum of such casual, public contact at local level [...] is a feeling for public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust and a resource in time of personal neighborhood need” (Jacobs, 1961,

<sup>3</sup> Interview EEM\_Soreida\_Johana\_2014.05.15

p. 56).

With the escalator people from outside also entered the area. Like representatives from the municipality who offer subsidies for housing renovation and also instigated projects like painting facades together. As Leida explains: “Before we didn’t have any kind of recreation. For example, now with the project of painting the facades, people are talking to each other. There are many more projects now that involve the community.”<sup>4</sup> The communal buildings connected to the escalator are used to organize community meetings or to organize courses, thereby also providing opportunity to interact with neighbors and strengthening ties. By using these public spaces, they create new meaning or as Low



Figure. 2: Women chatting on the boulevard with in the back left the top building of the electric escalator.

(2009, p. 24) ) states: “the social construction of space is the actual transformation of space - through people’s social exchanges, memories, images, and daily use of the material setting - into scenes and actions that convey symbolic meaning”.

A factor that greatly contributes to the neighbor’s sense of pride is the fact that tourists enter the area, because they also contribute in building weak ties with people from other social circles in society. Miria, a 63-year old neighbor states:

— Many people from other countries

<sup>4</sup> Interview EEM\_Leida\_2014.05.12

come here. Many tourists. They go up on the escalators and down again. The president was here also one time. And the mayor. And the governor of Antioquia. They brought with them the law: many policemen and soldiers. And that is good for us. All because of the electric escalator.<sup>5</sup>

People in the neighborhood feel that for the first time in decades they are being seen as people and not just stigmatized as being part of neighborhood with a bad reputation. That means a lot to them and strengthens a sense of pride of their neighborhood.

A quantitative study by Cerdá et al. in one of the other low-income neighborhoods in Medellín, which also looked at effects of physical interventions, did not show significant changes in social climate. This was measured for example in terms of ‘willingness to take action when the social order is threatened’ or ‘willingness to help each other’ (2012, p.1047).

## Creating a sense of security

All of my informants agree that the security situation has improved a lot in their neighborhood, although there is no consensus on the moment the change began. Many refer to Operation Orion in 2002 as a life changing moment. This was the first time there was actually impressive state presence in the neighborhood, “cleaning” it – as some refer to it - from criminals. Although in the end other criminals replaced the guerrillas. Others state that the biggest change has taken place in the last couple of years and can mainly be attributed to a truce that has been established in 2013 between the two major gangs in the city. Although none of the informants sees the construction of the escalator as the factor that caused the violence to diminish, most of them do see positive effects. “Due to the escalator, the police is now more present in the neighborhood. Before it was a little more complicated”, says Leida.<sup>6</sup> To my question if security has improved, José answers: “Yes, maybe not a 100 percent, but 70-80 percent at least.”<sup>7</sup> The violence and the gangs have not vanished altogether, but according to former PUI manager César

<sup>5</sup> Interview EEM\_Miria\_2014.05.19

<sup>6</sup> Interview EEM\_Leida\_2014.05.12

<sup>7</sup> Interview EEM\_Jose\_2014.05.19

Hernández, there were five gangs active in the area before and now there is only one.

The study of Cerdá et al. (2012) also focused on the effects of physical interventions on violence. Another study by Borraez (2014) also investigates the relation between physical interventions and violence. Both studies were conducted in Comunas 1 and 2, the neighborhoods where the Metrocable, a gondola system connecting the hillside-neighborhoods to the metro in the valley, is located. Both studies found a positive effect on security. Homicides rates had gone down and inhabitants reported an increase in the level of security. According to Cerdá et al. (2012) the drop in homicides was 66 percent higher than in a comparable neighborhood with no interventions, which served as control group, and reports of crimes to the police dropped by 75 percent. Borraez even reports a 90 percent drop in homicide rates after 2004 in Santo Domingo, the neighborhood where one of the Metrocable stations is located. In the same neighborhood a public library was built with a huge plaza in front. Borraez finds the same positive effects as I did when it comes to inhabitants taking over these newly created public spaces. They make it much less attractive for criminals. Yet, he also points out that the impact is especially noticeable in clear proximity of the Metrocable station. The gangs have not disappeared altogether but have simply relocated to different neighborhoods, creating a waterbed effect. This corresponds with my findings, where people living further away from the escalator are less positive on the security increase. Also Borraez points out that homicide rates are just one indicator of crime. A public administrator he interviewed clearly point out that there are deals made between criminal gangs and the police. The essence is that “if you leave me alone, I leave you alone”, meaning that criminals keep homicide rates low so the municipality can present better statistics. In return they look away when it comes to other less violent crimes like drug trafficking or extortion of small shop owners (2014, p. 81). These crimes are still widespread in Medellín’s poorer neighborhoods and have a great impact on its development potential.

In the case of Comuna 13 the question is how far the positive impact of the escalator reaches. As Low states: “The boundary is

nothing more than the marked transition from one sphere of control to that of another” (2000, p. 154). It is clear that there are certain unofficial boundaries that separate the safe area around the escalator from other neighborhoods where its impact is less noticeable. This can also be seen in the streets. The further away you walk from the escalator, the more trash you will find on the streets and houses are less well maintained. This is also connected to the fact that the municipal project of painting facades has been restricted to areas close to the escalator. Some boundaries are more clearly recognizable because they coincide with natural boundaries like a valley or a bigger street separating

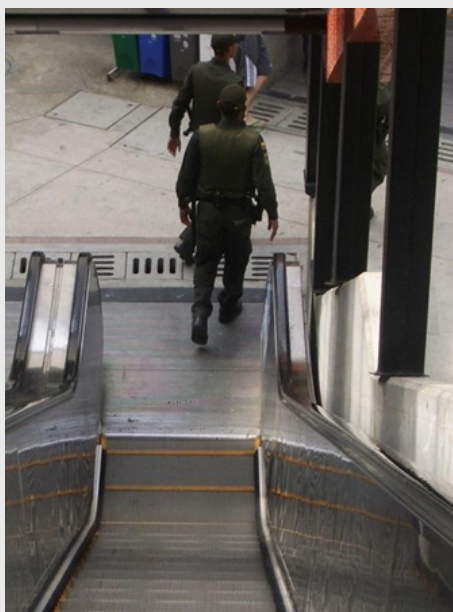


Figure. 3: Policemen doing their rounds in the neighborhood. Yet, they stick mostly to the escalator and the main boulevard connected to it at the top.

two neighborhoods. If you take this into account, you can roughly say that the area of influence is limited to about 200 meters surrounding the electric escalator.

The change in physical and social order can be seen in light of the broken windows theory. “According to Wilson and Kelling’s broken windows theory, physical and social disorder lead to fear and cause citizens to retreat into their homes. This breaks down informal social control mechanisms and may lead to more serious crime” (Chappell et al., 2011, p. 522). This might explain why people living at greater distance of the escalator are feeling less secure. The idea behind the broken windows theory is that if the police is more present and acts

strongly against small criminals this would contribute to diminishing disorder and prevent criminals from committing more serious crimes.

Since the inauguration of the electric escalator there is more police presence in the area. The police are often seen by inhabitants sitting on a bench on top of the escalator or doing their rounds around the neighborhood, but clearly staying within these unmarked boundaries. The link between disorder and fear of crime has been re-established in another study, but it was also shown that the extra police presence in itself often leads to an increase in fear of crime (Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008). This does not seem to be the case here. The state presence in the form of police seems to be highly appreciated, maybe because it is very low key and in no way comparable to the police intervention during Operation Orion, which was very violent. However, to me it still seems quite remarkable that the police presence is appreciated so much, given the fact that the police is not very highly respected and still suffers from corruption. Yet, the study of Cerdá et al. (2012) also found an increase in ‘reliance on police’.

The members of the surveillance team of the escalator are neither likely to go beyond certain borders. Andres8 explains:

What I mean to say is that if you want to pass certain boundaries, you can go there. No problem. However, if I would walk into that other neighborhood wearing this jacket, this uniform, that is during my work, I could not.

According to my respondents, with the relocation of the gang ‘turf’ it has also become less clear for inhabitants who is part of a gang. I asked the members of the surveillance team if they would recognize gang members in the area. Chota9 says:

You recognize them by their faces; they immediately scare you. They give you a bad look. But they don’t scare me [laughs nervously]. Yes, they do scare me, a lot. So it’s better to avoid them.

What happens here is that the state has taken over the territory or turf of the gangs. As earlier stated, it is common in territories, that the dominant group, imposes certain behavioral rules on others. In this case one could say that Terminales, the public company that

8 Focus group\_2014.06.12

9 Focus group\_2014.06.12



Figure. 4: Painted facades at the top of the electric escalator. Facades are only painted if they are visible from the escalator. On the bottom left is the end of the escalator next to a small shop, a popular place for policemen and neighbors to sit and have a coffee.

runs the escalator, has also created a territory with strict behavioral rules for use of the escalator. These rules are clearly indicated when entering the escalator. Gang members who pass by are also expected to behave accordingly. However, as one can hear in Chota's reaction, he does not dare to force the gang members to comply with these rules if they would violate them. This is an indication of the volatility of the situation.

The young people that have been offered a job on the surveillance team have been given a huge opportunity which they highly value. Yet, many people in the neighborhood, as well as professionals, indicate that apart from them, other children are still lacking opportunities. What is missing is a way for children to spend their time usefully away from the streets where they might be seduced to join a gang. The second thing neighbors desperately need is more job opportunities, because without that they will remain poor and leave children growing up without perspective of a better life without crime.

## Conclusions

I argued that the electric escalator has had an impact on the way neighbors interact with each other and the way they relate to their neighborhood. This can be attributed to the fact that together with the escalator public places and buildings were created that provide spaces to linger and to interact.

These places are used for recreational activities which strengthen the sense of place attachment even more. Slowly trust is building up again, which is essential in building up social capital. Jane Jacob's ideas on small interactions on the street making neighborhoods stronger seem to be as valuable here as in her own research ground, the American cities.

Another factor that contributed to place attachment is the fact that this project has opened the neighborhood for people from outside, whether they are government representatives or tourists. Neighbors feel proud again of their neighborhood and value the attention, after being ignored by the state for years.

The physical interventions have also literally opened up the neighborhood, making it less attractive for criminal elements. Other people are now inhabiting the streets, which provide in Jane Jacob's words 'more eyes on the street'. Although gangs did not disappear altogether, they have changed their 'turf'. Combined with police presence and physical improvements this has created an environment in which people indicate that they feel safer. Figures show that homicide rates in Medellin have dropped significantly over the last years, yet homicides are just one type of crime. Other smaller types of crime, like drug trafficking or extortion of shop owners are still very persistent. These activities have great impact on the neighborhood. Neighbors as well as professionals indicate that children need a perspective for the future to prevent them being caught up in gang life.

Despite the improved situation in the neighborhood around the electric escalator, the impact is geographically very limited and the situation remains very volatile.

## Further research

Given the volatility of the situation, especially with regard to gang life, more research is needed to look at the long term effect of these physical interventions. Will the increased place attachment and the stronger ties within the community have a lasting effect and make them more able to resist criminal influences?

