2

PUBLIC SPACE

This time I will leave my settlement
And seek a new vision in a foreign place
Knud Rasmussen, myths and legends from Greenland

PUBLIC SPACE 2

The familiar into the strange

Table of Contents

I n the beginning was The City. But even in the beginning, the city was not a static entity. The salient characteristic of cities is – and has always been – changes. Cities are organic and they develop in rhythm with changes in the economic, technological and social conditions.

The cities' potency is their inherent diversity, which maximizes the chance for people to meet regardless of their diverging interests, their different ages and their various social and ethnic affiliations. This is one part of the background of the fact that cities have functioned through the ages as meeting places, as experience zones and as milieus fostering innovation and incubation. When cities do not live up to this role, there are consequences on the society as a whole. When the inhabitants entrench themselves – as an upshot of the common space being driven away by private interests and self-serving considerations – the society's cohesive force vanishes and concomitantly its potential to evolve.

Planning in a new context
The burning question is how we can support the cities' openness and the cities' capacity to absorb changes. Economy, immigration, unemployment, patterns of family life and political changes are all variable factors that exert their influence on cities and on the lives that play themselves out in them.

Today, we are living in an individualized city, where we interpret and ascribe meaning to our surroundings, based on our own backgrounds and personal preferences. At the same time, though, it is this individualized city that runs the risk of closing up into exclusionary communities. How can a balance be found between the sensorially-experienced and consumption-oriented city and the shared space for exchanges where we can learn from each other? The challenge that lies before city planners is to develop adaptable and robust cities that are open and receptive to changes while simultaneously fortifying the cities' diversity so that they will become hubs in the development of new types of communities.

Urban planning's new tools – ways of planning and developing the city
The altered focus places new kinds of demands on urban planning. No longer is the public space exclusively a matter of concern for municipal planners. Cities do not arise all by themselves. No, they are created by virtue of the fact that opposites converge; this is what leads to the emergence of new qualities of urban space. Accordingly, an interdisciplinary approach to urban planning is crucial when it is diversity that is supposed to be enhanced.

PUBLIC SPACE 2: The Familiar into the Stange
Public Space 2: The Familiar into the Strange gathers together the work, the thoughts and the analyses that we have been engaged in from October 2007 until October 2009.

The platform for *Public Space as a Catalyst for Change* as a developmental strategy is interdisciplinary. Through an extensive number of activities, our objective has been to share and exchange knowledge for purposes of boosting the urge toward innovation in the ongoing discussions about – and the practical machinations with – the public spaces. The various activities that have fashioned the basis of knowledge for *Public Space 2: The Familiar into the Strange* include:

- The homepage: www.byensrum.dk
- The publication of *Public Space 1: The Known in the Strange*, based on discussion papers presented at a conference of the same name
- Publication of a virtual collection of articles, *Public Space 1.5*
- Published articles appearing in various journals and on www.byensrum.dk
- Memos and discussion papers presented at conferences
- Industrial Ph.d. on *Performative Aesthetics in Urban Space*
- The conference, *The Known in the Strange*
- The publication of the anthology, *Public Space 1*, based on seminar presentations from *The Known in the Strange*
- Vox Pop
- Newsletters
- A showroom, featuring the municipalities' very best urban spaces
- Inspirational meetings and seminars
- Think-tank
- Development of networks and collaborative partners, including a partnership with LYDLYS, under the auspices of Copenhagen International Theatre

Public Space 2: The Familiar into the Strange takes its point of departure in the creative exchange that is taking place in the interfaces between the activities enumerated above.

Approach

We have had the opportunity to travel. We have been speaking with the involved players and parties. We have been experiencing the aromas and fragrances of the places. We have been reading and we have been listening to our inspiring colleagues. What we have learned from all this is that most places really do contain an interesting and relevant story. We believe that the lesser-known urban spaces can also be instructive. That is the reason why this book does not confine itself to presenting analyses of the surefire winners. What might seem old-fashioned and out of date today might reveal new possibilities tomorrow. The approach to the public space and the capacity to intuit the planner's role in a strategic manner with respect to the space's significance are both aspects of planning that are just as important as actually hammering out plans for the physical space. With our focus on both level and thematics, we have managed to make our way toward a core of cases where strategies, intentions, visions and contexts span a wide gamut, embrace a wide girth and disclose interesting solutions that can serve to inspire a value-based approach to the planning of the city.

The Thoughts

Public Space 2 re-visits eleven theorists whose thoughts can be put to use in our wholehearted attempts to apprehend urban spaces, their processes and their contexts. As a socio-spatial relationship among different perspectives, we have worked up an urban analytic thought-fusion that glances back at the most important lessons learned from 20th century urban development. We are fusing these into the context and remembering to include those axiomatic preconditions that the city makes available today. The ideas – notwithstanding the temporal gaps – are still relevant and still serviceable in relation to the future's urban development. We feel that the past's ideas that have been handed down to us by sociologists, urban planners, aestheticians and philosophers can be used resourcefully to fashion future potentials within the realm of urban planning.

Case-study nalyses

The selected cases have been analyzed on the basis of an overall method that ensures a holistically oriented look at the public space. The method analyzes on four levels: city, space, life-shaping and body. The respective mappings are

analyzed with a point of departure in the particular level that appears to be most relevant to the specific story we wish to relate.

Public Space 2 demonstrates that work is being done in Europe with a profusion of strategies and tools for developing fine urban spaces. With this book, we are praising the good intentions and making our contribution to the discussion with an impartial examination of them. In this way, we hope that we will be able to inspire the reader to think along new channels when it comes to the development of the public spaces.

The perspectives
The various ideas, examples and tools operate as independent sections that can be read separately. However, they are unfurled in their fullest significance when you follow the logic from one chapter to the next. For example, the literary theorist Umberto Eco's thoughts can be coupled in a rather ingenious manner with the examples from Berlin's cultural-historical approach, while the film theorist Noël Burch contributes conceptions that articulate the urban-spatial strategy we find at the Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües.

In *Public Space 1: The Known in the Strange*, we were moving our way out into unknown territory. What tendencies are stirring and shaking within the urban-spatial discussions and the development of the public spaces? How can a holistically oriented development of urban space be secured? What does impermanence in the urban space signify and what functions can it take on? These were the some of the many questions we chose to work with in an interdisciplinary context.

Public Space 2 is the manifestation of a reversible process, in which we rediscover the classical into the modern. We are re-visiting the renowned theorists, analyzing well-known places and extracting new meanings from their texts and from the physical manifestations. Accordingly, as we speak about users of the city as being co-producers of the public space, we are creating a fusion by producing further on the examples we have chosen to devote our attention to.

We believe that a value-oriented approach to the planning and the development of the public space can put us in a position to cross over boundaries and link otherwise diversified domains. How such an approach might actually constitute the future of urban spaces is something we will be turning our attention to at the end of this book. Until then – happy reading!

Helle Juul
Architect MAA, Ph.d.
JUUL | FROST Architects

*T*HOUGHTS

T heoretical thoughts operate like a framework around *The Public Space*'s analyses of urban space and constitute a sort of backbone, a concept-based baggage, for the project's way of apprehending the city. Seldom does a fundamental theoretical apparatus enter in as an implement when carrying out practical work with urban spaces. Only rarely is there an opportunity to be inspired or to receive new impulses from theoretical notions. In this section, we set forth an easy to grasp introduction to a number of theoretical mindsets that we find to be relevant and inspiring when it comes to the development of urban space.

The goal we aim to achieve in presenting these thoughts is to rediscover the most important urban theorists of the 20th century and call their voices into our discussion, especially because these individuals have exerted such a mo-

mentous influence on our way of working with cities. Moreover, it is our intention to crystallize a thought-fusion in which the various theoretical perspectives can fashion a synthesis that represents the most essential and also, for the time being, the most robust and adaptable thoughts.

Breadth in the assortment
We have chosen a wide palette of thinkers. When taken together, they cover the gamut of the public spaces in its full breadth. They have been selected on the basis of their professionally specialized and qualified influence on urban planning and on their understanding of space as well on the robustness, topicality and originality of their conceptions. The selected theoretical perspectives are serviceable as food for thought in the context of practical analysis; they are also incorporated into the analyzed case studies as underlying principles.

The thoughts have cropped up in different periods of time and have emerged from different professionally specialized and qualified paradigms but what is common to all of them is that they are related to the city, to space, to life-shaping and/or to the body's sensory faculties. In this professional specialized and temporal overlapping, we have unearthed a synergy that has inspired new thoughts and ideas. The selected ideas thus constitute a body of thought that leaves room for a porous circumference, where putting things into perspective and conflicting viewpoints can come into play.

Richard Sennett's thoughts about the physical surroundings as the manifest expression of an orchestration of everyday life and the city's seams as a co-creator of the place's identity;
Kevin Lynch's analyses of the space's structural legibility;
Jane Jacobs' understanding and insistence on locally based urban development;
Georg Simmel's understanding of the space's influence on the formation of social types;
Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari's thoughts on plateaus, rhizomes and the smooth space;
Henri Lefebvre's tripartite division of space and especially the significance of everyday life in space;
Umberto Eco's understanding of the open work, which is created in the convergence between the viewer's involvement and the work's structure;
Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of the relationship between the individual and the social space and his way of understanding the imitation of taste and cultural norms;
Noël Burch's notion that off-screen space can be activated through the seen space,
Zygmunt Bauman's perspectives on the city within the liquid modernity.

1916-2006

Occupation: Economist

Nationality: American

Primary literature: *The Death and Life of*

Great American Cities (1961)

By Birgitte Mazanti &

Søren Møller Christensen

The American journalist and activist Jane Jacobs is presumably one of the individuals who has exerted the greatest influence on the reckoning with modernist urban planning. Notwithstanding the fact that she was neither a trained urban planner nor an architect and despite the fact that she otherwise had no education specifically related to working with urban concerns, she wrote the classic work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, which was published in 1961. Her focus is life as it is lived within the space of the metropolis. The book puts forth a scathing critique of modernist city planning and rebuilding, which Jacobs believed was eviscerating the city's public life. At the same time, she came up with four principles which, according to her, would lead to better cities.

Pulsating urban spaces

The Death and Life of Great American Cities launched a frontal attack on modernist rationalist urban planning. Jacobs accuses this area of endeavor as being hostile to people and to the city because it splits the city into zones for residential, recreational and commercial use and also because it destroys the street in favor of large open spaces that will supposedly provide illumination for the tower blocks and ranch-style houses, constructed so that they will be bathed in sunlight. The result, according to Jacobs, is the destruction of vital, pulsating urban spaces that have traditionally been characterized by a complex assembly of functions and people. It is precisely the complexity and the existence of many different functions and people which, in Jacobs' optics, render the urban space human and vital. And this is just what the public spaces ought to be, according to her – this is their function within the organism that the city constitutes.

However, Jacobs did not confine herself to formulating a critique of urban planning. She also presented an argument that one can create better urban spaces through responsible city planning and rebuilding. What are most important in this context are that people create the city with a high degree of density and that urban spaces contain a significant diversity of different people, functions and activities. At the same time, there have to be eyes on the street – that is to say, the eyes of the people who are busy moving about

and using the space: everyone who happens to be shopping, sitting in the ca-
fés, picking up their children, playing around and whatever else they might be
busy doing within the traditional city. And then, of course, there are the shops
that are facing the urban space and keeping their eye on all sorts of comings
and goings transpiring on the street. These eyes are crucial, according to Ja-
cobs, because they provide a sense of security, by virtue of the fact that some-
body is keeping an eye on you. The traditional streets and small urban spaces
possess this quality while it is missing in the larger residential housing plans
from the 1960s and 1970s, where among other things, the differentiation of
traffic arteries, with its many courses and tunnels, gives rise to unsafe spaces
without observant eyes.

Jacobs' recipe for better urban space

Jacobs proceeds to gather her notions about the good city into four condi-
tions, all of which are indispensable for generating "exuberant diversity" in a
city's streets and districts and must be fulfilled if the urban spaces are going to
function optimally and become a driving force in the city's development. All
four conditions can be recognized in today's discussions about urban devel-
opment. This, on the other hand, is not tantamount to saying that all four con-
ditions are being dealt with successfully in present day urban development.

Functional diversity: Jacobs wants to bring forth a blending of primary
mixed uses by getting the urban space's facilities, like its stores, its cultural
activities and its recreational/leisure areas, to make their appeal to many dif-
ferent people at different times of the day. This will ensure that there is a con-
stant flow of human presence and energy.

To a great extent, this corresponds with the present-day ideal of city plan-
ning which, in many ways, takes its mark in a negation of modernism's func-
tional partitioning. However, what we often notice is that there is a very wide
gap between the plan's ideals about the functionally integrated city and the
developers' logic. This can be spotted in the recent years' conversion of wa-
terfront properties, where what has primarily been constructed is residential
housing.

A mingling of old and new buildings: This provides the possibility of aesthe-
tic diversity as well as the possibility that small businesses and newly started
businesses can find affordable premises inside older non-renovated buildings.
In this way, Jacobs aims to head off a situation where it is only the large well-
established enterprises and retail chains that can afford to settle in and open
up for business. At the same time, this ensures diversity in the supply con-
sumption, which ensures in turn that different kinds of people will find it at-
tractive to frequent and make use of the urban space.

Copenhagen's borough quarters (Nørrebro, Vesterbro and Østerbro) are
fine examples of urban zones where the new (or renovated) and the old are
commingled, in a close-grained way, with great diversity as a result. The Ve-
sterbro section of Copenhagen is, though, also an example of a place where

urban renewal and increasing prosperity have gradually impelled so many of
the old homes and commercial premises to become modern and concomi-
tantly just as expensive as newly built properties. Another complex of pro-
blems is presented by recently built areas where there are no old buildings and
consequently no less costly premises. Here may be an appropriate opportu-
nity for working with differentiated rents and temporary features. One place
this is being tried and tested today is the new urban area situated close to the
Flintholm Metro Station in Copenhagen.

Short and open blocks and streets: This is supposed to prevent urban space
from closing up around itself or from becoming too vast and precarious. Ac-
cording to Jacobs, it ought to be possible to move back and forth, in every
which way, through the city, depending on what errands you might have to
perform.

This discussion is also going on in connection with many current develop-
ment projects. At the former Carlsberg Brewery in Valby, what was formerly
the basement level is being drawn upwards and transformed into a street- and
urban-space plan, for purposes of establishing an unpredictable urban plan.
Meanwhile, over in Scania, Sweden, there is an attempt in Jakriborg to mimic
the medieval city's crooked streets and alleys.

A concentration of people: According to Jacobs, this will come about, in
part, as a by-product of fulfilling the three aforementioned conditions but also
because homes will always be established in any given area. It is important
there is a sufficiently large volume of people who are moving around, using
and residing in an urban area. The presence of many people also ensures that
stores and entertainment facilities will be able to turn a profit by setting up
business in the area; this, in turn, enhances the urban space's vitality.

Since the end of the 1990s, a sufficiently dense concentration of people has
been urban development's rule number one in Denmark. Whereas urban de-
sign, for a good many years, has mainly had to do with thinning out such a
concentration, for example, by demolishing backyard buildings, the tendency
in the past ten years has been to build in a dense way. The argument here is
that there has to be a critical mass if urban life is going to be able to emerge –
in many places, though, the guiding notion of density has served more to pro-
mote the developers' appetite to rake in profits than it has led to invigorated
city life, especially because there has been a failure to properly couple the
density with the development of better urban spaces and the establishment of
stores and cafés, etc. and because the vision of concentration and density has
often wound up being coined in exclusively residential or commercial areas.

Critique of Jacobs' work

Jane Jacobs has been criticized for being a romantic who did not possess an
appreciation for how urban development was really transpiring in the modern
city, where investors frequently develop large urban areas all at once.

The criticism of Jacobs' contribution can also be advanced along an indi-

rect channel, seeing that her work has stood as a powerful inspiration for New Urbanism, the controversial movement with an ideological platform specifically related to urban development. In New Urbanism, there is a conscious attempt to move away from modernist urban planning; the emphasis is placed instead on local communities, public spaces and assigning a lower priority to the automobile's importance, for example. The actual implementation of these ideals, however, often winds up coining itself in gated communities which are retrospective and reactionary in the purely aesthetic sense and which, economically speaking, are accessible only for residents from society's upper middle class and up: the most prominent example of such a community is Celebration, Florida, a master-planned community developed by The Walt Disney Company.