One of the contributing factors of this place attachment is the enormous amount of publicity the escalator received and which has

led to many visitors from outside the neighborhood. What will happen if this effect rubs off? Without a real perspective on a better life, and a persisting criminal influence on daily matters, will there be enough change? Or referring to Sergio Fajardo's issue of the 'social debt', will this debt ever be settled?

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# The materialisation of Jane Jacob's view “eyes on streets”

Quantitative tools to measure adjacency, permeability  
and inter-visibility between buildings and streets

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**Abstract**—One of Jane Jacob's key observations was that we need “eyes on the streets” from buildings to ensure safety. How can it be quantified? Research on urban environment by means of space syntax methods tend to focus on macro scale spatial conditions. However, micro scale conditions should not be neglected. In research on dispersal of burglaries in urban areas, spatial analyses methods as regards topological relationships between private and public space was developed and tested out. The following issues were taken into account: Degree of inter-visibility of windows and doors and their inter-relationship to street segments, the density of entrances of private houses connected to streets, the number of semi-private or semi-public spaces between various kinds of private and public space, the degree of constitutedness of streets and the degree of visibility from windows to parking lots. As these results show, measuring the private-public interface offers knowledge about the spatial conditions for vital street life, urban safety, social interactions and their interdependence. Quantifying a built environment's spatial layout can therefore provide understandings on how urban space shape possibilities for social integration and exclusion. All seems to depend on various degrees of adjacency, permeability and inter-visibility taken into account on different scale levels.

**Key words** – private and public space, analyses tools, crime, social integration

## Introduction: the public – private space relationship and urban living

During the last three decades, living in central urban areas has become popular in Europe. This

kind of “urban renaissance” has contributed to an increase of estate and property prices in inner city areas. Several people seek for urban areas with high social, cultural and spatial diversity, short distances from dwellings to work, leisure and cultural activities, and to use all the opportunities a city has to offer (Rogers 1999).

Many recent urban renewal

policy documents carry proposals to intensify existing city and town centres instead of creating new out of town settlements. The idea is that high diversity and density of various kinds of land use, functions and cultural activities will contribute to vital lively urban areas and economic growth. As stated in most policy documents, the density of the

built mass should be high without losing good living qualities (Nota Ruimte 2004, p. 71, Rogers 1999, p. 45). The compact city is used as a model for urban renewal and development for enhancing growth in compact existing settlements instead of sprawl and to promote a sustainable urban development. How this must be realised is, however, never demonstrated in recent policy documents.

The topological spatial relationship between private and public space and its impact on urban life is a forgotten aspect in contemporary urban design and planning disciplines. Architects tend to emphasise the feeling of privacy within the context of modern living in their design projects. Often an explanation can be found in the individualisation process of human beings during the last 60 years in the western society. There seems to be a need for high degree of privacy when living together with others. However, when the city itself offers high degree of anonymity, then one can ask whether it is necessary or not hiding one's dwelling entrance and windows away from public streets.

Urban project developers strive for high density or a high floor-space-index and propose large variations of urban functions in new areas. However, the degree of inter-connectivity and the topological shallow public-private interface is forgotten on the ground floor level. All these activities depend on how the spatial configuration is on the plinth or built up street sides. Therefore, there is a need to bring micro scale spatial relationships on the research, policy making as well as the design agenda in the urbanism discipline.

## Background

Already in the 1960s Jane Jacobs was advocating having 'eyes on the street' from buildings for ensuring safety on streets. Her book 'Life and death of great American cities' was a reaction on modern city planning and architecture taking place in the US in the 1950's and 60's. She was not alone for advocating inter-visibility between buildings and streets.

Likewise, Jan Gehl was conducting research on how people use and behave in public space. That resulted in his concepts of necessary, optional and social/resultant activities. These activities depend on the physical setting of a built environment, offering possibilities

for sitting, standing or to stay longer in public space. In particular optional activities are heavily dependent on the physical quality of the built environment. His research resulted in the Danish publication 'Livet mellem husene' from 1971, and the English translation 'Life between buildings' from 1987. One of his main messages was to have doors and windows oriented towards the public space.

During the last decades, several urban designers, urban planners and urban researchers are referring to Jacob and Gehl's writings. However, a quantitative research method has been missing during all these years. From an urban design practice, the more modern a housing project is, the more the entrances are turned away from public streets and the more an active frontage towards public streets is lacking.

A method describing micro scale spatial variables in urban studies aims at defining the inter-relationship of buildings or private spaces and adjacent street segments. Therefore, micro scale spatial analyses focus on how dwellings relate to the street network, the way buildings' entrances constitute

streets, the degree of topological depth from private space to public space, and inter-visibility of doors and houses across streets. As Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl argue, many entrances and windows facing a street is one formula to ensure urban liveliness (Jacobs 2000, Gehl 1996). The challenge is to quantify these kinds of spatial relationships. Only then it will be possible to gain a genuine understanding on the spatial conditions for vital street life and urban safety.

## The components of the method

In a research project on space and crime in the Dutch towns Alkmaar and Gouda, an opportunity was provided to register various spatial relationships between private and public spaces (López & Van Nes 2010). In each city one local area was chosen and studied in detail. These areas are more or less comparable when it comes to their function, size and the large variation of their social composition of dwellers and architectural composition in terms of a large

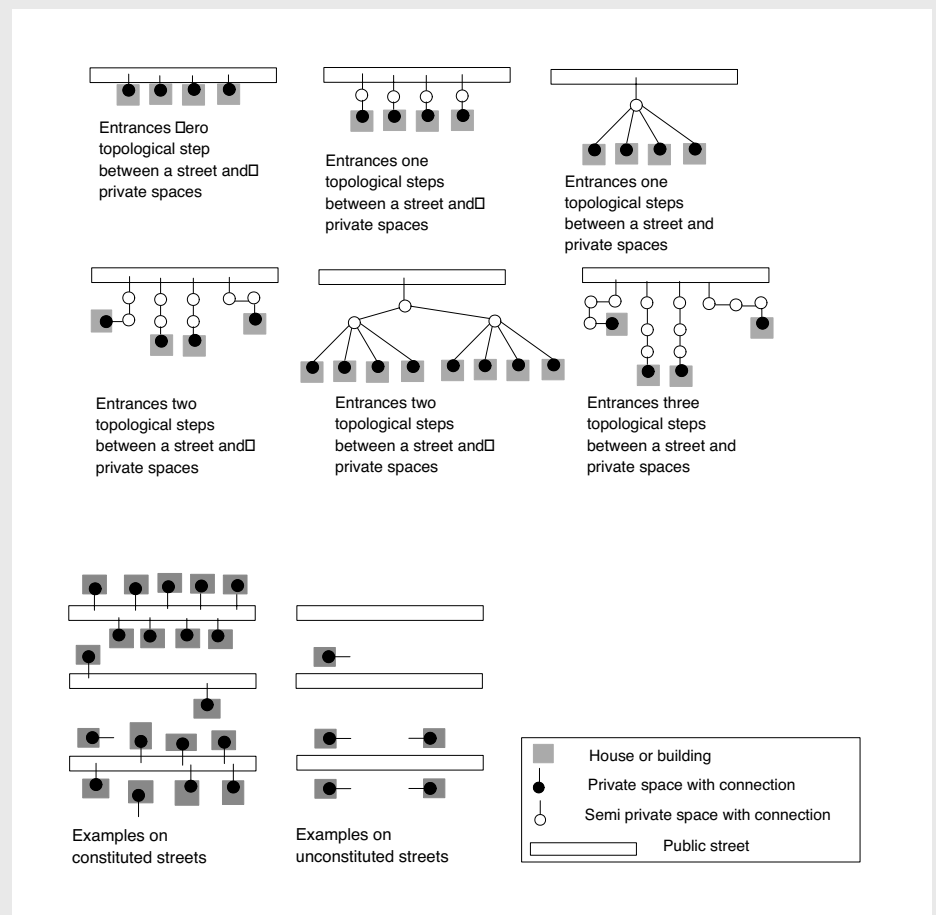


Figure 1: How the topological depth from entrances (top) and degree of constitutedness is calculated. Source: own illustration.



Figure 2: Example of a dwelling located to a traditional street (left) and a dwelling located on an upper walkway in a flat (right). In the traditional street there is a direct connection between the private home and the public street. A stranger passing through one's front door is perceived as a source of safety. Conversely, in the case of the upper walk-way, there are many semi public and semi private spaces between the home and the street. A stranger passing through one's front door is perceived as a source of danger. Source: own illustration.



Figure 3: Example on constituted streets (above) and un-constituted streets (below). Source: own illustration.

mixture of various housing types. The local areas contain boroughs with homogeneous building types as well as areas with a mixture of several types. In total 1.168 street segments were observed and 25 different spatial features registered for each segment. The results of the micro spatial registrations were put in a database together with various macro scale variables derived from the space syntax analyses of the street and road net and the number and characteristics of residential burglaries and thefts from cars for each street segment.

There are several ways of analysing spatial configurative relationships between building entrances and the street network. An easily way is to register the topological depth between private and public space. It consists in counting the number of semi-private and semi-public spaces between a private space and a public street. If an entrance is directly connected to a public street, it has no spaces between private and public space. Then the depth is equivalent to zero. If there is a small front garden between the entrance and the public street, the depth value is one since there is one space between the closed private space and the street. If the entrance is located on the side of the house and it has a front garden or it is covered behind hedges or fences then the topological depth of the entrance has a value of two. Entrances from back alleys covered behind a shed have a value of three. It is the topological steps between the street and the private spaces inside homes that are counted. (figure 1):

Entrances into flats can be represented in several ways. It all depends on the degree of permeability between the private space and the street. Some flats have upper walkways where the entrances to each apartment are connected, while others have a closed main entrance where visitors have to use a calling system. During registration the degree of permeability was used. Where a flat's front door or main entrance was permanently locked and provided with a doorbell or calling system, it was registered as a private space from thereon. When flats have open main entrances, the number of semi-private spaces was counted up to the apartments.

Each side of a street segment is registered separately. There are many streets where entrances are directly connected to the street on

the one side, while there is a flat with an upper walk gallery on the other side. If a street segment's side has several depth values between private and public spaces, the average value is used. The diagram in figure 2 (top) illustrates various types of relationship between private and public spaces. The black dots represent the private spaces, while the white dots represent semi-private spaces.

A street's degree of constitutedness depends on how building entrances are connected to a street. It is about the degree of adjacency and permeability from buildings to public space. When a building is directly accessible to a street, then it constitutes the street. Conversely, when all buildings are adjacent to a street, but the

entrances are not directly accessible, then the street is un-constituted. A street segment is constituted when only one entrance is directly connected to the street. If the entrance is hidden behind high fences or hedges, or has a large front garden, or located on the side of the buildings, then the street is defined to be un-constituted.

The diagram in figure 1 (below) illustrates the differences between constituted and un-constituted streets. It is thus a difference between a building located adjacent to a street and being permeable from a street. Spatial relationships of this kind can have impact on vital street life in urban areas.