However, the interpretation of Jane Jacobs' contribution need not entail an I'm-sticking-my-head-in-the-sand strategy, as appears to be the case with New Urbanism. In future interpretations of Jane Jacobs' work, the very best elements from modernist urban planning also ought to be included: namely, the courage and the will to face up to solving major problems in society. In the 1960s, this solution had to do, above all, with better housing. Today, more than anything else, it has to do with segregationism and exclusion in the public space: quandaries to which Jacobs' heirs – New Urbanism – have no serious answers.

Kevin Lynch

1918-1984

Occupation: Architect, urban planner

Nationality: American

Primary literature: *The Image of the City* (1960)

By Peter Hemmersam

Kevin Lynch was a key player in the development of urban design as a discipline. He introduced "mental maps" and conceptual models for the reading of the city's form as an essential implement. His work has played a part in furthering our understanding of the extended cityscape, which architecture and urban planning still have problems conceptualizing, even today. In this way, Lynch's work has had an influence on contemporary approaches to the design of suburbs and outlying cityscapes.

The showdown with modernism
Especially important to the development of urban design was Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960), which was targeted at squaring accounts with the prevailing modernist urban planning and with its glaring lack of success in con-

trolling the urban explosion that took place in the United States in the 1950s. The new and enormous suburban areas were perceived as places where everything looks the same, as places that offered no chance to establish any identification with the physical environment. Lynch carried out an extensive series of empirical studies of how people perceive and navigate through the urban landscape and he described the city as consisting of mental images built up of spatial prototypes in the form of *paths, districts, edges, nodes and landmarks.* He regarded the spatial and temporal experience and the imageability
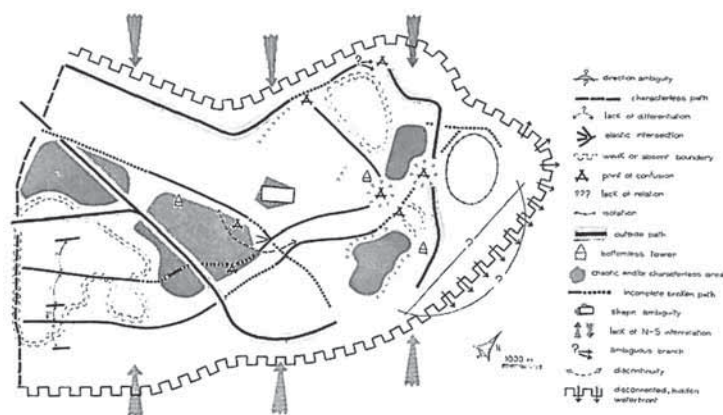
(or legibility) of the city as being crucial, both for practical navigation and for an underlying identification between the individual and the surrounding environment. Lynch believed that the prototypes could be used as a tool box of spatial effects which, by means of establishing legible and psychologically satisfying urban milieus, could counteract the social and physical fragmentation that the peripheral cityscape is often perceived as contributing to – and also as being the result of.

Notwithstanding the extensive empirical work that lies behind the development of the prototypes and the concrete mappings of individual urban milieus, Lynch believed, in any event, that the method employed, which includes verbal interviews, questionnaires and sketch maps, could, in practice, be replaced by a "trained observer".

Lynch identified a number of criteria relevant to working with the city's form that can be asserted as being serviceable in singling out important motifs within the last half a century of urban design. These have to do with the essentiality of clear, recognizable and memorable identities that are attached to places (*identity*), with the need for a merging between the physical organization and the mental orientation in the city (*legibility*) and with the fact that

the physical environment is actually a communications system where form, function and social life ought to be brought into harmony (*meaning*). Lynch also points out that all these factors may be related to questions of *efficiency* and *social justice*.

Lynch introduced legibility as a fundamental condition for the identification of the individual; among other things, this has contributed to a focus on the city's history and memory as essential identity-propagators. This way of thinking has been important to the growth of the prevailing contextualism in architecture and urban planning and the historically based understanding of the city's form, as is represented by municipal atlases and the SAVE system[1], which operate as points of departure for nurturing urban identity that is based on fragments of preserved historical milieus.

"Above all, if the environment is visibly organized and sharply identified, then the citizen can inform it with his own meanings and connections. Then it will become a true place." (Lynch 1960)

Lynch's understanding of urban design is of a normative character, where the consciousness about the aesthetic significance of built forms and the importance of the city's public space – both as a readable mental structure and as physical elaboration of urban space – are central. One of several contemporary trends in architecture that is patently linked to urban design along these lines can be spotted in the New Urbanism movement.

Lynch was skeptical about urban design's capacity to stand as a credible heir to modernist planning. He felt that urban design was limited in its capacity to work with anything more than the development of individual projects on the real estate developers' premises. The architect/author proposed something that he called "City Design", which was an attempt to define a broader approach to urban development that was based on user participation, on the construction of sequential spatial processes and on the design of infrastructure – both on a large scale and related to inventory envisioned for the urban space.

Lynch never really succeeded, however, in operationalizing this far more comprehensive and inclusive methodology; it could be argued that this was due, paradoxically enough, to his aversion to issuing specific formal instructions. As a link in the critique of modernism, Lynch's methods have been important in relation to changes in the perception of experts' versus local residents' opinions about what it is that constitutes a desirable evolution of the city (involvement of the citizens). Lynch's theories have also exerted an influ-

1. SAVE (Survey of Architectural Values in the Environment) is an aesthetically oriented analysis tool, which has been developed by the Danish Ministry of the Environment for purposes of describing the conservation value of urban environments and buildings.

ence on psychological studies of how the surrounding environment affects people and their use of the space (environmental psychology).

Notwithstanding the wide dissemination of mental mappings and ideas about the physical structure's legibility within architecture and urban planning, there are relatively few examples of any direct transposition of Lynch's methods in palpable urban form on a larger scale. The method, however, has been put to use in San Francisco, in Boston and in the planning the new city, Ciudad Guyana, in Venezuela at the beginning of 1960s.

Georg Simmel was a German philosopher and sociologist. He is generally regarded as being one of the founders of modern sociology. With his interdisciplinary approach, in which he combined philosophy, sociology, economics and cultural analysis, Simmel managed to carve a niche for himself as an exponent of recent eras' analyses of the city, social interactions and community development.

Georg Simmel

1858-1918

Occupation: Philosopher and sociologist

Nationality: German

Primary literature: *Philosophie des Geldes* [The Philosophy of Money] (1900), *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* (1908) [including "The Sociological Significance of the 'Stranger'" and "Sociology of the Senses: Visual Interaction"].

The Metropolis and Mental Life
"Die Großstadt und das Geistesleben" [The Metropolis and Mental Life], an essay that was originally published in 1903, is widely recognized as being one of the prime source texts of modern urban sociology and cultural analysis. Here, Simmel turns his attention toward the question of how the metropolis's emergence influences the mental life of the individuals who are living and working in the big city and he offers an explanation for how the personality can be brought into harmony with the conditions and circumstances presented by metropolitan life. Simmel puts forward a number of dichotomies that serve to contrast life in the small town with life in the big city and stresses that it is not his intention to judge whether life in the countryside is better than life in the big city. His aim, on the contrary, is rather to analyze how the emergence of the big city generates and presents new challenges to the individual with regard to achieving balance between existence's individual and super-individual relations. It all has to do with surviving in a world that has been placed under the control of a synchronized and rational pattern, where quantity is sacred.

The essay begins with a distillation of what is at stake for the individual at the outset of the 20th century:

> *"The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of the historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life."* [2]

It is a question of how the metropolitan resident can avoid turning into a non-independent and anonymous pawn in the mechanism that the metropolis represents. Simmel says that the most direct and unambiguous result of the metropolis's influence on the individual is "the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli",[3] which the metropolis's sensory bombardment causes. Moreover, the metropolis brings about a shift from an emotional to a rational way of reacting to the external milieu and behaving in the city. According to Simmel, this can be explained by an examination of some very basic differences between life in the small town and life in the big city.

The small town's nauseating embrace
The small town is characterized by close interpersonal relationships and is also characterized by a wider emotional involvement, a personal knowledge of those whom one deals and interacts with and by relatively few and easily readable social relations and hierarchies. The commodity economy does just fine in tandem with a currency economy that is characterized by the fact that one is personally acquainted with the individual from whom one purchases his/her goods. Simmel feels that in the small town, quality plays a more important role than quantity; this runs counter to that which characterizes the logic of the big city, where everything is quantified and made distinguishable and measurable by its amount, in the spirit of maximizing profits. However, the small town does have its drawbacks. According to Simmel, the inherent conservativism, when coupled with knowing all too much about one's neighbor, does put a damper on the individual's chances to unfold and express him/herself.

The metropolis's tempo-filled conditions
It cannot come as a surprise that Simmel feels there is something entirely different being put into play in the big city, where the close relationships of the small-town are superseded by brief and fleeting encounters. No human being is equipped to relate emotionally to the many and constant impulses that he or she is exposed to in the metropolis. Metropolitan life is enacted according

to a super-individual scheme, where precision and coordination are of vital importance when it comes to whether the city's many gears and cogwheels will be turning without any friction. The currency economy holds out cash as the only valid unit of exchange and the goods are manufactured here for an anonymous market. Personal contact has vanished and the solitary individual simply becomes *the man in the crowd*. The city, however, also fosters the impression that the individual has been set free and is no longer bound by ingrained patterns but possesses, in principle, the chance to become whatever the person wishes to become.

The metropolis's tempo and its constantly new impulses have repercussions on the nerves and on the individual's emotional constitution. For this reason, it is essential that a survival strategy become crystallized. This strategy is what Simmel designates as the blasé attitude, a kind of a protective shield that the individual activates "against the profound disruption with which the fluctuations and discontinuities of the external milieu threaten"[4] the metropolitan type and puts the brakes on the many stimuli that vie for attention and can eventually effectuate a short-circuiting of the brain. Simmel notes that the blasé attitude is, quite simply, imperative when it comes to being able to survive in the big city.

Simmel speaks about the "peculiar adaptive phenomenon – the blasé attitude – in which the nerves reveal their final possibility of adjusting themselves to the content and the form of metropolitan life by renouncing their response to them."[5]

And, he states:

> *"Just as an immodestly sensuous life makes one blasé because it stimulates the nerves to their utmost reactivity until they finally can no longer produce any reaction at all, so, less harmful stimuli, through the rapidity and the contradictoriness of their shifts, force the nerves to make such violent responses, tear them about so brutally that they exhaust their last reserves of strength and, remaining in the same milieu, do not have time for new reserves to form. This incapacity to react to new stimulations with the required amount of energy constitutes in fact that blasé attitude which every child of a large city evinces when compared with the products of the more peaceful and more stable milieu."*[6]

The rational, intellect-related dominance, in combination with the constant stimulation, leads to a situation where human relations in the city are marked

2. Simmel, Georg (1971), "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), in: *On Individuality and Social Forms – Selected Writings*, edited by Donald N. Levine, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. p. 324.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 325.

4. *Op. cit.* p. 326.
5. *Op. cit.* p. 330.
6. *Op. cit.* p. 329.
7. *Op. cit.* p. 331.

by an attitude of reserve. This can, according to Simmel, result in a "slight aversion" to the other, "a mutual strangeness and repulsion which [...] can break out into hatred and conflict."[7] The apprehension toward whatever is foreign and the fear of having overstepped one's own personal limits are thus basic conditions of life in the big city. An additional feature of the metropolis is its anonymity, which Simmel believes engenders a counter-reaction, designed to ensure that the subject will remain just that: a subject. Metropolitan dwellers attempt to call attention to themselves in order to evade anonymity. This, as Simmel points out, only "leads ultimately to the strangest eccentricities, to specifically metropolitan extravagances of self-distanciation, of caprice, of fastidiousness, the meaning of which is no longer to be found in the content of such activity itself but rather in its being a form of 'being different' – of making oneself noticeable."[8]

Simmel and the public space as a developmental strategy
A stance of reserve, the blasé attitude and overheating. Despite the fact that Simmel proclaims that he will not stand as judge and choose between the big city and the small town, it is not the most positive of terms he attaches to his description of the metropolis. In the course of the 100 years that have elapsed since "The Metropolis and Mental Life" was published, the sensory bombardment has not been diminished – rather the contrary is the case: every single day, we are exposed to a countless number of impressions. It's no wonder that the advertising industry realized long ago that the mere presence of ads in the public spaces is no longer any guarantee of success, when it comes to the bottom line.

In our efforts to develop the future's cities and urban spaces, then, we have to accept the metropolis's fundamental condition: that it is characterized by movements, dynamics and unexpected meetings. The question is: how can these meetings be inverted from being anxiety provoking to being constructive? Or, even more precisely: how can feeling anxiety about what is strange be transformed into feeling inspired by what appears to be different? In the public space, you risk running into something that appears different and you simultaneously run the risk of becoming richer in experience.

These years, where "diversity" is such a buzzword in the realm of urban planning, it is important to insist, and firmly, that the concept cover not only the requirement that there must be room for everybody in the urban space; it also has to be understood as referring to the concrete design of the urban space. Accordingly, diversity must not be taken to mean that the big city should not provide room for recreation/leisure, for reflection and for being together.

One possibility is to bring about a symbiosis between the two forms of organization: cities where the metropolis's strengths and the small town's

strengths are combined and cities which, at one the same time, offer the possibility of being active and passive, obliging and introspective, where one can be stimulated and also remain reflective.

8. *Op. cit.* p. 336.

Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari operate with a multiplicity of concepts related to space, related to society and related to how it is laid out in general. They take their point of departure quite specifically in a "philosophy of difference". In their collaborative efforts, they turn their attention to conceptions like process, genesis, power and intensity. By prioritizing the creation of new connections rather than the pure destruction and decomposition of old structures, Deleuze & Guattari manage to dissociate themselves from both deconstructivism and postmodernism.

The rhizome

In the optics of Deleuze & Guattari, space consists of a multiplicity of separate parts, each of which retrieves its own identity from its surroundings. The aggregate structure of this network of units is designated as the *rhizome*. The rhizome is a root structure which, in comparison to the tree's central root, for example, is decentralized and asymmetrical: "[A]ny point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be,"[9] every which way and out into infinitude – connecting "any point to any other point".[10]

The rhizome is, for example, the grass's root structure and is to be understood in the sense of an unbounded structure that binds other units together. In the rhizome, the points are always conjoined as a movement *from* one identity *to* something else: all connections are possible and no *a priori* order prescribes a given action. In relation to geography and urban territories, the rhizome can be described as the oblique cartography (outlining a map that "constitutes its own hierarchies"[11]) that is created in the field between existing identities. The rhizome, as structure, exchanges movements, conditions, contexts, reflections, history and cultures and when an identity has first been run through the rhizome's ramifications, it cannot be repeated without forming new local ramifications and connections. Change transpires in the friction that arises in the meeting between the differences. This entails that nothing is rooted and no truth is given.

Deleuze & Guattari describe the individual who acts in this rhizomatic

9. Deleuze & Guattari (1980): *A Thousand Plateaus – Capitalism & Schizophrenia*, London: Continuum. p. 7.
10. *Op. cit.* p. 21.
11. *Op. cit.* p. 20.

Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari

1925-1995 (Deleuze) & 1930-1992 (Guattari)

Occupation: Philosopher (Deleuze)

and Psychoanalyst (Guattari)

Nationality: French

Primary literature: *A Thousand Plateaus –*

Capitalism & Schizophrenia (1980)

space with the term, *nomad*, which stands for a multiple and mutable identity; this person is a part of his/her surroundings and moves about in compliance with the rhizomatic principles. He/she is accordingly defined in his/her interaction with the world and is rooted in the rhizome, which supplies him/her with substance and existence. His/her identity is the result of genesis rather than history, of geography rather than geo-history.

The striated space and the smooth space

Deleuze & Guattari also operate with two different types of spaces: the striated and the smooth space. The *striated space* embodies a purpose and constitutes a frame for potential actions; it accordingly contains the intention and whatever is being controlled. Expertise is placed on the shoulders of what is already known and thusly on already established truths. This is a regulated and ordered space, which is regulated by society's norms, laws and regulations and is therefore also the space which, traditionally speaking, is treated of in the realm of urban planning.

In the *smooth space*, actions are not purposeful but are rather experimental and direction-indicating in nature. The smooth space is constituted, in this way, by the processes and geneses that transpire between the striated space's defining and organizing practices. This smooth space must be understood as a genesis and as an action that renders the relationships real. What this entails is that the genesis requires a kind of mediator that can generate the action. One acts strategically, out of necessity, without knowing what the outcome will be beforehand. In the smooth space, expertise is consciously looking to discover differences and contradictions – friction – through which it creates new expertise, which constitutes, in turn, a new ramification in the rhizomatic space.

Expertise is created by virtue of its being anchored in – and its relationship to – the network. Following this line of thought, an object is never situated in itself; it comes into existence by being connected to other objects or identities. In extension of the conceptions related to a rhizomatic apprehension of the city, the philosopher, Associate Professor John Rajchman, maintains that the challenge that lies before urban planning is to understand and plan for progress and processes rather than focusing on firmly determined goals and identities.

The smooth urban space?

In the public space, the notions of friction and the smooth space are indeed inspiring thoughts. They are abstract and it is difficult to apply them to effective planning legislation that traditionally stipulates demands for solid frames and perspectives. Nonetheless, they are inspiring when it comes to hammering out a conception related to planning for possibilities and potentials.

If all things in space are interrelated and play a part in defining its expression and identity, how can we then go about designing a space or a room in a

satisfactory way? How can we ensure that we are taking all impulses, relations and impressions into consideration?

Deleuze & Guattari are telling us, and in an especially poetic way, that while we can turn our attention to the city's known factors, we can never truly relate to the myriad of unknowns that might happen to occur in the city and constantly alter the city's expression in a complex assemblage of relationships. A mapping of networks and flows can take some portion of the smooth space's unpredictability into account. Even so, the space's and the city's unpredictability often runs transverse to the visible networks and connects places and localities that were not previously conjoined.

Henri Lefebvre

1901-1991

Occupation: Urban sociologist and philosopher

Nationality: French

Primary literature:

Critique of Everyday Life (1947),

The Production of Space (1974)

The city is much more than its functions and physical frames. It is also the life, the pulse and the rhythm that we experience in our everyday lives. This is what the French urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre believes. In recent years, Lefebvre's ideas have exerted a great deal of influence on studies of urbanity and culture all over the world.

The city and urbanity

Lefebvre distinguishes between the city and urbanity. While the city is a historical construction, which is attached to the physical place and its objects, urbanism is something learned that builds on the experience of whatever is related to the city. Lefebvre points out that society has a tendency to divide the city into separate functions. Separation and segregationism are unfortunate influences on lives lived in the city, Lefebvre holds. This situation brings about misunderstandings, reproduces the status quo and points right back toward what we already know. Lefebvre advocates, instead, that people go about working with urbanity as a totality of processes – or a production of space – transpiring among various domains: the world of business and exchange need not be regarded as something separate from cultural life; cultural life should not be considered as being segregated from social life; and social life cannot properly be understood without including all the daily activities that take place in connection with urban dwellers' practices in everyday life. Urbanity is Lefebvre's description of the city as a process, as an organic totality and as a liquid and living phenomenon, which is activated in the urban dweller's expe-

rience of the city. In everyday life as it is lived, the city dweller negotiates the city's multifarious spaces. Through this activity, new lessons are learned and these contribute in turn to the totality that constitutes the urban fabric. This procedural totality is simply not captured by the rationally divided city.

Everyday life
Henri Lefebvre proposes everyday life and the lived praxis as being acquired-experience based alternatives to both the commercial and political city. Lefebvre feels that the sensorially experienced and the perceived, in what we learn from everyday life, are not being given the priority they deserve and also that society's logical and abstract sets of rules are being reproduced all too often. Through rules and regulations, society reproduces its own systems and turns them into collective patterns – which Lefebvre calls *representational space*. At the same time, he operates with *spaces of representation* as those places in the city to which cultural and national values – the church, the city hall, museums and cultural institutions – are attached.

Opposite to this, we find everyday life as the undercurrent of lived values, where dreams and needs are unfolded. In *Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre describes how everyday life is a spatial practice which, through the city dwellers' everyday dreams and needs, is co-present and contemporaneous with the city's other functions and spaces (the representational space and the spaces of representation). Lefebvre consequently refers to the lived, spatial practice as society's "secret space" because, in contradistinction to the representational space and the spaces of representation, it only becomes visible in the current actions of lived life. People's spatial practice takes place as a daily updating, challenging and interchanging of the representational space and the spaces of representation. This is the way that everyday life expands urbanity and renders it flexible, temporally relevant and informed.

Rhythm binds urbanity together
The city's rhythm is one aspect of everyday experience. The city possesses a multi-temporality in itself, which consists of many pauses, currents and shifts that we experience in the course of what we learn in our everyday lives. The regulation of traffic, the different tempi of the pedestrians and the bicyclists, the opening hours of the schools, shops and cafés all enter in as constituent rhythms in the unbroken pulse that forms urbanity. In this way, the city's rhythm constitutes an order and the coexistence of a series of different worlds and activities that are not centrally controlled or monitored top-down but are nonetheless being noticed and felt as the pulse that controls our lives, our movements and our actions in the city.

The city consists of a multiplicity of rhythms, which are structured in time and space, and an equally large number of different everyday practices. Rhythm binds the individual actions together. Even though there are no prescribed rules and regulations governing the city's rhythm, there is a surprising ab-

sence of chaos and misunderstandings because we know the city's rhythm intuitively and we know how to navigate in it. The city's rhythm is quite simply the hidden order that holds together what we gather from the experience of our social lives.

A conscious mapping of all the city's rhythms is a complicated task. Nonetheless, we are constantly and intuitively orienting ourselves according to the city's many changes in tempo and according to its many pauses and its many accelerations. We learn something entirely different on a bicycle ride across Dronning Louise's Bridge in Copenhagen at half past eight on a Monday morning than what we learn on the same ride made on a Sunday night at half past midnight. The rhythm is something else and the adventure is very different.

The city's rhythm also holds a special appeal for the pleasure-oriented, adventure-seeking city dweller, the *flâneur*, who has neither functional errand nor goal-oriented aim but moves his way through the city guided solely by his appetite and his immediate impulses. The rhythm opens a space where you simply let go and let yourself get carried away by the city's atmospheres, sounds, pulses and emerging formations. If one is really going to sense and be captured by the city's rhythm, then "One has to *let* go, give and abandon oneself to its duration", Lefebvre has advised (Lefebvre 1996: 219).

The urban rhythm is a way of regarding the urban space as an orchestration of time and movement. Urban life is marked by the city dweller's movement along routes and roads whose rhythms, pauses and flows he knows as a bodily and often intuitive praxis. The city's rhythm therefore speaks more to our bodily and sensuous experience than it does to our rationality. Rhythm forms the city dweller and his movements; analogously, the city dweller – by letting him/herself get carried away by the city's currents of movement – participates in and enhances the city's pulse. In this manner, the city's rhythm is the precondition for the steady and constant production of new experiential spaces.

Planning the daily rhythm
Can a manifold rhythm of the city that will enhance everyday praxis and lived life's production of space be planned out? Or is the city's rhythm a sense-related and atmospheric dimension that simply cannot be controlled by planning and intention?

One chance to deliberately interpolate different and unexpected rhythms in the metropolis is the space of celebration, which Lefebvre cites as an alternative to the spaces of representation and the representational space. The celebration temporarily stages a different space and a different rhythm inside the city's representational spaces, within which everyday life's utopias can be unfolded. Popular celebrations like *Reclaim the Streets*, the gay-pride parade, roller-skating marathons and music festivals are all events that bring out the party and the spontaneity in the city and, for a brief period of time, a different kind of rhythm is installed in the space. The celebration's space is not regulated, as is the political space, by norms and rules, inasmuch as the impul-

ses emanate directly from lived life. Accordingly, the celebration does not reproduce what we already know beforehand but rather suspends it in order to make room for thoughts and conceptions about whatever might be different and whatever seems possible.

Back on Dronning Louise's Bridge, Monday morning at half past eight. Isn't it obvious that the city's rhythm, sounds and atmosphere will be something else the very instant Nørrebrogade is made car-free? Such a measure would not only change the traffic and velocity of vehicular transportation but also the sounds and aromas of the bridge. Traffic, infrastructure and the regulation of the city's movements all appear, in other words, to be key parameters for the city's rhythm. Whereas in the planning of infrastructure and traffic, there are for good grounds for basing determinations on functionality and necessity, it is more seldom the case that the city's rhythm and atmospheres are taken into consideration. Perhaps this is because a *rhythmanalysis* is more intangible and thus more difficult to carry out than a quantitative measuring of the cars and bicyclists crossing Dronning Louise's Bridge and the resultant CO_2 pollution. Or because everyday life's lived life is still, to the planner, a diffuse dimension when compared to the representative space and the spaces of representation? A more extensive degree of planning of the connection between, for example, infrastructure and the experience of urbanity's and lived life's rhythms could be based on the experience of the public space as a total continuum of different rhythms – or in the atmospheres that are connected with the city's pulse, consisting of noise, breathing holes, the reciprocal interaction between concentrated urban zones and recreational pauses, meetings between people and spontaneous and impulsive celebrations, etc. Lefebvre shows that urbanity is more than the physical space and the city's functional application: it is rhythm, experience and atmosphere.

Pierre Bourdieu

We often act by imitating, not only in the form of our individual habits and routines but also by imitating other people's actions and preferences. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has attempted to come up with an answer to why we challenge this societal reproduction. Regarded in the light of the cities' strikingly identical development strategies, gaining an understanding of this problem becomes even more crucial.

1930-2002
Occupation: Sociologist and anthropologist
Nationality: French
Primary literature: *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979)

System of preferences

In Bourdieu's view of society, everyday actions are organized with reference to our dispositions of taste. These dispositions function as tuners for our view of the surrounding environment and as catalysts for certain modes of behavior. In other words, our social position indicates a tendency to do or make something in a certain way. Bourdieu calls this tendency *habitus*; this is one of the cornerstones in his philosophy:

> "*The agents' habitus distinguishes between the good and the bad, between right and wrong, between the fine and the vulgar, etc. But not everybody makes these distinctions in the same way.*" (Bourdieu 1997: 24)

You feel, in other words, that your own taste is good taste because it originates in a fundamental understanding of yourself and your surroundings. *Habitus* is therefore not an objective set of rules but rather a mode of self-understanding that affects your taste and your interpretation of a given situation. As such, it is a basis for the individual's behavior. This basis, however, will continuously be influenced by the everyday impulses and phenomena that the individual is continually interacting in relation to.

Imitation and recognition

The individual's decoding or interpretation of everyday life takes its mark in another one of Bourdieu's fundamental concepts, *capital*. Different types of capital are related, respectively, to objects, everyday life, art and situations. The use and application of these objects or situations characterize a person's taste and correspondingly how much of a given type of capital one possesses. Right away, the aggregate quantity of capital can be characterized as one's habitus. It is a fundamental condition that the more capital you possess, the easier and more adeptly you are capable of navigating your way in society because, being equipped with this, you can exert your influence on what it is that constitutes good taste.

A wide spectrum of different types of capital is manifest. They are attractive according to whatever lifestyle one subscribes to, since different segments in society appreciate and recognize different types of capital. For example, certain social groups appreciate the artistic aspects of life while others appreciate the economic ones. These shifts in preferences can shape social groups with concordant preferences.

Capital is relative

According to Bourdieu, tastes and preferences seep down into the social field and people typically imitate what is safe and certain: that which has already been classified as being good taste. In this connection, Bourdieu operates with the concept of *distinction*, which denotes a tendency to differentiate oneself from certain lifestyles or social segments. Distinction is rooted in a certified difference in values among a segment in which it has been confirmed that one thing is better than something else. An object's or a phenomenon's capital status is therefore always relative: the more people who possess, for example, a flatscreen television set, the less valuable it has as symbolic capital. The interpretation of the situation accordingly depends on one's amount of the relevant capital. For this reason, habitus can constitute a common framework of understanding where a sense of community is generated on the basis of a consensus about something, while the people sharing this opinion are simultaneously busy trying to distance themselves from other social groups.

Imitation in the city

In the experience economy's logic, what is at stake for the big city is to distance itself from other cities; this is a matter of the city's making its mark as an attractive trendsetting city. In order to achieve this status, it has become ordinary procedure to draw from and integrate fine examples of urban spatial design. There is a programmatic attempt on the part of the city to distinguish itself from other cities by laying claim to and incorporating those qualities found in cities that have already been categorized as "good" cities, whether such qualities involve hot-shot architecture, a gay-pride parade or a successfully rendered urban space.

Good taste is typically upheld by state institutions like museums, theaters and educational institutions, where good taste is cultivated and presented. In the mutual competition that is played out between cities, it is necessary, on the other hand, to see to it that good taste gets endorsed by other authorities. These authorities consequently become the embodiment of the city that has shown the way forward – the city that has undergone significant progress on the basis of a selected strategy. These cities thus become the guarantors of "good" urban space and thereby of good taste.

For the same reasons, the city of Aarhus includes elements borrowed from Barcelona in its coming "Sports Rambla", while Sønderborg hires the internationally renowned architect, Frank Gehry, to draw up a master plan for the harbor and the cities of Silkeborg, Skive, Struer, Svendborg, Slagelse, Skagen and Sorø are all paving pedestrian promenades with cobblestones, benches, Bog & Idé bookstore-boutiques and delicatessens: different contexts, same mechanics. Same strategy, you might say.

The problem is that by imitating or approximating other cities, we often forget to take capital's relativity into account: the strategy's status as copy makes it impossible to achieve the same status as the original because it has become too ordinary. The imitation scales down the attractiveness of a given phenomenon or a given object because it is now no longer unique, high-cultural or otherwise bound up to a particular segment in society.

The corresponding strategies take their point of departure in a single-valued social unambiguity that does not necessarily correspond to or refer to the city's inhabitants. Instead, the city attempts to attract people and manpower

from outside its circumference by positioning itself in the inter-city network. The city addresses its appeal to one particular target group, to one particular type of capital and, in the very same breath, it abandons a lot of people.

Adaptation of space

The solution is not to design universal or empty urban spaces, in which the users themselves can create or add meaning. It seems necessary, on the contrary, to create versatile urban spaces, where the users will be given the chance to relate themselves to those aspects of space that might be pleasing to them. For this reason, the problem presented by *adaptation* is an essential one: not only the city's adaptation of strategy to the specific context and thus to the qualities, potentials and complex of problems the city contains but also an adaptation related to the individual user of the place.

User-involvement, user-driven innovation and public meetings are all organized for purposes of addressing the problems presented here. But only seldom are they able to capture the dynamics that are seated in the city's and the space's changes. Consequently, the initiatives are often tinged by a search for a universal design that can include all the suggestions and wishes.

One lesson from Bourdieu could be that you have got to be aware of your position within the social field and act accordingly.

The American sociologist, Richard Sennett, is one of the most inspiring and persistent sociologists working in the field of urban planning. From the 1970s and onwards, he has been busy publishing an extensive series of books that have life in the cities and most especially public life in the public spaces as their focal points. What makes Sennett's work particularly interesting is his view that the public space is not merely a practical or eventful space but also a normative space where, through our encounters with strangers and foreigners, we become shaped as tolerant fellow citizens in society.

Richard Sennett

1943-

Occupation: Sociologist

Nationality: American

Primary literature:

The Fall of Public Man (1977),

The Uses of Disorder (1970)

By Birgitte Mazanti and
Søren Møller Christensen, Hausenberg

Sennett's city

A city is a human settlement in which strangers are likely to meet.

This classic definition of what it is that makes a place a city can be found in *The Fall of Public Man*. In Sennett's optics, it is the *open encounter* between strangers that is the decisively essential feature of a city. Many other definitions – be they economic, demographic or administrative – could be advanced but the challenge presented by the meeting with the stranger is, for Sennett, the crucial factor.

In *The Fall of Public Man*, Sennett describes how the city is characterized by a tremendous complexity, which is balanced by what he calls "urban

tone" or "urban civility". He describes how in eighteenth century Parisian coffeehouses, a public sociability emerged that made it possible for very different people to be in the same room and exchange contrary views within an atmosphere of mutual respect. Here, public behavior becomes a form of potential anonymity or mask that makes it possible to be strangers with respect to each other without the condition of strangeness being threatening.

Overall, the city, according to Sennett, must be able to offer anonymity and a sense of community; this requires that a balance be established between the anonymous and the community-oriented. The balance is important so the anonymity does not come to insist on a stance of indifference toward the stranger and accordingly toward everything that is different from oneself. At the same time, the community must not become all too stifling, demanding or binding. In other words, the city has to be filled with spaces of conflict and resistance – spaces that are characterized by a balanced disorder between the strange and the familiar, between the unsafe and the safe. In such spaces, strangers are likely to meet each other, not necessarily through common activities but often by simply moving around in the same space.