The number and density of entrances are not at issue. The



Figure 4: A visualisation of the constituted and un-constituted streets in Gouda. Source: own illustration.

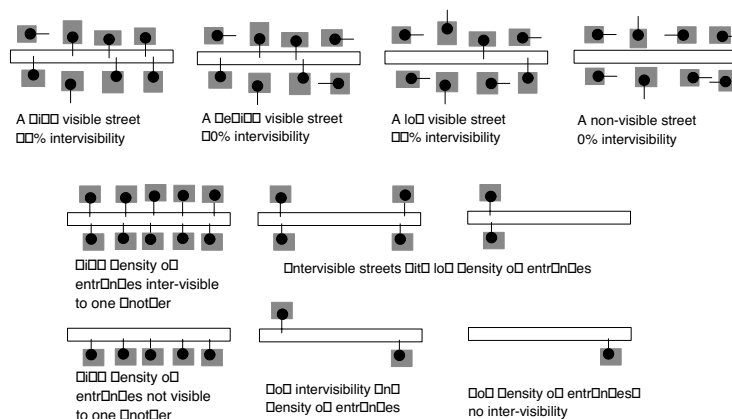


Figure 5: Diagrammatic principles on the relationship inter-visibility and density of entrances. Source: own illustration.



Figure 6: Examples on 0% inter-visible streets. When a burglar is inside these fences or hedges, he can operate without being noticed by neighbours or people in the street. Source: own illustration.

degree of constitutedness is about the number of entrances connected to a street divided by the number of buildings located along that street.

Figure 3 shows some examples on constituted and un-constituted streets. The two entrances on the top are constituted streets. In both cases the entrances are located only at one side of the street. The example on the left is a street dating from 1600 and the example on the right is a street from the 1970's. Both two streets below in figure 4 are un-constituted. No entrances are directly connected to these streets. The example on the left is a street located in a high-rise flat area from the 1960's. One has to go into the semi-public side streets to reach the flats' main entrances. Regards the example on the right, dating from the 1990's, all the apartments are located adjacent to the street. Even though the street is highly visible from all the apartments' windows, all entrances are located at the buildings' backsides and from the underground parking garages.

Figure 4 visualises the difference between constituted and un-constituted streets in Gouda. Un-constituted street segments are marked with a grey colour, while the constituted ones are in black. Most intruded homes (presented as dots) are entered from un-constituted street segments. The points of entry into dwellings are marked with a line from the street or back alley to the dot.

The more entrances connected to a street, the higher the probability that someone comes out from a private space into public

space. However, high density of entrances connected to a street does not always imply high inter-visibility. There is a distinction in the way entrances constitute streets and in the way they are inter-visible to each other. The way entrances and windows are positioned to each other influences the probabilities for social control. Figure 5 shows some diagrammatic principles on the relationship inter-visibility and density of entrances.

A registration of windows and doors inter-visible to one another and to the street segment were carried out. The number of inter-visible houses was divided by the total number of houses in each street segment. The percentage of inter-visibility from windows and doors from houses to streets and between houses was registered separately. The percentages were grouped in 100%, 80%, 60%, 40%, 20% and 0% inter-visibility for each registration. The density of houses and entrances were not taken into account. This was registered separately. Thus, two buildings with two entrances facing towards each other indicate 100% inter-visibility of doors. Conversely, a street segment with high density of entrances on only one side of the street segment and no entrances on the other side is defined to be 0% inter-visible. High density of entrances directly facing a street segment at only one side can be an indicator for street life, but is not necessarily a sufficient condition for crime prevention. A strong correlation was found between a street segment's inter-visibility and the risk on residential burglary (López & Van Nes 2010).

## The link to the macro scale analyses

A combination of various micro spatial measurements makes it possible to quantify the micro spatial features of neighbourhoods. These features are, however, not always present in studies focusing on the macro spatial analyses. For example, a street with few connections to its vicinity can still be full of social activities if a high density of entrances constitutes the street and when there is high visibility between public and private spaces. The reverse can be seen in, for example, distributed un-constituted streets with a low number of entrances and low inter-visibility. Independent of cultures and architectural styles, micro spatial measurements make it possible to describe the spatial set up of built environments on a local scale level. Thus, an urban area's degree of liveliness depends on the spatial conditions on a macro level as well as on a micro level. Therefore, both scale levels must be taken into account.

As the study of 1.168 street segments clearly shows, the micro spatial conditions of the street segment are inter-related to the macro spatial conditions of the cities street network (López & Van Nes 2010). Especially the topological depth of a street segment in relationship to its nearest main route gives a detailed description of the spatial set up of the area. Most micro spatial variables turn out to be related to the macro scale variable local angular choice with a high metrical radius. This variable is useful for measuring how well

The location pattern of SHOPS

DEPTH	Mean	N
0	,38	117
1	,14	237
2	,07	337
3	,01	276
4	,00	160
5	,00	25
6	,00	4
7	,00	1
Total	,09	1157

Shops are located on depth= 0 and depth = 1. Sign=.003

Report  
STREET FUNCTION

DEPTH	Mean	N
0	2,08	118
1	1,97	237
2	1,59	339
3	1,33	276
4	1,21	160
5	1,00	25
6	1,00	4
7	1,00	1
Total	1,59	1160

Sign=.000

The topologically deeper one moves away from main routes, the more the area consists only of dwellers.

Report  
Constitutedness (2 cat.)

DEPTH	Mean	N
0	1,25	118
1	1,38	237
2	1,46	339
3	1,63	276
4	1,80	160
5	1,76	25
6	2,00	4
7	2,00	1
Total	1,52	1160

Sign=.000

The further away from main routes, the higher number of unconstituted street segments

TOPOLOGICAL DEPTH OF ENTRANCES

DEPTH	Mean	N
0	,95	117
1	1,10	257
2	1,55	338
3	2,01	276
4	2,42	160
5	2,60	25
6	3,00	4
7	3,00	1
Total	1,66	1158

Sign=.000

The closer one is to the main routes, the more private spaces are directly connected to the streets.

Report  
Dwelling types

DEPTH	Mean	N
0	1,32	104
1	1,27	197
2	1,22	287
3	1,09	233
4	1,01	149
5	1,00	25
6	1,00	4
7	1,00	1
Total	1,17	998

Sign=.000

Row houses can be mostly found in the middle of the local areas, while detached houses and two family homes area are the local areas' edges.

Report  
Inter-visibility between windows in %

DEPTH	Mean	N
0	14,23	108
1	24,87	212
2	15,80	311
3	8,37	262
4	6,42	156
5	8,00	25
6	,00	4
7	,00	1
Total	14,01	1079

Sign=.000

The deeper one is away from main routes, the lower inter-visibility from windows

Figure 7: Statistical diagrams. Source: own illustration.

connected and spatially integrated each street segment is to all others in terms of direction changes and angular deviation. The spatially highest integrated streets are the most frequented ones. Various metrical radiuses can be used. The local angular choice with a high metrical radius identifies the main routes through cities and shows strong correlations with the micro-scale variables. The following results were obtained (figure 7).

The further away a street segment is from the main routes net, the greater the topological depth between private and public space. Along the main routes through

urban areas, most entrances are directly connected to the street. When changing direction two times from the main routes, the average topological depth for entrances is 2 while it is 3 in all street segments located more than six topological steps from the main routes.

Visitors usually frequent main routes, while only inhabitants frequent highly segregated streets in which gives neighbourhoods a desolated atmosphere. Dwellers inside these areas often prefer to protect their private life from insights from neighbours. When the streets are too much occupied by neighbours and there are almost no visitors around, the social control from neighbours can be too present. Therefore curtains and high hedges are used to prevent social control, and entrances are hidden away from streets and visible neighbours.

Urban areas located close or adjoining to main routes tend to have entrances directly connected to public streets. The streets are frequented by visitors as well as by inhabitants. The inhabitant wants to be a part of the urban street life. Often dwellers contribute to street life by sitting outside on a chair or the staircase in front of their homes. From their windows, dwellers keep an eye on what is going on outside. In many integrated areas, inhabitants like to contribute to the urban living by displaying their interiors to the view of passers by.

The more segregated a street segment is, the more mono-functional the adjacent buildings tend to be. Topological deeply located street segment usually only have a residential function, since offices, shops and public buildings tend to locate themselves along the main routes. The semi-private segments are among the topological deepest and segregated streets. Row houses and flats tend to be located along topological shallow street segments, while maisonettes, vertical separated dwellings and detached and semi-detached houses are located at the areas edges.

The further a street segment is away from the main routes, the lower the values of spatial integration and constitutedness. Homes located along un-constituted streets deeply located inside urban areas with low inter-visibility from windows tend to have a high risk of being burglarised. The un-constituted back alleys tend to be the most segregated street segments.

## Research results where the method has been applied

The first versions of the method were developed during the space and crime research project in Alkmaar and Gouda in 2005. Before Google Street view existed, registrations were done manually. Several researchers start to use this method in their research projects. So far known, it is applied on Dutch, Turkish, English, American and Indian built environments.

The micro scale spatial conditions were a main component in analysing the spatial parameters of the 40 problem neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Since 2007 various strategies were developed for improving the worst deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. The majority of the measures directed to the revitalisation of these neighbourhoods were social programs aiming to strengthen the economic position and social skills of the inhabitants. Spatial interventions have been largely overlooked because an adequate diagnosis tool is missing.

To fill this gap, space syntax and statistical analyses was carried out on a dataset of 43 neighbourhoods in which various micro and macro scale variables was taken into account and related to social and crime data. The analyses shows that the deprived neighbourhoods can be classified in four groups based on their spatial properties and three groups based on their socio-spatial characteristics. These groups provide an adequate classification of the different social and spatial properties of the neighbourhoods, and point out which spatial measures making sense in the revitalisation of these areas.

The micro scale variables played a significant role in the classification of problem areas. In 75% of the neighbourhoods, the streets were lacking inter-visibility and had a high number of semi-private spaces between private and public space.

Various in-depth pilot studies were carried out in eight residential neighbourhoods located in Alkmaar, Deventer, Eindhoven, Maastricht and Utrecht. In this study, the findings from the national inquiry were evaluated in eight pilot neighbourhoods and tested on a lower scale level (the



Figure 8: The application of the micro scale tools in urban design practice. Example from a plan in Vroonmeer Noord in Gouda, the Netherlands, where the plan was to have no entrances on the main route running through the new housing area (left) and our suggestion to add buildings with active frontages and entrances towards the main route (right). Source: van Nes et. al 2013.

street segment). Besides variables providing insight into the spatial structure of the neighbourhood, the analysis also considered the urban micro-level - the relationship between buildings and streets. As it turned out, recorded anti-social behaviour from the police took place along unconstituted streets with low degree of inter-visibility (van Nes et al., 2013).