When we zoom in a bit closer on how Sennett describes these urban spaces characterized by balanced disorder, we find the underlying assumption is that these spaces, through the architecture and the people that happen to be there, signal *diversity*. In urban space, difference and multiplicity are given the pride of place. What is characteristic of such space is that it leaves room for the open encounter between different ways of life, life stages, lifestyles and cultures, which are linked variously to ethnicity, age, gender and social class. According to Sennett, such space is brought forth by a condensation and blending of buildings and functions: housing, grocery- and convenience- stores, cafés, specialty shops, businesses – functions that attract different kinds of people at different hours of the day.

Urban advantages
The advantage of Sennett's urban spaces is that they leave room for the uncontrolled, unpredictable and spontaneous and also serve to encourage that city dwellers be confronted with and experience diversity. This is a confrontation that generates the possibility that one's own identity is put into perspective, challenged and confirmed. Sennett's urban space simultaneously opens up the possibility – but does not impose a requirement on – the intimate meeting between strangers. It is a space that signals and sets the stage for an acceptance of everything that might be alien to oneself; it thereby plays a role in developing an underlying climate of mutual tolerance and an understanding of heterogeneity and dissimilarity.

In *The Uses of Disorder*, Sennett accuses modernist architecture and urban

12. Bauman, Zygmunt (1998): *Globalization – The Human Consequences*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press. p. 47.

planning of failing to create this type of space because these disciplines are too weighted down with a concern about creating order and efficiency. In Zygmunt Bauman's book, *Globalization*, Sennett's colleague takes up a discussion of this criticism. Here the Polish-English sociologist, Bauman, refers to Sennett's critique by stating that human responsibility would most certainly "not grow, let alone thrive, in a hygienically pure space, free of surprises, ambivalence and conflict. Only such people could face up to the fact of their responsibility who would have measured the difficult art of acting under conditions of ambivalence and uncertainty, born of difference and variety."[12] This means to say, we should not be planning our cities on the basis of a tacit assumption that "equal children play best". We have got to dare to put functions and activities together, even though this could lead to clashes between different modes of living and different ways of understanding the world.

An urban utopia?
As has been mentioned, Sennett's approach to urban development and urban space stands in contrast to modernism's functional division of the city into separate zones for housing, traffic, recreation and commerce. It is also an approach that stands in defiance of the segregationism in the city we see today, where neighborhoods are increasingly becoming split into enclaves with a homogenous composition of residents.

The question, then, is what it takes to create urban spaces that live up to Sennett's recipe?

In Danish urban planning, mixed forms of ownership have been on the agenda, for quite some time now, as a way of avoiding segregationism and as a way of generating, instead, residential neighborhoods with social and cultural diversity. This has been tried and tested especially thematically in the planning of large-scale residential areas like Ørestad and Havnestaden in Copenhagen. But the question is whether such areas, in addition to containing mixed forms of ownership, also encourage tolerance, spontaneity, the possibility of meetings between different ways of life, the formation of identities and so forth. Evaluations that have been implemented thus far evince that "it ain't necessarily so" that happy and diverse gatherings and interactions are taking place between residents from different ownership forms – and alas, it appears that it is especially those residents who carry the fate of having been administratively *assigned* to reside in these areas that make problems. Above and beyond this – and just as important – one salient characteristic that the two aforementioned places share is that the urban spaces are *not working*. If we follow the logic of what Sennett is saying, there is an important lesson to be learned here: it is in the public space that diversity has to unfold its inspiring and educative potential. What this demands, of course, is that different types of people have to reside in one and the same area. But this alone is not enough: the good urban spaces have to emerge in suit.

When we turn our attention to other places in Copenhagen, we find spaces where Sennett's balanced disorder evidently does exist. In this connection, Vesterbro Torv can be mentioned. Here, the beer-sipping Greenlanders and the outdoor-cafés' guests share the same space without any appreciable direct interaction, albeit with a mutual acceptance of each other. Obviously, Vesterbro Torv has appropriate prerequisite conditions for living up to Sennett's recipe: it is a dense area, both in terms of functionality and composition of residents. Meanwhile, not from Vesterbro Torv, there is Halmtorvet, also in Vesterbro, which has the same prerequisite conditions. But here, the urban space functions in an entirely different way. If Vesterbro Torv serves as an example of a conflict/resistance space, then Halmtorvet could be called a friction-less space, where the open city square has been swallowed up by cafés while all the way out on the periphery, drug addicts and alcoholics have taken up positions in their screened-off spaces. Here, we do not find the same way of sharing the space and hence not the same potential for tolerance and mutual acceptance of different behavioral patterns we find on Vesterbro Torv. By tweaking Sennett's term, it could be said that Halmtorvet is an example of *balanced order.*

The cinematic approach to the understanding of staging space is often suitable as an inspiration for the design of space in the city. In this connection, Noël Burch's distinction between on-screen space and off-screen space offers a particularly relevant reflection on the public space as being part of a greater whole.

Noël Burch

1932-

Occupation: Director, film critic, author

Nationality: American/French

Primary literature:

Theory of Film Practice (1967/1969)

On-screen and off-screen spaces

In his book, *Theory of Film Practice* (1973), the Franco-American film theorist, Noël Burch, distinguishes between an on-screen and an off-screen space. Roughly speaking, on-screen space encompasses everything that the camera shows – everything *within* the frame – while off-screen space is situated outside camera's viewfinder – that is to say, *outside* the frame.

   On-screen space contains the film's actions, people and important settings and it functions as the primary space – the scene – for the action. This is where the "official" plot is unfolded.

Off-screen space, on the other hand, contains all of the film's potential, unspoken actions and tensions. Burch points out that off-screen space can be called into play whenever something moves into or out of the picture frame or whenever somebody in the on-screen space focuses on something in the off-screen space. When this happens, there is an intimation that there is something going on that the viewer cannot see. The off-screen space is enlivened and is rendered relevant in relation to the larger grand narrative – notwithstanding its effectively inactive role.

What we see on the screen, then, is the focus or the center of the action but the action can be put into perspective or deepened through making allusions and references to something that is happening outside the scene. In this manner, the outsider is constantly being articulated and integrated into the plot, notwithstanding the fact that he or she is situated in what is an outside space.

Activation of the unseen
The action-less or vacant frame constitutes an example that, indirectly, reference is being made to off-screen space as a potential space that can eventually be called into play. Here, the frame around an action is being mounted in place, but nothing appears to be happening. The emptiness thus signifies that a subsequent action, potentially speaking, could enter in from any place:

"Take any empty space and call it a bare stage. An actor moves across
this space while someone is watching and a piece of theatre is engaged."
(Burch 1973)

Dialogue between spaces
The differentiation of space into an off-screen and an on-screen divides space into an imaginary and a "concrete" category. By activating selected off-screen spaces, the filmmaker creates a dialogue between these spaces and conjoins them. Because one, as a viewer, automatically yearns to see the totality, our imagination fills in the conception of whatever might be lying outside the frame, i.e. outside the screen, and, in doing so, fills in the pictures that the camera's scope and the movie's cutting and editing leave out. The result is a coherent and comprehensive universe. In this way, cinematic space oscillates between what we see and what we imagine.

Off-screen in the city
Whether we are speaking about the village pond, the central market square or the parking lot, the space in the city, much like on-screen space, is an excerpt that forms part of a wider context. The presently existing physical or architectural space can be equated with cinema's on-screen space while the urban-related surroundings correspond with off-screen space. The question is one of how the architectural space can articulate and enter into dialogue with its concealed inactive or non-displayed surroundings.

By mentally interpolating and staging the surroundings into a strategy for the elaboration of a given space, an understanding of the city's totality is effected and proclaimed. This sense of totality is created under a certain influence emanating from those qualities that are not immediately accessible or visible. Thus, what is being brought into play here are certain qualities, impressions and resources that are not ordinarily associated with the actual place. In this way, a more delicately varied place is brought forth with an allusion being made to – and the inclusion of – the unseen context.

Activation of the adjoining space
Setting a frame around particular qualities always implies a focus on something in favor of something else. When dynamic urban space is being planned, other areas in the city can be mentally interpolated as potential areas that will render the place dynamic and infuse energy. With this, the place's existing relations and connections are implemented on site, with the result that the place-identity becomes more porous and more adaptable to change. Often, the activation of off-screen space possesses a subjective character in the sense that not all references or relations give rise to the same associations or mental connections that others do. Certain allusions or references or relations are, for example, culturally accented in a broad sense, while others might more specifically be addressed to people interested exclusively in art or in music.

The mental interpolation and the articulation of the context take place in many ways. Noël Burch's way of thinking in cinematic space is one mode. What is so "practical" about the notion of off-screen space is that it insists on a focus on the place's surrounding environs. It insists on a fundamental understanding of not only the on-screen space's qualities but just as much of the qualities that the enveloping off-screen space contains.

Renaissance man Umberto Eco does not confine himself to one field of investigation or to any single genre. Eco is a professor of semiotics, a specialist in medieval history, a philosopher, an author of fiction works and an active newspaper columnist for whom the narrative structure in James Bond novels is just as worthy of being analyzed as how one might accompany Plato to a striptease!

Umberto Eco

1932-

Occupation: Man of letters,

author and, philosopher

Nationality: Italian

Primary literature:

The Poetics of the Open Work (1962),

The Name of the Rose (1980),

Foucault's Pendulum (1988),

History of Beauty/On Beauty (co-edited with

Girolamo de Michele) (2004)

The Poetics of the Open Work

One of Eco's most accessible and practically serviceable theories was formulated in his celebrated essay, *"The Poetics of the Open Work"*, which he introduces with the following passage:

"A number of recent pieces of instrumental music are linked by a common feature: the considerable autonomy left to the individual performer in the way he chooses to play the work. Thus, he is not merely free to interpret the composer's instructions following his own discretion [...], but he must impose his judgment on the form of the piece, as when he decides how long to hold a note or in what order to group the sounds; all this amounts to an act of improvised creation." [13]

There was something decidedly new being brought into play with the pieces that Eco noticed were cropping up at the outset of the 1960s.

By and large, Eco makes a distinction between two categories of artistic forms of expression: on the one side, he identifies the classical works, which he feels are characterized by a closed and completed well-defined message. When we experience and turn our attention to these kinds of pieces, we are basically passive recipients of the artist's pre-fabricated messages. As a contrast to this, Eco detects and discusses "open works", which are characterized by a high degree of openness that puts us in a position to work further with their authors' artistic manifestations. What we have here, in other words, are "works in movement" that change in character, expression and meaning depending

13. Eco (1989): *The Open Work*, translated by Anna Cancogni, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. p. 1.

on who it is that happens to be interpreting them. Open works "are brought to their conclusion by the performer at the same time as he experiences them on an aesthetic plane,"[14] writes Eco in his enthusiasm for the democratization of what has otherwise been a patently hierarchical relationship between artist and receiver. In other words, in contrast to the classical, closed pieces, open works contain a number of possible fields that displace the relationship between sender and receiver and consequently insist on a more active engagement on the part of the receiver.

Eco in space – or the city dweller as a co-producer

Eco's ideas about open works can be transposed to the development of modern urban spaces. One of the principal character traits of modern urban space is that it is ambiguous and open: ambiguous in relation to the activities that are unfolded inside of it; open to being occupied by the people who happen to be using it.

A successful urban space, in other words, is synonymous with an adaptable urban space, which takes on the color of those people who are making use of it for varying purposes. As is the case in Eco's examples, where we are dealing with an active continuing development of a given piece of music, text or artwork, "open" urban spaces are places that set up different possible scenarios for being occupied. Just as Eco's favorite artists create open works whose production has to be completed by the users, the planner sketches out a framework, which the users of the urban space themselves have to participate in filling out and giving meaning to. Carrying this logic to its limits, the city dwellers become active co-producers of the urban space. The very act of appropriation gives rise to activity. With this, a dead and locked-up urban space is transformed into a living urban space, with room for different kinds of activity.

Openness is a fundamental component of good urban space. However, in order to create a successful urban space, the openness simultaneously demands that parameters like adaptability and robustness are conceived right into the layout.

Adaptability is the manifestation of the urban space's elasticity and adroitness in relation to prospective functional demands. Adaptability also makes it easier to reinterpret and re-adjust the city in relation to future city dwellers' changing needs and to city life of the future. Adaptability, in other words, is synonymous with future-proofing.

The robustness of the urban space, on the other hand, ensures that the city will preserve its fundamental essence and will transmit the users' individual adaptations. Robustness, in other words, is the urban space's capacity of resistance to the – more or less wild – changes that the individual residents carry out. In Eco's essay, this aspect is clarified by the fact that each one of the art

14. *Op. cit.* p. 3.

works – regardless of how "open" it might be – sets the stage, in spite of everything else, for certain more or less plausible readings.

"The poetics of the open work" can also be transposed to concepts like multi-functionality and impermanence. Open urban spaces *per se* are multi-functional in their openness. A plaza that functions as a playground and an informal meeting place by day and is transformed into a skating area in the evening is just one of many examples of different interpretations of one and the same space. Impermanence is also a characteristic feature that can be inscribed into the poetics of the open urban space: a building plot that has already been sold can temporarily be made available to the city's citizens before the contractors' excavating machines move in. In an analogous fashion, an urban space can change markedly in character with the passage of time, depending on the season or depending simply on who happens to be using it.

For the most part, the metropolis and its growth have been regarded in both classical and more recent theories about society with a certain kind of ambivalence: on the one side, as a condensing and fascinating aspect of the apparently unstoppable progress and on the other, as an awe-inspiring developmental tendency that threatens to smash firmly entrenched local communities to pieces and dissolve the past's solid social ties. Sociologist and contemporary diagnosticist Zygmunt Bauman has addressed the consequences of the liquid modern metropolis and its potentially inhumane and socially degradable repercussions.

The liquid modern metropolis
Bauman's overall perspective on sociology can be summed up as a critical view of the lack of freedom, of inequality and of injustice; it is a showdown with thinking in grooves and a rallying cry proclaiming that, standing together, we can indeed create a better world (see Jacobsen 2004). The metropolis can contribute to this end but it can also dissolve and undermine everything that causes the community to adhere. Despite his skeptical angle of approach to the big city, Bauman is far from being blind to the potentially positive as-

ZYGMUNT BAUMAN

1925-

Occupation: Sociologist

Nationality: Polish-English

Primary literature: *Liquid Modernity* (2000)

By Michael Hviid Jacobsen,

Aalborg University

pects of present day metropolitan existence. However, he is aware that even that which is generally interpreted or construed as progress can have its own concomitant reverse sides and drawbacks.

The metropolis's ambivalence
There is an inherent duplicity about the social reality – where profits apparently get chalked up as losses – that Bauman endeavors to apprehend. Following this urge, he has developed, in his analyses, an especially critical view of – and a conceptual apparatus for understanding – everything, ranging from globalization, salient European values and the decline of the political system to individualization, love, morality and metropolis.

At the same time, the metropolis, in his diagnosis, constitutes a microcosm, a node or even a catalyst for larger and more comprehensive developmental tendencies related to society. In Bauman's critical society-related perspective, the big city becomes a window through which present-day features and future trends are either enlarged or anticipated inasmuch as the metropolis manifests itself as a social laboratory for more pervasive changes. As Bauman writes: "The city and social changes are almost synonymous with each other. Change is urban life's characteristic feature." (Bauman 2002b: 62).

From solid to liquid modern metropolis
Over the course of many years, Zygmunt Bauman has been characterized as one of the most prominent postmodern thinkers, presumably because he was one of the first to articulate a new type of modernity. However, he eventually distanced himself from the term "the postmodern" because he did not believe that it had come to stand for anything other than negation and dissolution and because the original conception had, by and by, become popularized and watered down so much that it verged on the inane. By way of response to this, Bauman developed, instead, his metaphor, "the liquid modernity" (Bauman 2000a). Most of his books since the turn of the millennium have sketched out the consequences of the transition from a "solid" to a "liquid" modernity within a multiplicity of social relations.

In the solid modernity, the greater portion of society's conceptions and utopias found their physical manifestation through a desire, expressed by everyone from politicians to planners, to transform the metropolis – as a miniature of society – into a meticulously planned, transparent, predictable and order-stamped world, with its own logically constructed aesthetics: just consider Le Corbusier's utopian vision of *La ville radieuse* or the nightmarish realizations based on the same fundamental notion in Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia. What it was that the solid modernity aspired to, according to Bauman, was to ensure that the metropolis would be a perfect place, stamped by predictability, a sense of safety and a functionalist form of structured and systematized beauty. But the days of the solid modernity, Baumann holds, are definitively over.

There is much to suggest that an attempt is being carried out in the liquid modernity to further pursue the solid modernity's obsession with organizing, ordering and structuring. But now there is no ambition that reality should fit the blueprint and there is no longer any guiding notion that public space has to be a collective common terrain for the delight and the benefit of all the citizens. And because, in the liquid modernity, nobody is managing anymore to freeze and control reality and because there is no longer a unifying vision, urban space is presently turning more and more into a thoroughly commercialized and privatized chaos, which in turn generates new albeit increasingly hapless attempts to control the uncontrollable. Bauman's description of the liquid modern metropolis thus expresses an unmistakable notion of decline – articulating that public space and with it the public life that is an essential precondition for bringing forth a critical and active dialogue about society have vanished.

The change from solid to liquid modernity involves the emergence and the growth of new forms of urban space that are essentially different from those belonging to the past. Bauman identifies three such new forms of urban space that are quite distinctly sprouting forth in the liquid modern metropolises of contemporary society (Bauman 2000b, 2001): non-places; the stratified and militarized city and the exclusive and excluding communities.

Non-places
Denotes, in a way that is analogous to Marc Augé's conception, monofunctional places that manifest themselves as a direct result of the sharp upswing in the number of highway systems, parking lots, shielded-off places, shopping malls, airports, transit halls and hotel chains and that also stand in contrast to "social spaces". A "non-place" is characterized as being a location that does not facilitate human interaction or communication and as being a place that is apparently devoid of any historic or symbolic significance.

The stratified and militarized city
Covers the emergence of "gated communities", "fear communities" and *instant communities* as a result of increasing globalization, the rising tide of immigration and growing individualization. These types of communities are all based on a special kind of fortress mentality, on classic inclusion- and exclusion-mechanisms and on an "us against them" way of thinking, which may very well be grounded in a fear of strangers.

Exclusive and excluding communities
Many of the new community forms that Bauman characterizes as "gated communities", "aesthetic communities", "coat-hook communities" or "fear communities" (Bauman 2000b) are accordingly organized around an attempt to guarantee both freedom and security at one and the same time. This provides fertile soil for two new types of so-called "hyper-ghettos": involuntary and

voluntary ghettos (Bauman 2002a). While the former refers to the characteristic ghettos for destitute, poor, suppressed, expelled and/or marginalized persons - ghettos, from where it is difficult to flee and to where one is banished and involuntarily sent away from ordinary society – the latter is a designation for new forms of shielded-off and entrenched wealthy citizens' neighborhoods in the major cities.

The humanized urban spaces as an alternative
Zygmunt Bauman's diagnosis of the contemporary situation is, in this respect, a critical observation of the city, executed for purposes of opening up reflection and activity so that people can change the world for the better.

On this background, Bauman aspires to humanize what are presently dehumanized urban spaces. Implementing this kind of humanization could consist of

- Promoting the meeting with – and the understanding of – the outlandish and the unexpected.
- Transforming the space into a "carnival" (Mikhail Bakhtin's concept), which is characterized by ambivalence, unpredictability and spontaneity rather than by planning, order and control.
- Ensuring equal and open access for all people to all parts of the public space.
- Transforming the consumer who is preoccupied with his/her own needs into the citizen who is concerned about the larger community and the general welfare.
- Promoting the opportunity to create a civil and political public life – an agora – that can counteract tendencies toward individualization and privatization, which can deal with matters other than consumption and safety and which can ensure that people will take responsibility for and take care of each other.

W e will now proceed to interpolate the ten mindsets into a thought-fusion. Our intention is to extract the most important themes related to urbanism (city-form) and urbanity (life as it is lived in the city) from the past century's thoughts on the city and to test them out in relation to the challenges and possibilities we are currently facing when it comes to the future's urban development.

The thought-fusion takes its mark in an interdisciplinary approach to the city and corresponds, in this respect, to the complex hybrid that the urban consists of.

The thoughts of the past – the potentials of the future
With this thought-fusion, we are fashioning a basis for sharpening the tools for working with the liquid modernity. By re-defining and fusing thoughts that hark back to early modernity, we will be re-updating urban planning in relation to the urban context within which we are presently situated. No longer is urban planning a restrictive ordering praxis. Now it can be a tool, a strategic partner, to be brought into the urban processes and exchanges that are taking place, in any event – with or without the urban planner's guiding hand.

In the liquid modernity, the city is an open space – in constant change. Life-shaping and the body lend themselves to being formed by the city's architectural plan. At the same time, they register new spaces and moods through their actions and flows. The urban theoretical thoughts have been developed as holistically oriented approaches to the city. Along with the urban-theoretical thinkers, we want to show how the approach to the city has to take its point of departure, namely, in the development that is going on between the planned and the unpredictable – in what is happening between the city's expression and the sensory experience of it.

The city's readability

Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch have both been working with the city's legibility. Jacobs calls attention, in this connection, to low-dense construction and to the pedestrian's space as being a scale that addresses itself to the human scale and is therefore easy to decipher. The city is rendered legible, that is to say, by allowing the streets and blocks to remain open and inclusive so that we will feel safe, inspired or curious in the environment within which we are moving about. Through its spatial organization, the city can become a meaningful place for the city dweller's identification and a precondition for the resident's being able to get caught up in its space. Also in Lynch's writings, legibility is in focus. The city's plan, its paths, its corners and its structures, composed of repetitive elements, can all bring forth identifiable spaces. Both Jacobs and Lynch regard the structural plan for the city as being the prerequisite condition for the city's users' ability to identify with and commit themselves in the city.

Like Umberto Eco's open work, which addresses its appeal to its reader, the city can be organized in such a way that the resident becomes an active co-producer of urban space. The readable city offers, much like the open work, frames that are simultaneously structural and open. The city's meaning for the individual is held open for changes taking place in time and open for accommodating the user's own interventions and applications. But it also functions as a direction-indicating framework for the user's actions and movements. A readable city is therefore both adaptable and robust in its plan.

Noël Burch's notion of on-screen and off-screen spaces can also be seen as an extension of the readable city. Off-screen space calls attention to the fact that the city has to be apprehended in its entirety by virtue of all the spaces and potentials that lie outside and beyond the currently employed space. When edges, roads, connections, streets, blocks and networks are rendered readable to the city dweller in a clear and distinct fashion, the city becomes opened up, disclosing new spaces. A readable city activates, in this way, its hidden spaces and throws potentials in the known spaces into relief. When planning for dynamic urban space is being carried out, other areas in the city can be conceptually interpolated as potentials when and where development from one readable area is transferred, associatively, to another. In this fashion, the place's existing relations and connections can be implemented in such a way that the place-identity becomes a catalyst for change on a greater scale. Accordingly, the city's readability is going to be a necessary precondition for being able to carry parallelism strategies and acupuncture strategies into effect (see *Strategic tools*).

The sensuous urban space

The sensuous and experientially weighted aspects have taken on a new meaning. Henri Lefebvre pointed out that the city is the setting where the rhythm of everyday life is played out. The city's rhythm and sensuousness are pres-

ent in the form of sounds, flows and various diurnal tempos, all of which are essential aspects of the city and the city dwellers' experience of it. Deleuze & Guattari describe the sensuous space as a smooth space which, in comparison to the striated space's orderly and organized space, could emerge in the form of new transitory connections that are transpiring within what is familiar. If affective and sensuous space is going to emerge in the form of reactions operating across the striated space's ordering structure, though, this necessitates that the city be legible. In the same fashion, the sensuous space is dependent both on everyday life's commitment and on becoming activated.

We have seen how both Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch point out how, for example, a stretch of street and city block or its formal organization can make a special appeal to the pedestrian and can, in dong so, evoke various kinds of moods. To this end, we can see that today, there is an urgent need for being able to carry aesthetic urban strategies into effect that can potentially exert their influence on the city dweller in search of adventure and experiences. Life-shaping takes its orientation especially from the sensuous possibilities in the city and reads the city's structure in conjunction with the more transitory and immaterial sensory stimuli. For this reason, there is a correlation between the striated space's and the smooth space's manner of organizing that comes about as a result of the processes being exchanged between them. The structured space gradually leads over into the learned and mastered space. Being able to plan with an eye peeled for correlations – correlations between the physical space's frames and the actions, events and experiences taking place within this frame – is one way of creating cities for people instead of creating cities for functions. This lies in perfect accordance with Jacobs' ideals but it is now being updated in relation to the 21st century's urban context.

In the Lefebvre's work as well as in that of Deleuze & Guattari, the aesthetic space is an elusive and temporary space that has to be constantly re-conceived in keeping with changes in time and space. The sensuous city thus provides the precondition for being able to plan temporary spaces and meeting places that are being updated and that take on value for the moment but also cast lines back in history and point the way forward toward the future's possible spaces. An appreciation of the effects being elicited in the sensuous experiential space as an alternative to the functionalist city constitutes a necessary prerequisite for both mnemonic and performative urban development strategies.

The city of the meeting place and the city of connections

Meeting places and the possibility of bringing forth communities in spite of differences and in spite of people's individuality interest both Richard Sennett and Zygmunt Bauman.

Bauman demonstrates how the liquid modernity is thoroughly individualized, which is why our concept of community has to be re-updated in order to make allowances for the city dwellers' new needs. In this connection, the

metropolis constitutes a compressed, miniature rendition of other developmental tendencies in society at large and can therefore be a window to the problems of the future. Sennett is opposed to modernist architecture and urban planning that fails to generate room for the community precisely because modernism is so concerned with creating order, function and efficiency. Bauman proceeds one step further and points out that the control of – and the attempts to bring about – order and organization in the city in the modern are countered by feelings and by a more physical and sensuous reaction.

In "The Metropolis and Mental Life", Georg Simmel was similarly preoccupied with the affective reaction. But while Simmel calls attention to the metropolitan person's blasé attitude and Bauman throws the sense of fear into relief, their affective and emotion-oriented understanding of life-shaping's and the body's reactions can also be turned around and re-viewed in the optics of a more positive and inclusive perspective. If it is indeed the case that the ordered and systematically organized city is going through a process of dissolution, then the city's cohesive force can be retrieved, quite precisely, by developing communities that can parry and ward off the liquid modernity's sensibility.

Seeing that Sennett called attention to the necessity of the informal meeting place and the community with respect to the city's cohesive force, we can, upon the basis of Bauman's analysis of the liquid modernity, devote our attention to preparing and hammering out tools for formulating new kinds of communities that will be well suited to the socio-spatial DNA of the liquid modernity.

The public space in a new mindset
The sensuous and aesthetic city and the need to define new communities and meeting places in the city can be summarized in the necessity to be able to plan and develop the public space in relation to a new mindset.

Instead of lamenting the fact that, for example, the plaza is not being used as a meeting place to the same extent as it was earlier on, new strategic planning tools can contribute actively toward bringing about solutions related to communities. At the same time, the cognitively mastered space of everyday life, as Lefebvre has described it, is just as much an adventure-experienced space as it is a material and architectural space. This poses certain demands on the planning of the public space, which is no longer merely a functional space but also a catalyst for new urban foldings. The space's sensuous qualities – its architectural-spatial staging, effected through the city's legibility and spatial organization – are situated beyond the functionally determined space. Spatial and planning-related strategies, which can stage these kinds of adventure-experiences, afford the possibility of renewing and revitalizing our conceptions and our use of public space. Here, the boundary and the differences between the public spaces can serve as a potential for bringing forth public exchange zones and meeting places. For purposes of designing the public do-

main, we can stimulate the informal manifestation of heterogeneity and dissimilarity. Moreover, transitional spaces and mobility spaces have acquired new importance as meeting places. (See Malene Freudendal-Pedersen's article in *The City's Space 1.5*.)

The Space of Accessibility
One way of re-updating Sennett's wish for meeting places could be to re-define the public space as a *space of accessibility*. Sidewalks, yard spaces, roof terraces, stations and university campuses have all emerged as new meeting places. They are not necessarily public, seeing as they are typically linked to more private or functionally determined spaces that do not possess the full openness of the public space. The criteria are, rather, accessibility and force of attraction: that the space is accessible and inclusive and therefore has the capacity to activate the process that conjoins the place in question to other places, other functions and other opportunities for undergoing experiences. Accessibility might be a way of re-updating Sennett's notion of the city's seams: places with multifunctional potentials or temporary spaces inasmuch as they can readily adopt the modernist understanding of the public space as the place where different social groups can meet and interact without forfeiting their respective dissimilarities.

Finally, experiential spaces, harborside swimming basins, skateparks, media- and cultural-houses have all been invested with new kinds of meaning, seeing as they are typically playing on temporary features that are specific to a particular moment in time. Our thought-fusion has accordingly re-defined the public space under the sign of *accessibility* and *potential*: accessibility and potential are the order of the day. The public space is not only a demarcated and physically defined space, as was the plaza in former times. Now, the public space has to be regarded instead as being under the influence of the liquid modernity's – and the smooth space's – network. From here on in, public life, community and individuality will be undergoing constant change. For this reason, the public space has to be planned in an inclusive and open manner in the sense that the space's identity will come to depend on who is going to taking part in it. This places new demands on the physical space, which can extend an invitation to life-shaping and to the body to place their marks on it.

With a new mindset focused on the city, the question can become one of conceiving space that affects and stimulates the individual person to enter into communities of individuals.

From thought-fusion to strategic planning
The thought-fusion's understanding of the city has its roots planted in the 20th century's history of ideas and history of urbanity. It is a mindset that, in many ways, has come to light as an outgrowth of modernity's way of relating to the conception of the new. "One must be absolutely modern", exclaimed Arthur Rimbaud already in the middle of the nineteenth century. Later on, mo-

dernity was unfurled as a process that takes its impetus in urbanity and in the big cities' emergence as an incessant questing for whatever is new. Urbanity is a developmental process that has been taking place as a progressive development and a constant adaptation between what is new and unknown and the familiar. As Bourdieu has suggested with his concept of *distinction*, we have an innate need to differentiate ourselves – and to evolve away – from the others: a need that can also result in causing us to do as the others do. This is what we see, for example, when the middle class yearns to take possession of the cultural upper class's values and codes.

Planning has always been making a programmatic attempt to control the urban processes: modernism's master plans are an example of this. However, modernity continued to manifest itself and make its appearance beyond the period belonging to what we have traditionally identified as modernism. The continuous reinterpretation of what we already know constitutes the basis for our thought-fusion's capability of hammering out a strategic implement. If urban planning is going to be re-updated in relation to the societal context, this requires that new tools be developed for navigating through this complex and mutable reality.

The poetics of the open work can be employed as a fundamental metaphor for how the urban planner ought to proceed inside the new contextual frames. No longer does the urban planner control the city through locked-in master plans and functional divisions of the city. In the context of the liquid modernity, the city has gradually evolved into a fragmentary albeit multifaceted field of possibilities. The urban planner will be the person who is capable of spotting potentials and carrying the correct strategic tools into effect with respect to the spatial possibilities the city encompasses. Strategic planning addresses itself to the city in a way that is analogous to how the poetics of the open work make their appeal to reader: in contradistinction to the classic closed works, open works embody a number of potential fields that are constantly displacing the relationship between structure and experience, between the city and the city dweller, and are thus capable of facilitating our way of navigating through the liquid modernity's constant climate of change. The same requirements apply to the strategic planning of the public space.

Case Studies

Our case studies cast light on certain ways of approaching the problem and on development strategies that have yielded results in relation to the city's identity and general development. We have taken our mark in cities that, in a variety of contexts, have played an important role that transcends economic, cultural and geographical premises. The objective of the case studies is to illustrate *how* each of these cities has managed to develop its own distinctive approach to urban space. The strategy can be situated on different levels: on the scale of the city as a whole or on the scale of space, on the level of life-shaping or on the level of the body.

Analytical approach

The analyses of the selected cases and mappings has been structured according to *The Public Space*'s fundamental categorization of scales. Our adherence to a constant, interdisciplinary aspect running through the four scales ensures a holistic orientation: an opportunity to take a close look at the relationships and exchanges that are taking place between the levels. For this reason, the scales, taken together as an analytical approach, possess a holistically oriented and change-focused perspective.

Each level of scale encompasses strategic reflections. For example, the overall strategy laid out by the municipal government is going to have an influence on the city's physical space, which will in turn affect the individual's actions. Conversely, the specific everyday use of the city can exert a significant impact on how the responsible parties go about developing their urban-planning strategy. Accordingly, we believe that there is much to gain if urban planners keep their eye peeled for all the exchanges that take place among the city, its space, life-shaping and the individual.