An inquiry was done to register how people use space in three different neighbourhoods in Rotterdam south from different time periods during a weekday. In one of the area interviews were made of the areas users and dwellers for identifying which streets and public spaces are perceived to be

unsafe and safe. As it turned out, high spatial integration of the street net contribute to a great variation of all types of people in streets. These areas consist of a highly inter-connected street net with shops located along it and with entrances directly connected to the street. These areas are conceived to be the safest to stay and move through by the interviewed users. Conversely, neighbourhoods with a labyrinth like street structure and lack of entrances and windows on the ground floor level contribute to few people in street and to a feeling of un-safety in the spaces between buildings. The degrees of spatial integration on various scale levels are low in these kinds of housing

areas. Therefore, the structure of the street network and the public-private relationship between buildings and streets plays a role for setting the physical framework to encourage street life and perceived safety (Rooij & van Nes, 2015).

Little knowledge exists on the relationship between urban space and the behaviour pattern of various ethnic groups. For this purpose four different neighbourhoods in Rotterdam north with a high number of various ethnic groups were investigated in different time periods during a weekday. A difference was made between Europeans, Turkish, Moroccans, and Surinamese/Antillean users in the static snapshots. As it turned out, the more spatially segregated the street net is in a local area, the more the various ethnic groups are separated from others. These areas consist of a labyrinth like street net, dead end and poorly inter-visible streets. A high spatial integration of the street net contributed to great variation of all types of people on streets. These areas consist of a highly inter-connected street net with shops located along it and with entrances directly connected to the street (Aghabeick & van Nes 2015).

A small inquiry on how women use space different from men is related to macro as well as micro scale variables. As soon as the street is spatially segregated or lacks active frontages towards streets, women tend to avoid urban areas with these spatial features (Nguyen & van Nes 2014).

The results shed some light on the current urban regeneration and urban design practice in the Netherlands. The spatial structure is hardly taken into account, in which contribute to a further socio-economic segregation of various ethnic groups. Seemingly, spatial segregation contributes to social as well as ethnic segregation among the users while spatial integration support socio-economic integration among various ethnic groups.

## Conclusions - challenges for urban design and planning practice

Micro spatial relationships play a crucial role in the socio-economic life of human beings. Often the concept "bringing back the human scale" is used in urban

policy making. It is referred to the metrical properties of space. Maybe a more genuine understanding on urban vital street life can be provided through a topological approach on urban micro scale level? In particular, urban renewal projects, modern housing areas and new large-scale urban development projects often tend to lack adjacency, permeability and inter-visibility between buildings and streets. This has negative effects both on street life and degree of safety of these areas.

High value on the floor-space-index is not always a condition for safe and lively streets. A “vertical city” like Hong Kong has several examples of new housing projects not well connected to the street. Even though the number of apartments is high, there is little street life at the street plinth. Often stacking apartments can contribute to vertical sprawl, but it seems to depend on how these flats’ entrances are connected to the street.

However, the degree of inter-connectivity and the topological shallow public-private interface is often forgotten. All these activities depend on how the spatial configuration is on the plinth or built up street sides. Therefore, there is a need to bring micro scale spatial relationships on the research, policy making as well as the design agenda

in the urbanism discipline.

When distinguishing the neighbourhoods with relatively high and low crime rates, high crime rate areas generally have their main routes outside the neighbourhood while safer areas more often have main routes running through its local centres. A well-integrated and well-connected main route going through local centres encourages the natural development of a local lively centre inside the neighbourhood. It functions as an armature for the whole neighbourhood and generates a natural mixture of visitors and people living inside the neighbourhood. Such a main route encourages the establishment of micro businesses inside the neighbourhood hence shaping job opportunities for the inhabitants. Previous research has shown that neighbourhoods with main routes through its centres are generally safer especially when most local residential streets can be reached within 1-2 direction changes from the main route network (van Nes and López 2010).

On a micro scale level, the positions of buildings and entrances along a main route or a residential street contribute to the degree of social control and eyes on the street. The more buildings located along a street, combined with entrances directly connected to streets, the

higher the potentials for natural social control. When entrances and buildings are turned away from a well-connected street, opportunities are created for youngsters to group together and commit incivilities outside the natural control of adults (Rueb and van Nes 2009).

The social composition of the dwellers, their lifestyles and wishes are also important factors in choosing the priority of improvements. Spatial parameters play a role in the socio-economic performance of a neighbourhood. It is about how the spatial layout contributes to generate a reduction of criminal opportunities, shape a natural social control mechanism between inhabitants and visitors, and shape opportunities for social and optional activities and for the location of micro scale businesses inside an urban area.

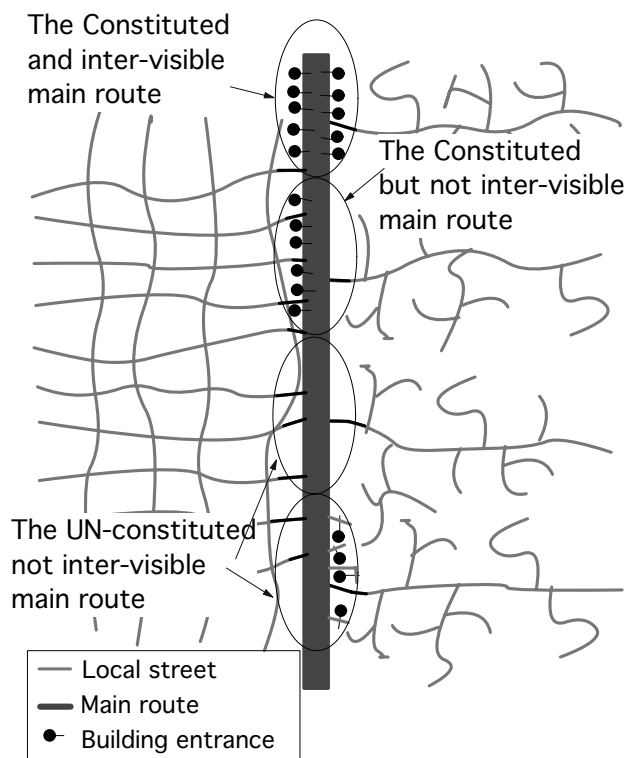


Figure 9: The role of the main route and the role of entrances. Source: own illustration.



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# Public space and perception of terror

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**Abstract**-While people met in order to socialize on public spaces in the past, these areas are perceived as a 'alone in the crowds' by people who are in the loneliness of modern era, as well as these areas still serve as a social area. Individuals from all of society, especially minority groups, feel that they are accepted and they show themselves in a way in the public space. Even though the perception and usage of public space have changed in time, people still feel free themselves in these areas. However, 'terrorism', which is a reality in today's world, is one of the case which pose danger to the public spaces. Thus, the image of these areas has changed from "the areas where individuals they feel more free" to "the areas where people are vulnerable to many potential attacks". This study tells you how the public perception has changed over time and examine the intended use of the public due to these changes. Terrorist activities increased all of the World and public spaces of the individual in the face of this reality, perception and Jane Jacobs, urban life and public relations with the charm of the terrorist phenomenon is one of the main problems the 21st century in the context of views on security are discussed. Also in this report, in order to provide a team recommendations for safe public space taking into account the author's views on security was available. For this purpose, the metropolis of Istanbul is selected as the study area were interviewed and the people living in Istanbul with internet environment. At the end of the 90s until today has changed the perception of how the public and in the public domain when individuals are discussed how they use.

**Key words** – public, public space, security, perception, terror, Jane Jacob

## Introduction

'... Refers to the human pattern intertwined. Cities are filled with people doing different things for different reasons and with different objectives, for architecture - about the content, not the format - only this difference reflects and expresses. People are of interest to us because they are human. As in literature and theater architecture which gives life and color to the human environment, something that human diversity is a terrific ...' (Jane, 2005)

Public space is the users' common work. Hannah Arendt and understanding of the public sphere If we look over Jürgen Habermas; According to Onat, (2013) understanding of Arendt, the

public consists of freedom, equality, word and deed. In this context; understanding of freedom based on considerations regarding the freedom that exists in the ancient Greek city-states. Freedom in ancient Greek that the establishment of new relations with the citizens 'police' live and refers to the resulting action. Freedom in ancient Greece, it was stated that the presence of the citizens in the public sphere is a political phenomenon. Freedom is experienced with action in this area. Citizens, get rid of the specific areas that they must obtain the identity of the free space when participating

in the public space and the political sphere in Arendt's conception of freedom is not taken in connection with the individual's actions. According to Onat, (2013) the understanding of Arendt's public space; In the public domain 'word' and 'action' is the basic condition of no plurality. According to Onat (2013); The function of the public sphere is communication in Habermas's conception. Onat's (2013) Habermas' and Arendt's examination in her book that gave a place to study; Habermas' public sphere definition / conceptualization is open to

everyone in the prominent point, is not accountable to society members, political control, it is mentioned that the common interest such as spots. In Arendt's understanding of the privacy of private space, which is dominated by the ruling; While in areas where there are no other words to political events; The public space where there is freedom, which consists of political events, emphasizes that the emergence of the field of view means to be human. According to Onat, (2013); The collapse of the public domain and on the other side of the urban phenomenon of the identity of the individual, in other words, freedom is being destroyed the state. Onat, (2013) Public Space And Borders book stated in today's modern society no longer be talking about public space where everything commodification and the money that we live in a time when fetishized society and mass society refers that takes the form. Subsequently; 'Mass society has no political space. People, alienation towards the world and society lives in a profound way. This state of alienation in making a lot of people are eliminating their space to express themselves. Mass organizations in the community to deviate from this or that his own purposes; It is becoming an element of interest and pressure. In the this kind society; There already seems to be negligible in the form of word and deed. These events are not taken into account that not make life easier. Moreover, each event becomes at this point is based on pragmatism. " This Word describes the current situation.

While people met in order to socialize on public spaces in the past, these areas are perceived as a 'alone in the crowds' by people who are in the loneliness of modern era, as well as these areas still serve as a social area. Individuals from all of society, in particular minority groups feel that they are considered public domain and are a way to show themselves. Time perception and usage in public places has changed. Individuals from all of society, especially minority groups, feel that they are accepted and they show themselves in a way in the public space. Even though the perception and usage of public space have changed in time, people still feel free themselves in these areas. However, 'terrorism', which is a reality in today's world, is one of the case which pose danger to the public spaces. Thus, the image of these areas has changed from "the areas where individuals they feel more free" to "the areas

where people are vulnerable to many potential attacks". to assess the public perception in Istanbul; the planning decisions taken in Istanbul to investigate the background in mind, will help us better grip.

## Planning movements in Istanbul and background

Von Moltke plan is defined as the initial plan in Istanbul planning (1837). After that Maria De Lavnay (1864), Carl Chr. LÖRCHER (1922-1928), Herman Elgötz (1933), Alfred Agache (1933), Jack h. Lambert (1933), Henri Prost (1936), Martin Wagner (1938), Piccinato (1960) and Turkey planners in the aftermath of 1960 which it is located by the work plan. The second half of the 19th century co face of the change in the social structure of Istanbul faces has been space change. İlhan Tekeli (1993), this exchange of fire places and with the positional plans for places opened to new residential and treating it as a change sought to be guided by regulations 19th century until the second half of the republic's anniversary last time, 'it is called 'shy modernity years'.

In 1923, with announcement of the Republic has started a new era. For years, the capital has lost this identity with titles Istanbul to Ankara. It has entered into the socio-economic transformation in Istanbul with the loss of this power management (Çin, 2006). Between the years of 1923 to 1928 period, Turkey is known as the unplanned development. During this period, Istanbul's plans were prepared by Carl Lorch (Çin, 2006). In this process, especially Istanbul square, green spaces, focused on transportation (Tekeli, 1993). 1930-1950 years are an important period in terms of development from Istanbul. This period has been a great change in terms of Istanbul, especially since the post-war period.

When we look at planning activities take place in Istanbul, we see the devastation. This can be seen most significantly in four periods:

- Cemil Topuzlu Period (1912-1914)
- Lutfi Kırdar Period (1938-1949)
- Fahrettin Kerim Gökay Period (1949-1957)
- Bedrettin Dalan Period (1984-1989)

## Public space

Never in a city that does not belong to one of their own people constantly try to leave a mark on their life stories' (Richard Sennet, n.d.)

'Public space, in English public (belonging to the community) and space (space) is the ink of the words' belonging to society "as explained. 'The first known use of the word in the English public' community of common interest "when the sense, the end of the seventeenth century ', which is open to everyone audit' began to be used in the sense ' (Taşçı, 2014). According to (Habermas, 2007); 'A public function, firstly it has emerged around the UK at 18th Century. ' Public space for people to socialize and they are areas that act as a meeting place for different segments of society from each other came together people with very different characteristics. Periodic daily routine activities, functional and ceremonial activities that take place in society, linking public and private sphere of the individual separation of their privacy be traced back to antiquity. Greek city-state of free citizens that use the common (placing) the area of the police, the use of which belong to third parties (idion) are separated strictly from oikos area. The public space 'bios politikos', in the market square, has emerged in the Agora. In the consciousness Greeks , public; rises as a realm of freedom and stability across the private area (Taşçı, 2014).

Public space is an expectation that the field definitions for all (Taşçı, 2014) the emergence and development of publicity is expressed as follows: Greek city states began to join together with the management to come up with citizenship cases non-existent until then is led to the emergence of the concept of publicity. The places where people come together, although there is as of today's date much earlier in publicity terms of power sharing and justice has emerged with the distribution period is not achieved only (Taşçı, 2014).

With the definition of (Gökgez, 2008) public spaces; social activities (opening ceremonies, election campaigns, festivals), cultural events (street theatre, concerts, religious ceremonies), shopping, sports activities, the commercial function in which the political and trade union activities are open areas where. (Ebru

Erdönmez, 2005) public areas are classified as follows:

### Open Public Spaces

**Open Public Spaces:** Remaining within the boundaries of a city or a residential community, directly or indirectly, environmental, social and economic benefits that provide or ensure all areas are not built with the potential.

**Green Spaces:** as a subtitle of the outdoor spaces in urban areas, leafy water or geographic areas containing features;

- Parks and gardens,
- Comfortable green areas,
- Children playgrounds,
- Sports facilities,
- Landscaped passages,
- Natural and semi-natural green areas,
- Other functional green areas can be grouped under this heading.

**Open to Public, public spaces:** As a sub-heading of open spaces, public-serving, city squares, market places are areas such as alleys.

- Squares,
- Market places,
- Sidewalks,
- Navigation areas and coastal areas.

### Squares

Town squares, is the most efficient use of urban open spaces items. The town square, on special occasions by the urban social, cultural, political, and used for commercial purposes, briefly passes of urban life is an important public venue (Mehmet Nazim, 2005).

Squares designed as an extension of contemporary social life in the early days of the Republic, is used more as a park and parade ground today (Mehmet Nazim, 2005).

### Shape Of Squares

To classify a way that takes the square have been many attempts so far. They are mostly accepted the theory of two one (Zucker, 1959) have been revealed by. The challenge for his work on Zucker occurred were classified as five archetypes. These:

- The location is kept in its own (as an independent) off the main square,
- Venue managed to challenge the dominant main building,
- Space is built around a central nuclear it occurs,
- combined to create longer

compositions grouped consisting of spatial units squares,

- They are formed amorphous space without any limit.
- Zucker, squares, square type based on examples from his work as specified in the related (Carmona, 2006).

### Streets

The city's streets and there should always be active living should be checked by employees. (Jacobs, 1960)

‘Very nice, I live in a quiet residential area, “says a friend who had to sit in the search for another place. ‘The only noise at night from time to time the cry is going on at the victims of the attacks took place. “For fear of the people on the street in the street or district does not need to occur much more violent incidents. Moreover, the less fear that people in the street and this street in order to reduce their streets. ‘ (Jane, 2005)

‘Barbarism and vandalism that causes real fear, not damgalana as the problem of non-imaginary feeling of insecurity slums. In fact, places where this problem is most severe, the kind that decent looking to leave my friend ‘are places of quiet residential area. ‘(Jane, 2005)

‘The presence of foreigners as to deal with strangers and always be successful in the streets of the neighbourhood itself should be the three qualities of a street equipped to create a law and order possibility: First, it should be no clear boundaries between public space private space. Public and private areas not penetrate into each other like in the suburbs or in public housing,

Second, the streets of eyes watching, so should be the eyes of the people might call natural owners of the street. Turn back the empty side of the street or streets blinded They should not,

Third, there must be someone on the sidewalk and almost always effective and should increase the number of eyes facing the street, as well as a certain segment of the residents in the street in the building should create an excuse to look to the street. Nobody stood in front of the door or window can not sit like looking at an empty street. Almost no one does a thing like that holding. On the contrary, many fixes occasional boredom by watching the activities of people in the street. ‘(Jane, 2005)



Figure 1: Closed Squares



Figure 2: Dominant Squares



Figure 3: Nuclear Squares



Figure 4: Grouped Squares

## Sidewalks

"The fundamental characteristics of a successful neighborhood walking among all these strangers on the street is people feel themselves safe. They should not have the feeling threatened by it. This residential neighborhood is a bad business interests in other areas that fail and result in trouble such as mountain for both him and the city in general." (Jane, 2005).

## Parks-Gardens

Parks, one of the public sphere according to (Özdemir, 2009); defined urban spaces that function as urban parks, because they bring together people with individual places and icons is that they helped facilitate communication between communities.

## Kıyılar

According to (FERUDUN, 2009); coast should occur in accordance with the status of public goods in the Constitution, as well as a number of arrangements have been made in the Coastal Law and other legal rules. Accordingly, our coast is clear to everyone that the quality of public goods and thus is subject to the principles of public law relating to public goods. These principles;

- The coasts are under the sovereignty and disposal of the state.
- Coastal and speed and cannot be surrendered.
- Coastal is not sequestered.
- Coasts are not available through Timeout.
- Coastal will not be expropriated.
- Coastal, are protected in different ways from the private person of goods.

## Public space security

"The first thing that must be understood, public peace in the city - the sidewalk and street peace - protection of business, although the presence of the police forced first is that done by the police. The people who live there to protect the public peace complicated, moreover, almost unconscious voluntary controls and standards network; moreover, it is itself also implements public." (Jane, 2005)

"The second point that should be understood, distributing people in a wider area, it cannot solve the problem of suburban properties instead of passing the order of city

properties. If this were a solution would have to be a safe city of Los Angeles; because it is a city that is almost entirely composed of the Los Angeles suburb. cramped quarters until order to qualify as a busy city area is almost no. But in Los Angeles, like other big cities, it cannot escape the fact that it consists of non-cute alien." (Jane, 2005)

## Survey data and evaluation

The scope of field work in a web environment, for example in the province of Istanbul with 206 people was conducted survey. When examining the results of the participants for the survey; 56.8% were female, 43.2% consists of men. 80.5% of respondents university students / graduates, while 14.1% Master / PhD students / graduates said they are in. Participants to the questions they had lived while in Istanbul against 40.3% in the 0-5 year range of options mark was 25.7% for 25-30 years if they live in Istanbul. asked for public space for the public perception of the participants represent the best assessment which respondents to the question; 34% of parks, squares of 31.7%, 19.9% 'roads (streets, roads, boulevards), while 14.6% gave the answer coastal areas. According to the results the participants perceive public space as more parks and squares. Public space What often do you use public spaces that we have asked with the aim to find out the frequency of use, more than half of the respondents to the question if the majority of the rest, while the answer every day has responded several times a week. Which do you use more often from the public sphere in question, while the other to answer the question 64.4% of ways, the answer as 14.4% and 10.7% coastal parks and squares. Looking at the period of time that they use, it is seen that a very large proportion of the day intensive use. Weekday and weekend seems to be busy during the week, when we compare the use of use. This suggests that the high intensity of use of public space in the working hours. This shows that when viewed from the context of several definitions of public space; a liberation of the socializing area, according to the survey results public spaces rather than in the public domain meaning 'transition area' is to find the definition. Looking at the time they have spent in the

public sphere min 1 hour and 5 hours between the time they spend the majority of them (30.6%) were seen in 2-3 hours they spend in the public domain. 45.6% of respondents to the question of what it means to the public than those respondents social activity area, the area of freedom 30.1%, while 19.4% were found to satisfy leisure activity areas.

As a result of the questions you have asked in the framework of public safety in the last part of the questionnaire;

Themselves in the public sphere in confidence that they think they are the 32% safe questions they feel-feel, without any notion of 25.2%, they are not in the trust of 19.4% and of a 16% portion, they definitely feel absolutely safe that they thought that the security problems and the vast majority (53.9%) stated that they did not feel safe because of the terrorist attacks.

## Conclusions

Public space, in the past, while the areas they met in person in order to socialize, if within the individual in the modern era loneliness' alone thick of crowds' 'As well as perceived areas remains the distinction of being social area. Individuals from all walks of society, especially minority groups in the public sphere in a way to show themselves and they feel that they are accepted. The distinction of being the areas where they feel free to change what individuals in the public sphere in public perception and use of time is preserved. But today's reality is one of "terrorism" being the case constitutes a danger to the public domain and no longer the domain of individuals they feel more free public spaces are transformed into areas where they are vulnerable to many potential attacks themselves. Public space is perceived as a centre of attraction by terrorist groups, it is turning to the potential attack surface by other individuals. Since the middle 20th century 's development level of the country has been a threat for many countries no matter the terrorist phenomenon and terrorist activities, in order to undermine confidence in the authorities and arouse greater repercussions, because they people have tended to place in the public sphere are heavy users of public space and terrorist perception issue It is important for almost all countries. Full of life, in considering that the area is controlled by the surrounded and a constant eye to

building a more secure areas, the answer is controlled by the terrorist attacks recently increased with the question of the 43.9% the police and become areas of concern of the public space of the terrorist attack reveals the attractiveness of public spaces of terror cases .

It is understood from the results of the survey, the fact that a world of terror; public spaces could be seen as the areas they felt themselves free by the user in the past, nowadays open to terrorist attacks are seen as potential areas of action. In this case people to limit and restrict the public's freedom.