Criteria for selection

The individual case studies have been selected on the basis of their strategic element. Often, we have witnessed that cities that have been invested with the responsibility of serving as "host cities" or have enjoyed the designation of temporarily being "cultural capitals" have subsequently been able to make use of the induced energy to further evolve and grow in new directions. For purposes of regarding the overall situation in the light of a specifically Danish urban planning context, we have confined ourselves to a European frame of reference, since life-shaping and the special cultural habitus should be capable of being transposed into a Danish context. What we can glean from the case studies, then, are new angles on those contextual conditions that are seated implicitly in our common cultural heritage and history. But, in fact, our focus has been trained on innovative solutions that can widen the existing perspective.

The case studies range, broadly, from art installations, plazas, urban areas, and residential developments to activities within the urban space. What is common to all of them is their focus on the strategic element.

We are examining the following aspects in connection with making our selection of the case studies

- The city's role and context
- The place's use and the collective understanding of the place and the city
- The strategy's manner of addressing life-shaping and social divisions
- The implementation of the strategic element.

Case studies and mappings

With four of the case studies presented here, we have gone in depth and have called the history, the context, the intention and the typology into the discussion; here, the analysis takes its mark in all four of the scales and in their reciprocal interactions, in order to examine the case within a holistic perspective. Each of these four case studies is followed by mappings of similar examples that will serve to put into perspective, to deepen or to refine the issues that have been raised in the leading (prototypical) case study. In the mappings, we set forth a concentrated analysis, with special focus on a given scale level.
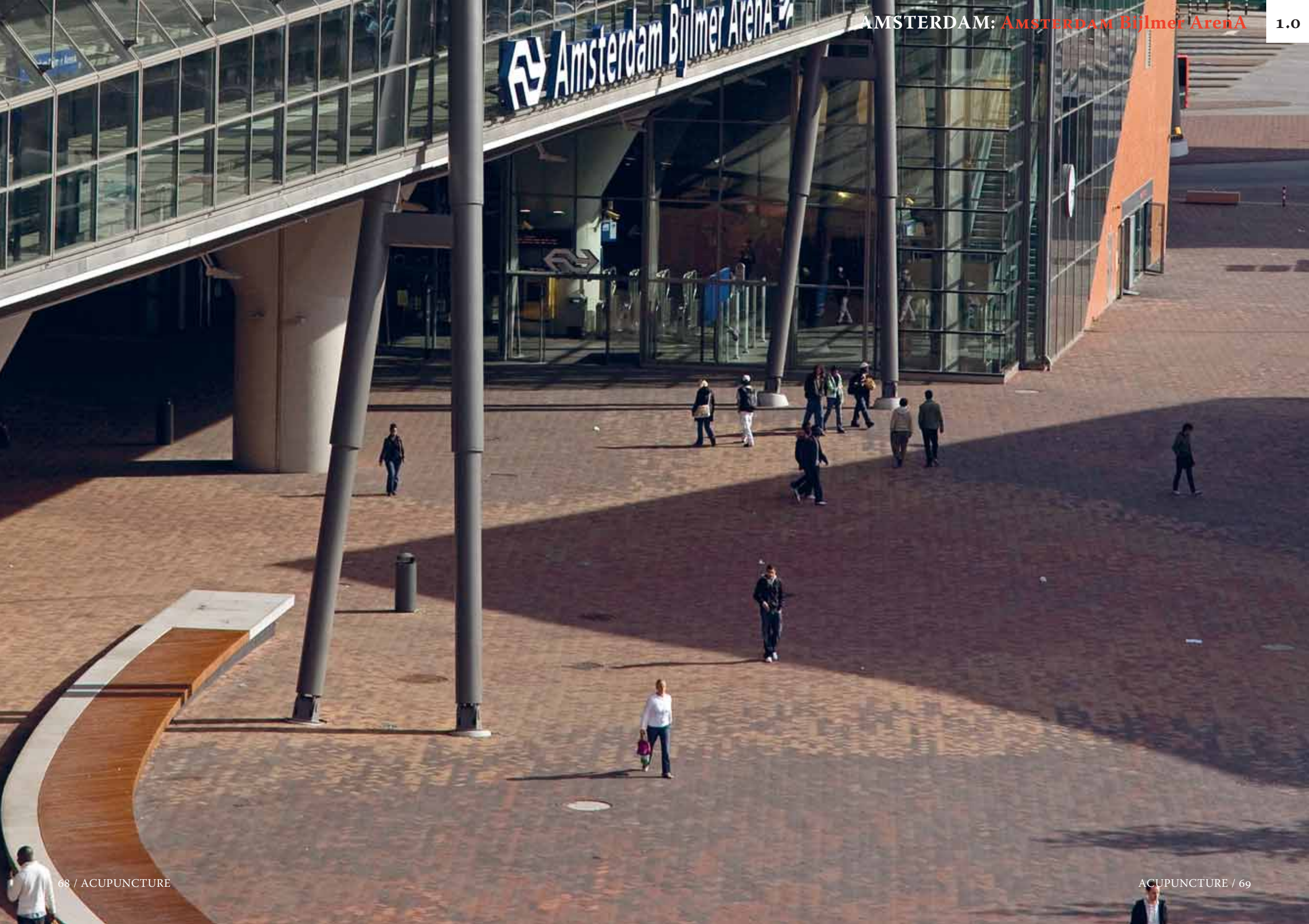
In the Zuidoost urban quarter located south of Amsterdam, the city of Amsterdam offers new place-demanding attractions for the city with the establishment of the commercial and entertainment district, ArenA Poort. In connection with this new quarter, one of the calculated spinoffs has been a revitalization of the surrounding socially deprived residential neighborhood, the Bijlmermeer, through initiatives that tie the urban quarters together – initiatives such as a new high-profiled train station and an urban promenade.

CITY   Amsterdam is suffering from a lack of room in its historic center and has been forced to think outwardly. Consequently, Amsterdam is currently in the process of expanding outward on all sides of the city – however, this expansion is most pronounced toward the south. Here, the municipality has planned to establish new urban centers in the periphery of the city. One of them is called ArenA Poort; it is shooting up as an entertainment and commercial zone in the Zuidoost district situated in the vicinity of the Amsterdam ArenA soccer stadium. The area is adjacent to Amsterdamsepoort, an open-air arcade of shops, and to the Bijlmermeer, a residential housing project dating from the end of the nineteen-sixties, so well known for its enormous concrete blocks.

The new ArenA Poort is being established around the stadium in the form of place-demanding boutiques, a shopping center, a concert hall, a movie theater and offices as constituent elements in an attempt to create a new entertainment mecca with a patently urban character. This is primarily being done for purposes of relieving the pressure on Amsterdam's historical city center. But the intention involves something more than the mere establishment of new functions insofar as another one of the objectives of the ArenA Poort project is to pull the Bijlmermeer out of its morass of social problems.

For this reason, Amsterdam has been speculating on how ArenA Poort, Amsterdamsepoort and the Bijlmermeer are going to be interrelated. The former local train station, which is strategically situated as the midpoint between these urban quarters, has therefore been replaced with a new and very costly regional train-, bus- and metro-station, designed by Grimshaw Architects. Now people can pass freely below the rails of the elevated railway. The station can be regarded as a signal of the many ambitions that are being harbored in connection with the area and as a symbol of the whole urban section's re-invigorated status. Parallel to the new train station and the perforation of the railway tracks' earthwork, the municipality has financed and set up a new urban promenade that symbolically and physically conjoins the urban quarters.

The new leisure, amusement and experiential center in ArenA Poort is exactly what the city center of Amsterdam cannot or will not be: a popular consumer and entertainment mecca with *lots* of room for *large scale* functions and *really* lots of people. The recently annexed ArenA Poort constitutes an expansion of the Zuidoost district's former monofunctional residential profile, seeing as functional diversity has now been infused into the area, what with the stadium, the music venues, the specialty boutiques, a bank, commercial spaces and educational functions.
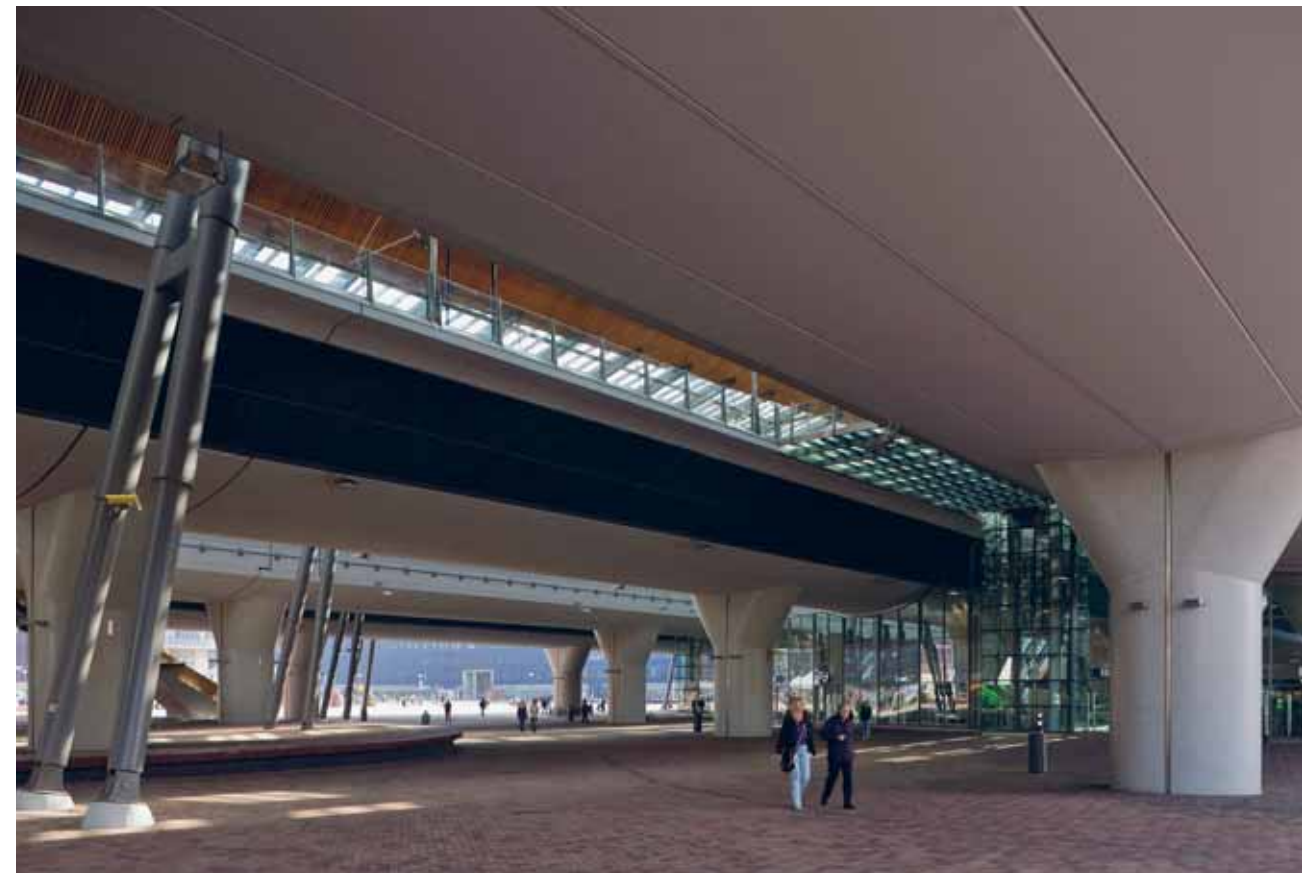
SPACE   ArenA Poort, Amsterdamsepoort and the Bijlmermeer are being joined together by the newly renovated promenade with the train-, bus- and metro-station as the hub. The pedestrian promenade, which is of variable width and is approximately 1500 meters long, leads from Villa Arena past the stadium down to and through the station, where it then passes through Amsterdamsepoort and terminates in a plaza in the sporadically and quite recently renovated Bijlmermeer. The urban avenue has deliberately been designed to serve as the spatial sequence that gives coherence to the area. Visually, the promenade ties the many different areas and functions together. However, the mission of the pedestrian promenade is not limited to establishing a visual connection; its task is also to manifest that, broadly speaking, this area can stand forth as a qualified urban alternative to spending time in the heart of Amsterdam's historic center:

"This joint approach to the center area will make sure that the area will become a single, recognizable area – Amsterdam's second city center." (Source: Amsterdam Development Corporation: "ArenA Boulevard", December 2004). The pedestrian promenade offers, by turns, pauses, intimacy and adventure – and not only passage – in a spatially varying sequence. With the spatial variation, spanning from the soccer fans' enormous event space in front of the stadium to the smaller spaces for everyday life to the east, the pedestrian promenade very distinctly becomes the unifying socio-cultural spatiality of the quarter.

LIFE-SHAPING   Both the Bijlmermeer and Amsterdamsepoort were constructed in the late 1960s with the guiding intention of constructing adequate and light-filled apartments for the residents. The apartments were extraordinarily bright and spacious but this just could not compete with the Dutch people's craving to have their own house and a garden – and the result was that the apartments were vacant after construction was completed. As things came to pass, it was chiefly immigrants (who had opted to settle in the Netherlands) from the former Dutch colony of Suriname who eventually moved into the Bijlmermeer, seeing as they were placed there without any other choice. The over-representation of this particular population segment, combined with an extremely high rate of unemployment among the newly relocated immigrants and Amsterdam's hig-

hest crime rate, served to turn the Bijlmermeer into an out-and-out ghetto.

Today there are people representing 150 nationalities living in the Bijlmermeer. The rate of unemployment prevailing among these dwellers is still higher than it is in the rest of the city. However, the unemployment figures are no longer a cause for alarm and people are not fleeing from the area as they were doing in the past. On the contrary, more and more Caucasian middle class families are moving in, families that are attracted by the many recently constructed private dwellings that were constructed after many of the Bijlmermeer's original concrete blocks were torn down. As things would have it, these particular homes, designed in a modern Dutch style, appeal quite specifically to middle class people who cannot really afford to live in the center of Amsterdam but who, on the other hand, do not want to reside more than 10 minutes away from the heart of the city.

However, the middle class, as a supplemental population group to the many Surinamese folk living here, does not represent the only socio-cultural expansion in the area in general, for in the zone between Madonna fans, soccer enthusiasts and the 150 different nationalities represented here, a number of other user-groups have been introduced. A new upper secondary school has been built, and, already in 1987, NMB Bank (now ING) placed its headquarters in Amsterdamsepoort.

Consequently, it is not at all uncommon these days to see lads from the Bijlmermeer kicking a soccer ball around on the western side of the station, flanked by businessmen wearing pinstriped suits eating their lunches while high school students holding school bags in one hand munch on Surinamese sandwiches held in the other.

Body   Taking their lead from the area's past reputation, the landscape architects, Karres en Brands, who were entrusted with the renovation of the promenade, turned their attention in a very deliberate way to the elaboration of the aesthetic expression, the materiality and the physical appeal.

On the western side of the station, where the stadium and the ArenA Poort entertainment area are situated, the architects have introduced a human scale to the enormous urban space. The space has been punctuated by extra large benches that interrupt the most obvious connecting lines and give rise, instead, to unpredictable patterns of movement. Here, the task has been to make allowances for accommodating large multitudes of people on certain days while creating, at one and the same time, a space that will not appear desolate and over-proportioned on the other days of the year.

On the eastern side, where the Bijlmermeer housing is located, the task has been more focused on clearing up a worn-down urban space and concomitantly making it more meaningful. The dilapidated urban space inventory of former times and the unnecessary plethora of bicycle stands have therefore been replaced:

"The former light concrete floors were very dirty, which, when surrounded by poor architecture from the 80s, gave an unfortunate expression. We introduced a new paving in order to create a friendlier environment. This because people would not stay in Amsterdamsepoort before the renovation: benches were small, the space was full of unnecessary obstacles, the area smelled like a gutter and it looked very unpleasant. We removed all redundant urban furniture and introduced fewer but big benches in order to create what we call 'sticky public space' – spaces where people actually crave to rest." (Source: telephone interview with the project's architect-in-charge, Joost de Natris, from Karres en Brands.)