Today, the public space for the growing terrorism, to ensure security should be planned primarily as a living space in that areas. Like emphasized by Jane Jacobs:

'The basic characteristic of a successful neighbourhood walking among all these strangers on the street is people feel themselves safe. They should not get the feeling was threatened by them. This residential neighbourhood is a bad business interests in other areas that fail and result in trouble such as mountain for both own and the city in general.'

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# Public space and safety:

## The conditions for city diversity as tool for crime prevention

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**Abstract**—Under a longitudinal viewpoint, Jane Jacobs' speech bases upon that the conditions for city diversity work as driving force for the maintenance of people' safety as well as the urban vitality. This diversity would operate as an antidote to the large part of urban problems that affect the cities. It is assumed, then, that the theoretical scope of the conditions for city diversity can be capable to deal with the issue of crime. Thereby, the paper looks for to investigate how the conditions for city diversity express in a case study in Botafogo, Rio de Janeiro. After discoursing about the recurring issues that engender the decadence of the public spaces, one performs a critical analysis when coping with the multilaterality and particularities that involve the conditions for city diversity in relation to the public space as strategic resource in the crime prevention.

**Key words** – public space, crime, urban safety, crime prevention, Jane Jacobs

### Introduction

This paper investigates the Jane Jacobs' conditions of city diversity as a possible tool for crime prevention in public spaces. Also, it examines its restraints and potentialities as preventive and interventional mechanism. Methodologically, the theoretical assumptions of each condition for city diversity will be evaluated into a delimited area of Botafogo district, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The paper framework will approach some reflections about the relation between public space and the dynamics of crime and its contemporary misfortunes.

### Considerations about public space and crime

Inquiries about the public space as a life-sustaining component of cities acquire a major role with regard to discussions about the urban planning (Whyte, 1980; Carr et al., 1992; Borja e Muxí, 2003; Herzog, 2006; Gehl, 2010). Jacobs' discourse (1961) about public space takes shape through researchers which defend its value as well. In

the early 80's, Whyte (1980) already studied the life on public spaces and their functional configuration. Also, Borja & Muxí (2003) contextualize their speech about the nature of public spaces through the human perspective. The figure 1 exemplifies an effective public space and all its liveliness.

Notwithstanding, it is currently possible to observe the introspection of public space due to some factors such as shrinking in relation to the private domain, unsound government interventions, insubstantial punctual projects, considerable emptying and dismantlement, lack of comfort or attractiveness, etc. From this point of view, Herzog (2006) alleges that 'a salient feature of contemporary American urbanism is the fact that basic forms of public space—pedestrian streets, squares, plazas, promenades—are rapidly becoming either obsolete or unrecognizable' (p.05).

Concerned with the safety, Gehl (2010) states that 'the potential for a safe city is strengthened generally when more people move about and stay in city space' (p.06). Unfortunately, many cities currently faces a range of intimidations in the people's everyday life. Muggings,

express kidnapping, antisocial behaviour feature an inventory of risks and threats that commit the levels of safety. In figure 2, it is possible to comprehend how these hazards can happen to anyone in the public spaces. Along with, the unpredictability of criminal opportunities instils the dissemination of fear and tensions. For Pain & Smith (2008), 'such exclusionary tensions and effects spill into everyday life, exacerbating social and spatial disparities, and contributing to the demonization of those social groups who are at the sharp end of fear' (p.01).

Crime, fear and insecurity reorganize and rearrange public spaces. On account of it, tendencies of spatial control through privatization and exclusory practices are quite common in the contemporary city. Tonkiss (2005) argues that 'aggressive tactics of control point to a breakdown in spatial consent, in the normal order which governs relations in urban space' (p.75). Likewise, Ellin (1996) asseverates that 'as the public realm has been growing increasingly



Figure 1: Urban courtyard in Berlin, Germany. The picture shows the public space as underlying component for the urban sociability and strengthening of the social bonds. Source: La Citta Vita. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/la-citta-vita/5852194347/in/album-72157626879890245/>



Figure 2: Downtown of Ride Janeiro. Robberies are one of the main causes of fear in public spaces. Two thieves approaching a young male that escapes after yelling out. Source: Estefan Radovicz. Available at: <http://odia.ig.com.br/noticia/rio/2013-05-13/ladros-ainda-desafiam-a-policia-no-centro-do-rio.html>

impoverished, there has been a corresponding decline in meaningful public space and desire to control one's space, or to privatize' (p.167).

### Decline of public space and its negative inferences

Indeed, the downfall of public space does not occur through an overpowering scale nor it reaches all its derivations simultaneously into a same district. In many instances, the production of new public spaces is not always proportional to a desirable qualitative level and the management and maintenance of remaining spaces are not also

satisfactorily achieved. For that reason, the public space loses its value. Moreover, Carmona et al. (2008) claim that:

Nevertheless, if a general perception exists that the 'quality' of public space is deteriorating, then it can be argued that it is beholden on those responsible for its up-keep to understand why this is so, and what can be done about it (p.08).

This perception about decline of public space can help out to understand the big picture behind its decline and how this truly affects the level of security.

### Sterility, degradation and spatial monotony

One notices in the contemporary cities, the proliferation of sterile public spaces devoid of vibrancy, boasting indicators of degeneration and visible symptoms of monotony. According to Fyfe (1998), many authors portray these negative transformations of public space: the Sennett's dead public space (1994), Augé's non-places (1995), Mitchell's pseudo-public space (1995) and Boddy's analogous city (1992). In fact, this distressful overview and the almost post-mortem nature of many public spaces are originated





Figure 3: San Martin Plaza, Caracas, Venezuela. Degradation, uncleanness and mortification: an ordinary reality of many public spaces. Source: Angel Rincon. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/elegancia/5918052849/in/dateposted/>



Figure 4: Dead public space in Downtown Los Angeles. The picture undoubtedly portrays a quite common situation in worldwide large cities. Extensive public spaces devoid of vitality, uninviting and inhibiting of social bonds. Source: Steve Devol Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/stevedevol/4607408669>

by different reasons which can be expounded before their contexts. However, some aspects of common order are easily found in most of the exhausted public spaces or in process of degradation such as, absence or low quality of spatial configuration, lack of street lighting, poor location and/or proximity to dead zones or with equally rundown profiles, etc. This outlook is represented in figure 3 where an abandoned and smutty square thwarts its use.

By all means, the combination of these factors has an effect on the morphological, visual and functional features from the physical dimension of public spaces. Furthermore, the degrading environment also sensibly reaches

the people's spatial perception and, therefore, promotes modifications of their behavioural patterns. Such context can categorically induce as much to the spatial sterility (emptying of public space by itself) as to the social sterility (no use, impediment and/or denial of appropriation for the people). In figure 4, the clear emptiness of the public space reinforces its wearisome ambience. From the bleak and, on and off, monotonous character of this sort of space, the issue of public safety becomes evident. Once the space is unable to gather people or keep acceptable levels of occupancy, the criminal hazards can blossom to a large extent. Therewith, to eschew the public space of withering away,

Jacobs (1961) straightforwardly states that:

To try to secure streets where the public space is unequivocally public, physically unmixed with private or with nothing-at-all space, so that the area needing surveillance has clear and practicable limits; and to see that these public street spaces have eyes on them as continuously as possible' (p.36).

### Poverty, segregation and marginalization

The intensification of poverty, widening of sociospatial segregation and increase of marginalization significantly contribute to the physical deterioration and for the dissolution



Figure 5: “Cracolândia” (crackland) in São Paulo downtown streets, Brazil. Such roaming categorically incites the fear of being in the public space. Source: Turma B. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/96335276@N05/8813715938/>



Figure 6: Surroundings of “Cracolândia” (crackland), São Paulo, Brazil. Abandoned buildings or sites with debris shelter the snowballing drug-addicted homeless population and directly affect the neighbouring public spaces. In the wall, the citation: a disease named crack. Source: Mayer Levy Obadia. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mayerobadia/4997102249/>

of social bonds on public spaces. As a matter of fact, public spaces in rundown districts barely conform themselves as vectors of social cohesion. Besides, unemployment, lack of opportunities, insalubrity, precariousness of basic services, etc., evince recurrent issues, mainly in districts with high crime rates or those associated with the drug trafficking. Furthermore, most of the districts do not exempt from the burden of delinquency, notably in central areas. With some exceptions, every district contains some percentage of inhospitable, rundown public spaces or about to downgrade. Sooner or later, these spaces can be prone to shelter homeless, drug users, beggars, prostitutes, among other social

minorities labelled as undesirable. The figure 5 fully represents this panorama where dozens of crack users wander around day and night in the search for more drugs.

Public spaces are elementally related to the people’s everyday life and, occasionally, individuals or groups socially excluded are not welcome to use or share them, because they are always under a suspicious glance and distrust. Referencing Castel (2003), Bauman (2004) categorizes these groups and minorities as dangerous classes asserting that:

The original dangerous classes were made up of the temporarily excluded and not as yet reintegrated population surplus. (...) The new

‘dangerous classes’, on the other hand, are those recognized as unfit for reintegration and proclaimed to be unassimilable, since no useful function can be conceived for them to perform after “rehabilitation” (p.100).

Hence, the appropriation of public spaces for undesirable people brings forth a range of quite recursive inconveniences due to the antisocial behaviour. The decayed built environment strappingly contributes for the feeling of insecurity as shown in figure 6. In compliance with Donoghue (2010), the antisocial behaviour can be diagnosed as a conduct ‘that causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household, inevitably and frequently results in a very broad range of behaviour falling within its scope’ (p.18).

### Internalization, privatization and architecture of control

Privatization produces internalization of functions through architecture of control. Owing to that, it notices the unveiled substitution of democratic public spaces for hermetic enclaves by jeopardizing aspects as social heterogeneity and physical proximity and even eradication of traditional public spaces. Those, throughout time, can turn into lost spaces in the urban fabric. Trancik (1986) alleges that ‘the sanctity of private enterprise has also contributed significantly to lost spaces in our urban centres’ (p.15). As a result, this outlook can trigger off the annihilation of public spaces. Similarly, Watson (2002) asserts that ‘at the extremes the privatization of public space has been exposed as fortress like and militaristic as private interests exert literal or symbolic violence on those urban dwellers whose presence unsettles economic interests’ (p.54).