To put this concretely, what the architects have introduced are large collective benches/sitting-sculptures made in warm-toned kinds of timber. These invite the people who happen to be moving through the area to stop and take a break. When the weather permits, groups of people can be seen sitting on all of these benches. The difference this makes, as compared with the former small benches, is that several groups of people can sit on one bench at the same time. This has a tendency, of course, to more effectively precipitate casual exchanges transpiring

across the area's various nationalities. The spacious benches become the body's anchoring and the promenade's social meeting place.

Putting things into perspective
What we are seeing with the establishment of ArenA Poort is a clear and distinct urban planning-related approach that adds place-demanding functions to Amsterdam that simply could not be positioned in the city's crowded downtown area. The placement of ArenA Poort should not be apprehended as an isolated instance but should rather be regarded, all things considered, as a strategically necessary intervention on a large scale, which not only complements the city center of Amsterdam but also conjoins the new with the already existing: with all the scrupulousness of the acupuncturist, ArenA Poort activates not only itself but also Amsterdamsepoort and the Bijlmermeer.

On a more intimate scale, the precise placements of the urban quarter's programs make a point of seeing to it that the banker meets the high school student and that the soccer fans will converge with some of the people belonging to the area's 150 different nationalities. Amsterdam Bijlmer ArenA railway station draws hordes of sports fans and music lovers to the area, where they occasionally play their parts in generating the district's vitality. Similarly, the station draws high school students and business people to the area on a daily basis. Physically speaking, the special grip that has been deployed in designing the station makes allowances for new visible connecting lines manifested below the rails, while the promenade's new spaces and urban-space inventory make allowances for both social and physical needs.

Moreover, the bank and the secondary school are strategically located on the eastern side of the station; this articulates a very conscious attempt to pull some of the attractive functions over to the side where the residential housing development is situated and, in doing so, to challenge the Bijlmermeer's tarnished reputation. In other words, with the station's floor as the central point of rotation, the entire district has opened up for new flows and movements. This serves to render the different

segments' movement across its girth possible. The station becomes, at one and the same time, the place that gathers together and spreads out the new urban quarter's activities. In doing so, it switches the area *on*.

Amsterdam
- inhabitants: 745.000
- size: 166 km^2

The Zuidoost quarter
- inhabitants: 85.000
- size: 22 km^2

Bijlmermeer residential quarter
- indhabitants: 50.000
- størrelse: 6 km^2
- established: 1963-1975
- architect: Siegfried Nassuth

The developed area ArenA Poort
- size: 2 km^2
- construction start: 1994
- client: Public-private partnership consisting of the Municipality of Amsterdam, the local council for the Zuidoost quarter and OMC B.V.
- architects: UNStudio, Sjoerd Soeters, Wiel Arets, Architecten Cie and others

The newly renovated promenade
- size: 40.000 m^2
- established: 2008
- client: Ontwikkelingsbedrijf gemeente Amsterdam (The Developmental Unit of the Municipality of Amsterdam)
- architect: Karres en Brands landschaps- architecten

Amsterdam Bijlmer ArenA Train Station
- size: 60.000 m^2
- established: 2007
- client: ProRail and the Municipality of
- Amsterdam
- architect: Grinshaw Architects
- awards: RIBA Stirling Prize, nominated in 2008, RIBA European Award 2008, Hollands BNA Architecture Prize 2008, Brunel Award 2008

In 2003, a suburb of Amsterdam, Koog aan de Zaan, arranged a competition concerning the conversion of a central landscape of leftover space, situated beneath the A8 highway, into a public urban space, with the intention of eliminating the barrier running across the breadth of the city that the highway had previously constituted.

The Dutch suburb, Koog aan de Zaan, located 11 kilometers north of Amsterdam's city center, is characterized both by its proximity to the metropolis and by the typically suburban opportunities for having a house and a garden, replete with easy access to recreational areas. Since 1969, though, one of the most characteristic features in this suburb has been the A8 motorway, which brutally slices its way right through the center of town, albeit on 7-meter tall columns, giving rise to a surplus space and a no-man's land beneath its massive expanse.

In 2003 the municipality arranged an architecture competition where the theme of the submitted projects was the conversion of the spaces beneath the A8 into a public urban spatial sequence that would be called A8ernA. Based on a process in which the citizens were called into the discussion in an intensive way, the aim of the architecture competition was to square accounts and do something about the fate of this area that had heretofore been submerged in the shadows.

Space
Prior to the conversion, the spaces situated beneath the A8 amounted to a neglected parking lot, a wall that had been covered over many times with graffiti and a few makeshift stalls peddling fish and flowers. With this in mind, what the competition program emphasized was that the future A8ernA should have permanent functions in order to ensure continuous activities and the place's relevance and identity. The prize-winning entry was submitted by NL Architects, who read the highway as a precondition for the suburban town in the sense that Koog aan Zaan is essentially bound up with the accessibility to Amsterdam the highway affords. Consequently, the highway cannot and should not be disowned.

As a matter of fact, what NL Architects proposed, with their competition project, was to perceive the highway as being a necessity rather than an obstacle: by making the landscape of leftover space attractive, it becomes transformed into, quite precisely, that special potential that binds the formerly split up city together.

A8ernA is divided up into three zones: a skater zone; a commercial zone; and finally, right where the highway runs along the river bank, a recreational zone. The spaces' various scenarios make their appeal to a large segment of Koog aan de Zaan's citizens, seeing that here, room has been made for skateboards, for children, for picnics, for daily shopping and for recreation. In this way, A8ernA is a local place that offers new kinds of activity to the city.

The three zones are principally laid out along a spatial lapse that runs parallel to the highway's course but there are a few places where certain activities and the landscape break loose and grab hold of the city's existing context. This anchors A8ernA to the city and creates new connections in the formerly divided city.

Putting things into perspective
A8ernA interprets a classic conflict between the highway as the life nerve of the suburban town that renders the metropolis accessible and the highway as a noisy and annoying element in the town. In Koog aan de Zaan, the conversion gives rise to a new way of thinking about a landscape of leftover space through the means of introducing new programs and activities for these previously overlooked places.

The urban spaces under the A8 highway demonstrate how rhythm is an essential aspect of city life, how traffic can be regarded as the rhythm that binds the lived life. The highway constitutes an extremely ordered and regular rhythm, which is controlled by the set routines of rush hour. A8ernA, on the other hand, fashions a contrast: a rhythm that is charac-

terized by everyday life's unpredictability, which articulates the coherence of lived life. (cf. urban sociologist Lefebvre's notion of *rhythmanalysis*, see *Thoughts*).

In this way, A8ernA amounts to a programmatic municipal attempt to understand the city's various rhythms as being not only a necessary but also a continuous and coherent set of nerve pathways that can be enhanced, improved and bound together for the benefit of the entire system.

Koog aan de Zaan / Zaanstad
- inhabitants: 140.000
- size: 83 km^2

Landscape of leftover space, A8ernA
- size: 24.000 m^2
- established: 2006
- client: Dienst Stadsbedrijven gemeente Zaanstad
- architect: NL Architects, Carve (skatepark), Universe Architecture (urban plan)
- price: 20 mio. Danish kroner
- awards: European Prize for Urban Public Space 2006, Parteon Architectuurprijs Zaanstreek 2006, Routepluim 2008 (nominated), Kindvriendelijke projecten in de openbare ruimte (nominated)
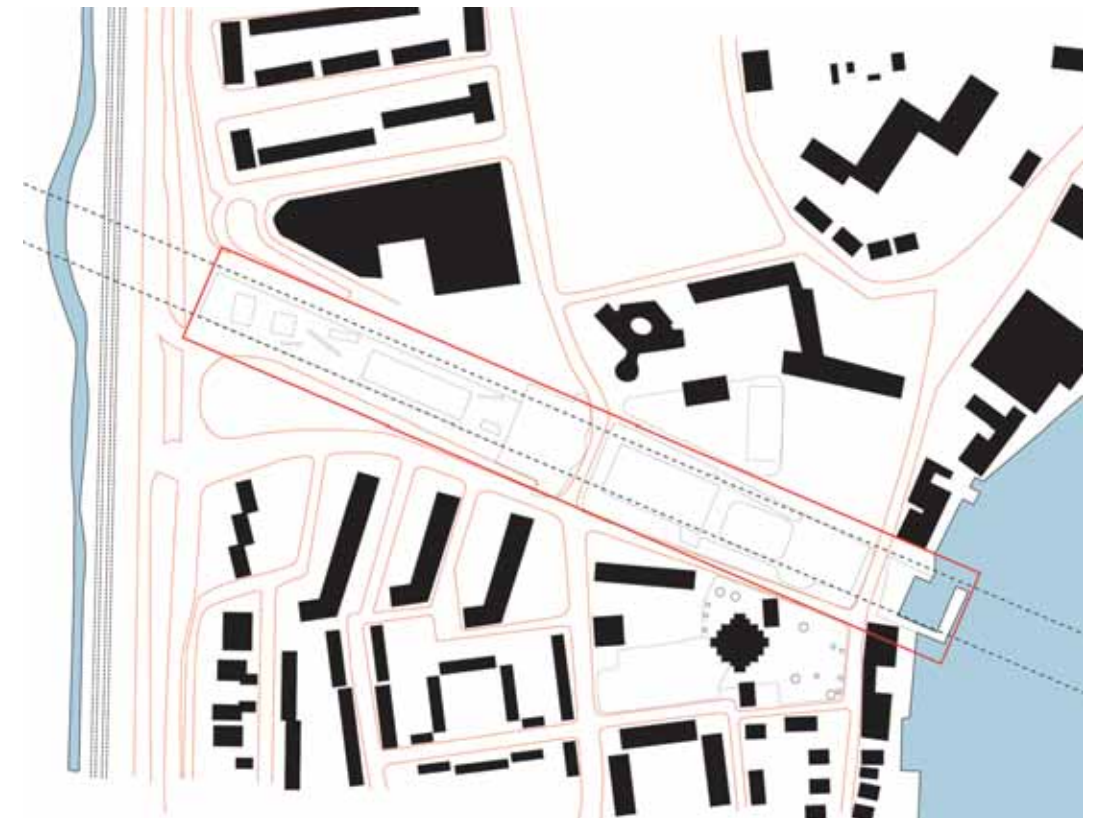
Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües was established by the public-private partnership, ProEixample, which has taken the initiative to convert run-down courtyards in the Eixample quarter of Barcelona. So far, forty such courtyards have been converted into local green breathing spaces; all of these transformations are aspects of one and the same strategy. What we have here, then, is a case of parallel interventions that are playing a part in enhancing Eixample's amenity value.

Over the course of the past 20 or 30 years, Barcelona has transformed itself from an impoverished Spanish industrial city to a full-fledged international metropolis. During the period of Franco's dictatorship, Spain's capital city, Madrid, was strongly favored. The repercussions of this led, in part, to Barcelona's being badly maintained and run-down: its streets, its public transportation system, its parks, its urban spaces and its plazas were decidedly neglected. In response to this historical condition, Barcelona upgraded its urban potentials during the era of democracy that followed in the wake of the dictatorship: the public space quickly became an important part of the political play in a worn-down and hitherto badly under-prioritized city. The means for the transformation were – and continue to be – an extensive series of initiatives and strategies, most of which revolve around adapting the city into the experience- and knowledge-economy. Most significant in this connection was Barcelona's hosting the Olympic games in 1992, which really got things moving and occasioned a total makeover of the city; this also sparked an influx of tourists. Subsequently, the Olympics initiative was supplemented by Forum2004, an international triennial that set culture and sustainability on the agenda in hopes of boosting tourism to the city even further.

Since then, new initiatives have continued to give rise to development in the city and novel ways of creating streets and plazas, making ample room for the life being lived there. For example, in the former industrial district, Poblenou, a transformation is currently in progress where the industrial building structures are being converted into workshops and galleries, etc. for high-tech firms, entrepreneurs and the like, under the aggregate strategic program known as 22@.

A green recreational focus
In 1981, when the municipality of Barcelona carried out a formal enumeration of its parks and green breathing spaces, the list was very short. While it is true that Barcelona, in the period under Franco, doubled both its population and its developed area of ground, no more than six parks came into being: three of these, incidentally, were situated in the already-designated recreational area, Mont Juic. In response to the results of the aforementioned enumeration, Barcelona implemented an intensive strategy aimed at providing local breathing spaces. This led to a large number of parks and plazas and to the establishment of the urban beach in the district of Barceloneta.

This strategy also gained a foothold in the Eixample district, which has historically experienced a high population density in tandem with a low standard of living. The municipality set up the corporation, ProEixample, in collaboration with a number of private investors; the goal in sight was to convert a number of worn out and dilapidated backyards – that had become crammed up with a plethora of workshops, sheds and heaped up stockpiles – into recreational yard spaces for the district's residents to enjoy. Without incurring any extra expenses for the residents or for the municipality, ProEixample has underwritten the costs of clearing and sanitizing approximately 20% of the yard spaces, which are then being sold to parties like ProEixample's private collaborative partners.

By 2007, ProEixample had managed to convert 85,890 square meters of ground, allocated over 40 yard spaces, with work on an additional 18 backyards in progress. The 40 yard spaces, which exhibit a wide spectrum of variation, range from intimate

gardens and plaza formations to fields for playing sports and schoolyards. What is common to these spaces is a local-intensive aim and the thematic intention that none of residents living in the Eixample will have more than 200 meters to go to get to a park, as the many revitalized courtyards are, actually, all parallel initiatives that strategically attempt to enhance the quarter's overall attractiveness. The first of these new urban spaces was the Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües, which was opened in 1985.

Space The Eixample quarter is a classic urban neighborhood: dense and somewhat run-down, containing mixed urban functions, but without being pulsating and noisy. Inside one of the urban district's private housing blocks, we find the semi-public courtyard known as Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües. From the street, it can be rather difficult to catch sight of the entrance to the yard, which is marked only with a small sign. The passage that leads into Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües is long and rather dark; in this way, the special ambience of the place is already ushered in as soon as you peer in from the street. At the end of the passage, you run up against a yard space that measures approximately 40 x 40 meters, with open sky above and with benches, trees, a water tower that was built in 1867, with "beach sand" and with a paddling pool situated in the far corner of the area. In the summer, it costs a few Euros to enter the space, since it is actually the case that here, there are changing facilities with toilets and showers that are open to visitors. The price of admission is paid at the gate.

Like many of Barcelona's parks and squares, the expression of Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües is markedly aesthetic. The low trees in ruler-straight rows serve to create to an atmosphere of intimacy and offer protection from any prying gazes that might be sent forth from windows of private residences in the area. The benches, also placed in rows, are made of wood. They invite you to stop up and stick around for awhile, unless you would prefer to stretch out on whatever blanket you might have brought along and unrolled on top of the ground tiles or on the sand. At the end of the space, we come to the paddling pool, whose aqueous mirror imparts a sense of tranquility and refreshing coolness to the yard. Standing right

in the middle of the basin is the old water tower, which presently houses the maintenance facilities.

The elements of the space, then, are rather traditional. However, precisely because you happen to be standing in a backyard surrounded by the city's privately owned buildings, the fixtures and the inventory appear to be exclusive and extraordinary.

Life-shaping In many European cities, people are moving out to the suburbs as soon as they start making a family in order to have more room and enjoy better recreational opportunities. There are no more than five of Barcelona's suburbs where the cost of housing is higher than the price of analogous premises that can be found in the least expensive quarter in downtown Barcelona. Considered in this vein, it is economically attractive for many of the citizens in Barcelona to move out of the city, seeing also that the space has become too cramped in the denser part of the city: this is why the residents living in the downtown areas of Barcelona are chiefly unmarried and without children.

Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües can, however, be considered one way of influencing families with children to remain living in Eixample. By giving rise to new recreational frames that are well-suited to a life with children, one of the incentives to move away from the city – that is otherwise influencing families with children to leave – is being removed.

The informal character of Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües offers the possibility of having a wide variety of visitors. Apart from its special appeal to children, the garden does not attract any specially selected segment of the population. The space is characterized by its social openness. Everyone has an equal right to be here. The space does not have a social identity and is not subject to any kind of social ownership. Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües thus constitutes a public domain where there is place and room for everybody. The very fact that people are willing to pay an admission price – albeit a low one – entails that whenever they come to visit the space, people are making a conscious choice: they are deliberately choosing to enjoy what they can experience here and only here.

Body   Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües offers the chance to be at leisure and relax, smack dab in the middle of the center of the city, albeit in a specifically local context. The space is being used for bathing, for relaxing, for sunbathing, for playing and so on. The sensuous and physical aspects are enthroned in the space, where the sand, the shade, the sunshine, the trees, the walls and the water all enter in as scenographic elements, which fashion a beach-like atmosphere where seeing and being seen – and maybe even in a bikini – are also part of the experience. In contrast to the street space outside the walls, where cars and traffic dominate the sensory experience, the "relaxed intimacy" is a parameter for the local experience of Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües.