Through the segregating optics and the real estate market, it is increasingly common the dissemination of so-called interdictory spaces<sup>1</sup>. Due to this

<sup>1</sup> Flusty (2005) considers as an interdictory space those spaces ‘designed to intercept and filter or repel would-be users. Such spaces are a response to the presencing of particular nonlocal fields as dislocalities in particular world cities, strategic modulators of globally formative processes, and generators of spatial inequities that themselves project globally’ (p.69). These spaces are classified as **stealthy space** (space that cannot be found), **slippery space** (space that



Figure 7: Citibank Plaza, Hong Kong. The figure illustrates the denial of physical and social contact through interconnector skywalks between the buildings. Source: Shutterstock. Available at: [www.shutterstock.com](http://www.shutterstock.com)



Figure 8: New York's public space against skateboarders, USA. The increasing architecture of control, till then assumed by the private domain, now spreads out to the public environment. Source: Jane Mejdahl. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gullig/2163728126/in/dateposted>



Figure 9: Dark alley Edinburgh, Scotland. To venture out at night in some public spaces can be quite dangerous, primarily for potential targets due to the increasing vulnerability. Source: Daniele Ferrari. Available at: [ferrariandaniele.com](http://ferrariandaniele.com)

excluding character that revolves around the private enterprises and to the intrinsic velleity for order, one verifies the exiguous or non-existent connection with the adjoining public environment or with the people that occupies it. In addition, associated with a mixophobic speech, the refusal is so remarkable that many projects stave off the direct contact to outdoors by setting up articulations between the buildings or private open spaces. A good example to depict this situation the system of interconnector skywalks between buildings showed in the figure 7. With this hazardous resource, once inside, the need of social and physical contact with the exterior tends to zero.

If as a direct effect of the practices of social control or as an indicator of a pervasive trend of city planning, the adoption of restrictive measures extends in the public spaces. Thus, it is rather common to observe the dissemination of street furniture with hostile design which the obvious purpose is that people don't use it in another way, particularly homeless people. The figure 8 undeniably elucidates one of the most recurrent interventions is the utilization of anti-skateboarding devices in elements of public space.

## Victimization and fear of crime

To talk about fear of crime is to talk about a bivalent anguish that simultaneously comes upon the individual and the society. As much as the degeneration of public space, the progressive fear of crime does not occur with the same intensity, because its impact on the public perception depends on the levels of vulnerability. Despite the oscillations of these levels, the fear of crime can enhance by common characteristics such as geographical proximity of territories in process of degeneration, trauma due to victimization, record of crimes and violence manifestations, relative susceptibility to sociospatial conflicts, etc. Elderly people, children and women are still potential targets and some everyday public spaces can turn into eventual cannot be reached), crusty space (space that cannot be accessed), prickly space (space that cannot be comfortably occupied) and jittery space (space that cannot be utilized unobserved). See more at: FLUSTY, S. 2005 *De-Coca-colonization: making the globe from the inside out*. New York: Routledge. (p. 69-71)

traps for occasional offenders. With relation to the fear of the streets, Jacobs (1961) relates that 'as they fear them, they use them less, which make the streets still more unsafe (p.30)'. For instance, to cross a dark alley at night can be relatively risky as revealed in the figure 9.

The spatialization of the fear of crime starts out when the weakened public space witnesses the triggering of processes of internalization at the same time that public life fully conforms to a threat. Thereby, the refusal for the public life is the reflex of a consequence for the city safety leading the accessible public space to its destruction. Ergo, Davis (1990) pleads that 'to reduce contact with untouchables, urban redevelopment has converted once vital pedestrian streets into traffic

sewers and transformed public parks into temporary receptacles for the homeless and wretched' (p.226). Likewise, Caldeira (2000) stresses this discourse by affirming:

The fear and the talk of crime not only produce certain types of interpretations and explanations (usually simplistic and stereotypical); they also organize the urban landscape and public space, shaping the scenario for social interactions, which acquire new meanings in a city becoming progressively walled. Talk and fear organize everyday strategies of protection and reaction that restrict people's movements and shrink their universe of interactions" (p.19-20).

This transformation not only modifies the urban landscape



Figure 10: Rua do Lavradio, Downtown Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Pedestrians and street vendors dictate the city rhythm and promote the social interaction. Source: Carioca DNA. Available at: <http://www.cariocadna.com>



Figure 11: Palermo, Buenos Aires, Argentina. As Jacobs said: the district should provide frequent opportunities to turn the corner. Source: Federico Bervejillo. Available at: [https://www.flickr.com/photos/99464210@N00/8502783231/in/pool-great\\_public\\_spaces/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/99464210@N00/8502783231/in/pool-great_public_spaces/)



Figure 12: Adams Morgan neighbourhood, Washington D.C. More than the preservation of historical features, aged buildings enrich and leverage qualitatively the streetscape. Source: Mike Finkelstein. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/131829254@N02/16195918923/>



Figure 13: Enduring, ugly, old urban holdout, Ottawa, Canada. In agreement with the author of this picture: 'Surrounded by glass office towers, posh condominiums, shops and restaurants, this urban holdout speaks of a bygone era of small owner-run business.' Source: Fanis Grammenos. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/22392855@N08/10246124305/>



Figure 14: Karlsplatz, Stuttgart, Germany. Every week The Stuttgarter Flea Market gathers many people from different parts of Baden-Württemberg. Source: From the author.

as well as the patterns of people's experimentation in the public spaces.

## The conditions for city diversity

As a solution to obtain a satisfactory liveliness, Jacobs sets out the city diversity as the beneficial antidote against the constraints resulting from the dwindling monofunctional zoning. Too, Jacobs deems that diversity of uses, mixed classes, typological building variations, gender and race could contribute to the flourishing of urban vitality.

## The need for mixed primary uses

The district, and indeed as many of its internal parts as possible, must serve more than one primary function; preferably more than two. These must ensure that presence of people who go outdoors on different schedules and are in the place for different purposes, but who are able to use many facilities in common (p. 152).

Jacobs advises that primary uses combined with secondary ones can be becomingly distributed along the district enabling the dynamization of urban vitality. Thus, through the multiplicity of uses, the district would bring forward a desirable level of attractiveness by allowing the movement and experimentation of public space. Street markets, as depicted in figure 10, are good examples to turn the public spaces more vivacious. Theoretically, the intense movement inhibits the possible offenders' action.

## The need for small blocks

Most blocks must be short, that is, streets and opportunities to turn corners must be frequent (p. 178).

Long distances undermine urban vitality. Thereby, Jacobs (1961) declares that 'the economic effect of these self-isolating streets is equally constricting' (p.178). Analogously, too-long blocks tend to concentrate activities along one or two axes, by stagnating dismantled polarities in surrounding zones and not settling relationships with eventual small retailers or service providers in less used streets. Short

blocks benefits the urban experience and it intensifies the chance of turning corners as exemplified in the figure 11.

Bolstering the importance of building blocks, Krier (1978) states in his article that:

Small blocks are the result of the maximum exploitation of urban ground caused by great density of activities, high cost of urban ground, etc. A great number of streets on a relatively small area correspond to the maximum length of commercial facade (p. 44).

Regarding to this, small blocks can intensify the local economy, it means, help the small retailers survive to the covetous private corporations. Together with that, it also contributes for more people move around and the propagation of more eyes on the streets.

## The need for aged buildings

The district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition, including a good proportion of old ones so that they vary in economic yield they must produce. This mingling must be fairly close-grained (p. 187).

Regarding to this condition, Jacobs (1961) highlights the importance of ordinary aging buildings, with moderate value and even the existence of deteriorated. In figures 12, the longstanding row houses underpin the urban character of the district by corroborating with Jacobs' idea. Additionally, she argues that small and medium retailers and service providers are indispensable to the urban life on the streets, by adapting themselves sensibly to aged buildings. In figure 13 a small retailer bravely resists to the real estate market pressure. So much as a suitable mixture of uses is desirable, the same applies in relation to the buildings, because it favours the invigoration of city diversity.

Nonetheless, unoccupied buildings, when neglected, tend to deteriorate throughout the time and they can become a worrying issue. This is because, through many offenders' mind, abandoned or derelict buildings can be illegally appropriate. Particularly, those situated in secluded streets or remote areas of the crowded zone of the district.

## The need for concentration

There must be a sufficiently dense concentration of people, for whatever purposes they may be there. This includes a dense concentration in the case of people who are there because of residence (p. 200).

A significant density of people is underlying for the flourishing of diversity and, subsequently, the consolidation of urban vitality and the eyes on the streets. In picture 14 it is possible to notice the reasonable concentration of people, besides the conviviality between formal and informal uses. Jacobs (1961) asserts that the relationship between concentration of people and diversity of uses is not considered in districts predominantly residential. Based on this assumption, without the concentration of people, possibly there would only have the provision of spare daily uses on the main streets close to the residential arrangements and/or exiguous spots of convergence.

## Checking the conditions for city diversity

Methodologically, it examines the effectiveness of the conditions for city diversity for crime prevention spaces through their main statement and theoretical backbone as a whole as shown in figure 15. In addition, Jacobs (1961) states that urban safety can be guaranteed through three key qualities<sup>2</sup>:

There must be a clear distinction or demarcation between what is private space and what is public space;

There must be people watching the street – people who live or work there and feel like they have a sense of ownership there;

The sidewalks must have people using them fairly continuously. This will add to the effective number of eyes on the street and will entice those within the buildings to watch the street.

For this account, it accomplishes a delimited research design in the Botafogo district, Rio de Janeiro. Botafogo is a middle-class district in the South area of Rio de Janeiro with almost 100.000 inhabitants. In the last 10 years, the

<sup>2</sup> Jacobs, 1961 (p.35)



Figure 15: Schematic diagram of the conditions for city diversity for urban safety. Source: From the author.



Figure 16: Aerial view from the research study area in Botafogo, Rio de Janeiro. Source: From the author over Google Earth base.



Figure 17: Users and conviviality. Musical presentation in the Nelson Mandela Square, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Henry Baião, 2015. Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PmF\\_2DwjdMk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PmF_2DwjdMk)



Figure 18: Nightlife. Bars and pubs prolong themselves over the Botafogo sidewalks turning them alive and enjoyable. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Source: Airbnb. Available at: <https://www.airbnb.com.br/>

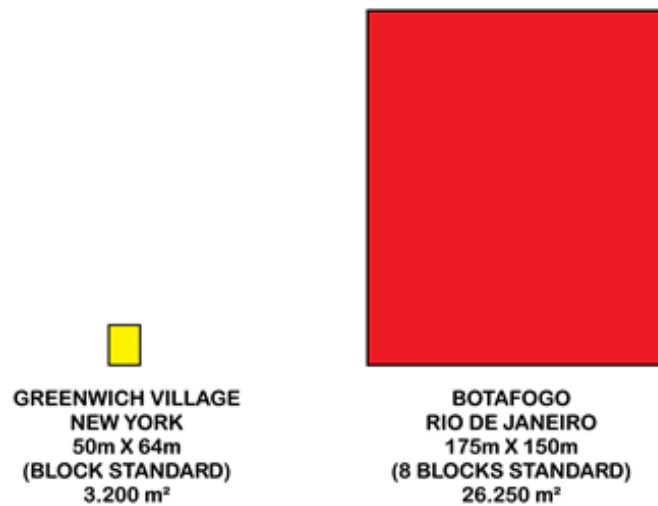


Figure 19: The comparison between the blocks. Considering the Greenwich Village block as the standard type, it notices that Botafogo block has a size eight 8 times bigger than New York. Source: From the author.



Figure 20: The 1870 town house currently shelters the restaurant La Villa. Source: Destemperados, 2015. Available at: <http://www.destemperados.com.br/>



district has experienced substantial urban transformations. On account of its strategic location, the district became valuable in reason of its proximity to the Rio de Janeiro downtown and for having well-consolidated infrastructure as shown in the figure 16. Moreover, due to FIFA Confederations Cup 2013, the FIFA World Cup, in 2014 and the 2016 Olympic Games, the district had a sizable increase in property value so much to sell as to rent.

Structurally, the need of concentration and the need of primary uses are intrinsically associated. A high degree of primary uses blended with secondary ones demands a reasonable concentration of people for different reasons. It doesn't exist concentration per se. People need a sort of options that keeps them on public spaces during several times of the day or night. Like this, the diversity of uses in Botafogo fosters a suitable sociospatial dynamics and, subsequently, intensifies the variety of lifestyles, propitiates social, cultural and economic opportunities and upholds a considerable flow of people on the streets and different forms of spatial appropriation as shown in figures 17 and 18. Occasionally, the concentration of people can lead to the binomial crime-place, even knowing that this correlation is not uniform or static. If on the one hand, it contributes to the natural surveillance on account of a sound number of dwellers and passers-by moving in the public spaces, on the other hand it doesn't impede that offenders can act freely and disperse in the crowd.

With relationship to the need of small blocks, it considers here the standard size the block mentioned by Jacobs during her urban analysis in New York. In the analysed perimeter the blocks differ largely from the block type that Jacobs presumably would consider as acceptable. The figure 19 glaringly illustrates the difference between the Jacobs and the Botafogo block. Blocks with this size strenuously weaken the distribution of uses into a more balanced way. Moreover, the Botafogo blocks are not permeable and they don't establish spatial relationships between them. Primary and secondary uses are essentially concentrated into the main streets more than supporting ones. Because of this confluence of uses and the reduction of natural surveillance, less exposed streets are prone to the occurrence of crimes such as assaults or robbery.



Figure 21: Colonial and Art Deco houses from the turn of the 19th. Source: Rafael Sathler, 2010. Available at: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/36483184>



Figure 22: Downgrading and ruins: 19th old house where the former Brazil's President Fernando Henrique Cardoso lived. Source: Panoramio, Ivo Korytowski, 2012. Available at: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/67821674>



Figure 22: In Botafogo, the large blocks does not hold a considerable primary or secondary uses that afford the concentration of people on the streets. Source: From the author.

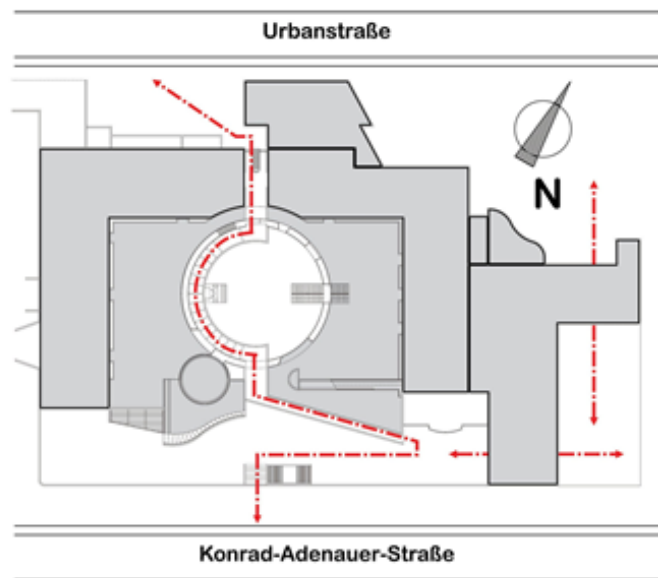


Figure 23: A good example to exemplify is the The Neue Staatsgalerie, designed by James Stirling, in Stuttgart, Germany. The large block establishes connections with the streets that flank it avoiding the spatial rigidity. Source: From the author.

In spite of relatively verticalized, Botafogo possesses an acceptable range of aged buildings, whose many are registered as municipal heritage or underway and mostly assist to the commercial and residential use as illustrated in the figures 20 and 21. However, the residential use regularly assists to the middle class restraining the possibility of greater social diversity. Aged buildings when used conveniently as interventional mechanism, they avoid the gentrification, stimulate the local economic development, and contribute to the social integration. It is possible to find some vacant or inactive aged properties because

or they are in irregular situation before the justice or abandoned by the owners as shown in the figure 22. Such buildings could be turned into housing for low-income families, however it copes with more complex issues such as dispossession.

In the delimited research design area, the decreased parcel of small blocks automatically tends to concentrate the uses in the main streets becoming the side streets more vulnerable to the incidence of crimes. As well, the few uses of the side streets are not capable to maintain an admissible number of people to engender a suitable movement that can inhibit the action of potential offenders. Then,

in this situation, with the absence of small blocks in the area the urban safety is partially undermined and the strategy does not work promptly as illustrated in the figure 22.

In the case of Botafogo district, the conditions of city diversity performs partially as crime prevention tool. Probably for being a consolidated urban area and little susceptible to physical structural alterations (in relation to the small blocks). When there is no other alternative, even because some building types require large surfaces due to their architectural program, large blocks should try to be more permeable as possible as demonstrated in the figure 23.

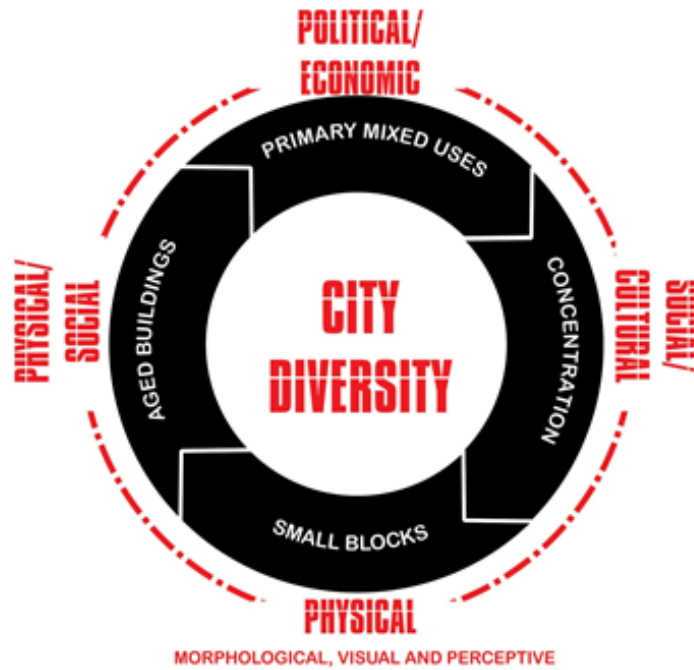


Figure 24: Diagram of the conditions for city diversity and the dimensions of public space. Source: From the author.

With relation to the three key characteristics for the urban safety mentioned by Jacobs, the district assists satisfactorily. Although, the characteristics for itself are not enough for the maintenance or prevention of criminal occurrences. There are other variants such as transitory approach mood, social constraints and, above all, opportunity to the offender's eyes. In accordance with Randall (2003), an important feature must be considered: the displacement of crime. The subject of displacement is one of the most difficult for neither presenting formats nor definite patterns, in other words, the constitution of the criminal onslaught possesses a volatile and changeable interface in the public spaces.

## Conclusions

First and foremost, the city conditions can configure as a workable tool in order to prevent the crime in public spaces for fostering the urban diversity as mechanism of repression of everyday criminal practices. However, the efficacy will only be achieved if the four conditions work concomitantly. In the absence of one or more

conditions, the potential can be committed and incur on the following issues:

### The need for concentration and the need for primary uses

#### General

- Distribution of uses given in a punctual way or only in the main streets of the district;
- Due to the low offer of uses, people are forced to migrate to other districts to supply their needs;
- Reduction of natural surveillance;
- Inhibition and/or stagnation of the economic flourishing;
- Predisposition for the nothingness and socio-spatial segregation;
- Use reduction of public spaces.

#### Crime-related

- Intensification of the spatial vulnerability;
- Propensity to the inadequate appropriation of public space for the dangerous classes such as drug dealers or prostitutes;
- Predisposition of territorial control for potentials offenders;
- Reduction of the flow of people;
- Depredation and acts of vandalism;
- Increase of recurring crimes such as robbery, mugging and

breaking and burglary.  
**The need of aged buildings**

#### General

- If buildings are prone to the demolition, the district may be apt to be gentrified due to the land value;
- Many vacant or abandoned buildings are inclined to degradation;
- If the buildings are disregarded as potential mechanism of urban regeneration, it stalwartly invalidates the concept of diversity.

#### Crime-related

- Probability of conversion into ghettos and/or tenement;
- Possibility of use as garbage dump or landfill;
- Possibility of converting into a space highly favourable to the occurrence of violent sexual crimes as, for instance, rape. Besides, it is also susceptible to become drug den and/or observation post for potential criminal approaches.

### The need for small blocks

#### General

- Monotony and spatial sterility;

- Rupture of spatial relationships with the human scale;
- Commitment of the pedestrian mobility;
- Inhibition of the spatial experimentation

### Crime-related

- Under the form of urban voids, small blocks swiftly conform themselves in the same way as abandoned buildings becoming highly prone to the occurrence of crimes such as rape;
- Risk of becoming place for bodies dumping;
- A large number of small blocks can generate excessive spatial permeability and, under the criminal point of view, larger number of escape routes for offenders

To the light of the crime issues, the conditions for city diversity can add value and redeem the public dimension of the city so eroded and fragmented in so many places. Certainly, as in Botafogo, small blocks not always can be found or built up. But it is possible to look for alternative that propitiate the creation of guidelines that encourage the socio-spatial dynamics on behalf of urban safety.

Thus, one may conclude that the conditions for city diversity affects directly to the constitutive dimensions of public space. The physical interface acts as the material support for the socio-spatial practices. Culturally and socially for offering options of choices and possibilities to the different individuals and groups. Politically, the conditions allows to establish goals for the urban development accompanied from regenerative and preventive processes. And, finally, the conditions conform themselves as a potential catalyst to boost up the local economic prosperity as shown in the figure 24.

When structuring her speech about the peculiar nature of cities, Jacobs asseverates that public spaces are their most vital organs<sup>3</sup>. And, in spite of the different problems that havoc the contemporary cities, in fact, public spaces still are. For this reason, it is indispensable to turn them safer so that the city also comes safer. The conditions for city diversity can be promptly integrated to many urban strategies in order to tackle issues associated with the

crime and the violence.

## Recommendations and further research

The paper aimed at understanding as the conditions for city diversity manifest themselves in a simple and direct way. Logically, there are important issues that alter from place to place and that deserve proper attention. Hereby, it is strongly recommended that more elaborated and more accurate studies are made in different contexts and settings to soundly verify the potentialities and limitations of the conditions for city diversity as preventive mechanism for the crime. Hereafter, it intends to apply the methodology into a completely different socio-spatial and socioeconomic context.

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**Photo on page 285 by Phil Stanziola. Jane Jacobs, chairman of the Comm. to save the West Village holds up documentary evidence at press conference at Lions Head Restaurant at Hudson & Charles Sts. - This image is available from the United States Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs division under the digital ID cph.3c37838. Commons.**

3 Jacobs, 1961 (p.29)



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