Putting things into perspective
With Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües, Barcelona has a different kind of urban space where it is possible to stretch out and hang out. Precisely this type of space and plaza is, notwithstanding Barcelona's many plazas, a rarity in this particular part of the densely populated Eixample. Upon the clearing, sanitizing and reconstruction of the many older backyards – and not only for the benefit of those people living in the housing block, as a matter of fact – the neighborhood's local environment and amenity value were greatly enhanced. Eixample has been supplied with new local-urban meeting places, while Barcelona, as a whole, is proving more and more successful when it comes to holding onto its families with children, especially in the inner city, where these new meeting places are playing a significant role in rendering the population composition variegated; this, of course, also results in greater tax revenues paid to the municipality.

The parallel strategy, which democratizes and utilizes private courtyards in the neighborhood, is an ideal way of providing Eixample's residents with breathing spaces. The city's effort to create more and better recreational spaces within a densely built quarter is unique because it challenges the distinction between public and private space and turns formerly neglected backyards into the city's active domains. These new spaces in the city make recreation extremely accessible to a number of residents who otherwise would have far to go when they want to spend time enjoying green areas.

The municipality of Barcelona takes care of the operational costs associated with running Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües and takes responsibility for the urban space in the same way as it takes responsibility for any given park in the city. Insofar as the expression and the elements of its space do not deviate significantly from the rest of the city's parks, it is clear to see that this is a municipal park and accordingly a space that belongs to the municipality. The upshot of all this is that questions related to ownership and to the sender-receiver configuration are being thrown into relief.

Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües offers access to the yard space behind the private walls. Here, you gain access to something that is exclusive and extraordinary. This is the city's semi-private patio-like space that is being rendered accessible, available and almost public. In this way, Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües and ProEixample's many parallel initiatives are contributing not only to bringing forth one joint identity to the quarter but also to introducing light and shade, ever so delicately, into the aggregate image of Barcelona. Consequently, with the establishment of Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües, the municipality of Barcelona has made the most of previously disused qualities and potentials in the city by making its verso side readable and accessible. Here, it can safely be said that Noël Burch's off-screen space has successfully been activated.

Barcelona
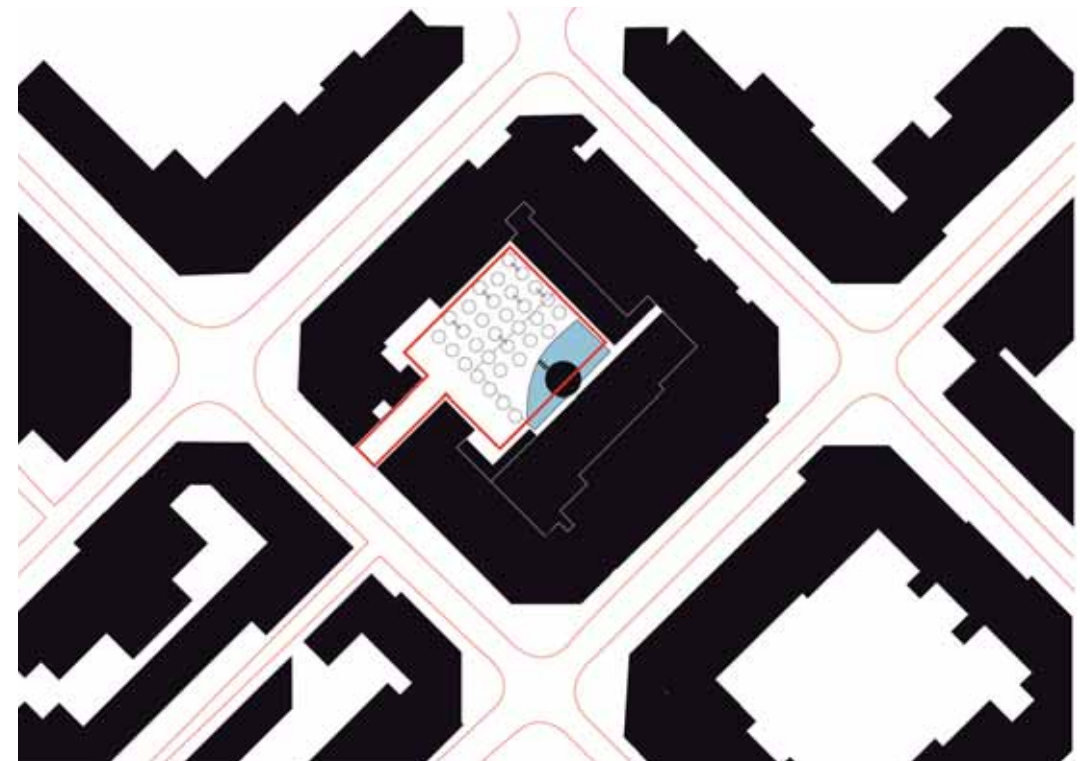* inhabitants: 1,6 mio. (4.8 million, when including the entire metropolitan area)
* size: 100 km^2
* population density: 15.637 people/ km^2

Eixample urban quarter
* inhabitants: 260.000
* size: 7,45 km^2
* population density: 34.838 people/ km^2

The courtyard Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües
* size: 1,517 km^2
* client: ProEixample
* established: 1985

The bridge, the pedestrian section and the zone for stopping up and taking a break that all comprise Rambla del Mar link Barcelona's renowned Rambla with the waterfront, which has undergone a massive development in the course of the past 20 years. Rambla del Mar and other parallel initiatives are playing a role in turning the city toward the water and toward the corresponding recreational amenities.

Barcelona's expansion formerly aimed its focus at the mountains and away from the water. This was because the waterfront, facing the Mediterranean Sea, was formerly a heavily industrial area that was also severed off from the city by a highway. As a link in the massive conversion and renovation of Barcelona that preceded the city's hosting of the Olympic games in 1992, this highway was reconfigured so that it was led down below the ground. The upshot of this was that the physical barrier that had previously been blocking access to the water was removed. On top of this, the industrial activities were relocated to a new harbor situated south of the city.

These events kicked off a comprehensive public development of beaches, parks and neighborhoods on the newly retrieved coastline, among these being the bridge connection known as Rambla del Mar.

Space

Rambla del Mar is both a space for pausing and relaxing and a swing bridge that conjoins Barcelona's classic Rambla with the pier, Moll d'Espanya, where the Maremàgnum shopping mall and Barcelona's aquarium are both located. This modestly sized – albeit not insignificant – bridge is an important connection between the Rambla's hectic and busily tourist-trodden thoroughfare and the new development on the waterfront: across the water, two formerly separated areas are now being joined together.

The bridge has been designed so that it is wide enough to accommodate both a pedestrian promenade and a graduated area of stairs with windscreens that extend an invitation to visitors to stop up and simply enjoy being here. Here, the water and the harborside's recreational qualities can be enjoyed and the view of Mont Juic can be admired. The bridge's floor, made of wood, sends maritime signals affirming that you are indeed at the harbor. It is clear to see that you have now stepped away from the Rambla and that you have moved into a different context: the bridge is not only a connective artery to and an extension of the Rambla but an urban meeting place as well.

Putting things into perspective

Rambla del Mar is a recreational harbor area that is well-suited as being part of a maritime stroll. At Moll d'Espanya, situated at the end of Rambla del Mar, you arrive at the Maremàgnum shopping mall. This valuable lot in the middle of the harbor basin could otherwise have done well to have housed a more open function, seeing as the shopping center unfortunately closes up around itself and does not take any advantage at all of its spectacular location. In spite of this, Rambla del Mar, notwithstanding its modest size, quite simply unifies the Rambla's inclusive public profiling of promenade- and tourist-rambling with the consumption-allaying volume of the shopping mall found at the edge of the harbor.

Barcelona's coastline has been opened up and rendered accessible through the aid of several parallel and simultaneous interventions along the shore. Rambla del Mar is thus not the only place where the city's orientation has been rotated 180 degrees and turned toward the sea. What is common to all these places is the sea's amenity value as the center of rotation that has so delicately shaded and colored the city's profile. Rambla del Mar is accordingly one part of a massive parallel development of Barcelona, which has integrated the sea right into the city and given rise to the conception of Barcelona as a recreational coastal town.

Barcelona

- inhabitants: 1,6 mio. (4.8 million, when including the entire metropolitan area)
- size: 100 km^2

Rambla del Mar

- size: 300 m^2
- established: 1995
- client: The Municipality of Barcelona
- architects: Helio Pinon and Albert Viaplana

HafenCity stands as an important component in a comprehensive development of the waterfront in Hamburg. The harbor area's Marco Polo Terraces development is one among four public urban spaces in HafenCity – all of which were designed by EMBT Arquitectes. Like pearls on a string, these four spaces serve to bring physicality into focus.

In Hamburg, a former dock area on the banks of the Elbe River is in the process of being transformed into the new urban district, HafenCity, as a link in Europe's largest urban development project. In order to attract people to the area – above and beyond the new residents – HafenCity will accommodate a number of arts institutions: Elbphilharmonien, designed by Herzog de Meuron; a cruise terminal; a Science Center, designed by OMA; the architecture department of HafenCity Universität; and various workplaces and residences of high caliber – all of this being done with the expectation of creating vibrant and high-quality frames for urban life in the new HafenCity.

In HafenCity, the public spaces are being integrated in a strategic manner with the result that the squares, promenades and parks are formed not merely in a secondary fashion, as incidental by-products of the surrounding buildings, blocks and infrastructure, but rather as independent primary elements. With this in mind, the aim is to develop 20% of HafenCity as public urban space.

Body

On HafenCity's west side there are four different urban spaces: the Magellan Terraces; Vasco da Gama Square; the Dalmankai Terraces and the Marco Polo Terraces. They are sequenced like pearls on a string and make up the four destinations on a continuous urban sequence of promenades and pedestrian courses. The open urban squares have been designed by the Spanish architectural firm, EMBT Arquitectes, and they share a common expression, where stringent industrial lines are coupled with soft inviting shapes. The Marco Polo Terraces are situated quite centrally in HafenCity, nestled deeply between two wharves offering stunning views over the Elbe and

the new section of the city. The term "terrace" refers here to the elaboration of the space as a terraced amphitheater, which slopes downward on three successive levels toward the waterfront.

The Marco Polo Terraces are covered with soft, undulating and green lawns. The spread-out hill-shaped lawns offer users the chance to sprawl out and lie down as the trees shield off the direct sunshine and the rain. Raised wooden decks dispersed here and there around the plaza afford the opportunity to sit down or even lie down when the lawn happens to be moist.

In other words, the Marco Polo Terraces' softer elements give rise to a relaxed ambience, while the harder inventory serves to inspire the visitor to recall the maritime context. Taken together, the different ground coverings have a broad sensuous span that simultaneously makes use of the traditional aesthetics and the logic of the park: a survey view is being coupled here with the opportunity to be in your own space, on your own blanket, while simultaneously being a part of the larger community.

Putting things into perspective

If the transformations of the haborside are going to succeed, it is imperative that they will invite vitality and effervescent life. They are going to have to attract people with the promise of relaxation, adventure and fresh air. The Marco Polo Terraces' bodily focus redeems this pledge; this is supplemented even further by the opportunities for the unfolding of the body in the district's three other urban spaces. The Magellan Terraces are paved with a hard substance and offer access to the sensuousness of the lake via pontoons floating on the surface of the water. Vasco da Gama Square contains a skatepark and outdoor restaurants while the Dalmankai Terraces feature picturesque cherry trees.

The Marco Polo Terraces inscribe themselves in the chain of pearls' sequence – in ensemble with the three other spaces in HafenCity, inasmuch as they

have all been executed with the same typological and aesthetic point of departure. Consequently, HafenCity's Marco Polo Terraces enter into an interaction with the other three other urban spaces in a form of bodily experience of the urban district and the knowledge gained hereby. Accordingly, the strength of the urban spaces in HafenCity is that they can be experienced individually, in the aggregate or in parallel and by this means, also in a complementary way.

Hamburg
- inhabitants: 1.773.000
- size: 755 km^2

Hafencity
- size: 1.550.000 m^2
- client: HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, Freie- und Hansestadt Hamburg
- architect: KCAP (master plan)

The Marco Polo Terraces
- size: 5.700 m^2
- established: 2007
- client: HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, Freie- und Hansestadt Hamburg
- architect: EMBT Arquitectes (Enric Miralles and Benedetta Tagliabue
- price: 41 mio. Danish kroner

Denkmal Berlin is a memorial dedicated to the Jewish people who were murdered during the Second World War. The memorial, which was designed by Eisenman Architects, is not only a public monument but also a vast urban space situated in the inner part of Berlin. The space underscores how the past – even the gruesome aspects of it – can be called into discussion and activated in the city, in a rewarding fashion, as a part of the cultural heritage.

CITY   In the past century, roughly speaking, Berlin has survived no less than seven different forms of government, all of which have pitted themselves in vehement opposition to the immediately preceding regime. This has resulted in new urban squares, new urban plans, new ways of viewing the world and new narratives telling about the past. All of this, combined with Berlin's role during the Second World War and the heavy bombardments connected with this, has provided Berlin with good grounds for wanting to symbolize its past and its memories. With its new memorials, Berlin is trying to turn the past, and both the wanted and the unwanted aspects of this past, into collective points of reference for the present without concomitantly turning the urban space into a museum.

As a result, Berlin has invested in a number of new memorials – the so-called Denkmale – as one aspect of the present government's program of disseminating information about the past inside the city's collective space. In this vein, a number of larger and smaller monuments convey snatches of the city's history and stimulate an attitude of reflection. One of these is Denkmal Berlin, which raises awareness about the extermination of more than six million Jewish people.

Berlin is taking advantage of a cultural heritage strategy in which the collective memory becomes materialized in the public spaces in the form of symbols and abstractions that lie open for individual decoding. This refers to a mnemonic strategy where the individual puts together his/her very own narrative, piece by piece, while leaning on visual elements from the urban space.

SPACE   Denkmal Berlin is situated in the heart of the city's representational center by Unter den Linden, between Potsdamer Platz and the Reichstag, close to Brandenburger Tor. The site is bounded on the west by Tiergarten, the city's expansive park, and on the east by a lookout post, a few small shops and some apartment buildings. The Akademie der Künste and the American Embassy are both located on the northern side of the site, while a few German Bundesland embassies are found toward the south. The site was formerly a "no man's land" that straddled the border between East and West Berlin. Today it is an urban space, an artwork and a tourist destination.

Denkmal Berlin consists of 2,711 concrete slabs or "stelae" that are positioned horizontally. All the stelae measure 95 centimeters in width and 237.5 centimeters in length but they have different heights, ranging variously from 10 to 400 centimeters. The stelae are arranged in a grid, with 95 centimeters between the respective units. From the edge of the open plaza, where the stelae are lowest in height, there is a vista and a broad overview across the memorial and the surrounding buildings. As we gradually move into the "forest" of stelae, though, the vista disappears and any sense of broad overview similarly becomes lost inside the density of the stelae's intermediate spaces. As you continue moving in toward the center, the ground also starts to slope downward, which gives rise to the disquieting feeling when you are standing in the center of the memorial that you are claustrophobically surrounded by stelae that are taller than you are.

Denkmal Berlin does not have any communicative signs posted, as classical monuments typically feature – signs that would clarify what the purpose of the work is, although the work is actually supplemented by an information- and visitors-center that offers information about the persecution of Jewish people before and during the Second World War. The center, however, is subordinate to the primary

and ultimatum-like urban-space experience that is effectuated by moving through the forest of concrete stelae. The memorial, then, notwithstanding the massive apparition of its aggregate figure, makes its appearance as patently anti-monumental by virtue of its artistic abstraction; this is further underscored by the work's conscious choice to abstain from having any inscriptions or any recognizable motive.

Life-shaping Denkmal Berlin makes its appeal both to the German person and to the tourist. At the site, however, there are mostly tourists. This is due not only to the open city square's extremely contemplative and formal character but also to its geographical position in the representative section of Berlin. The locally based Berliner most typically spends time in the area only when there is some work-related reason to be there. For this reason, the public that visits Denkmal Berlin is composed mostly of tourists. The tourists do, though, make use of the site in a wide variety of ways: from making a rash decision to pass right through the site to being more actively engaged with the stelae to just fooling around a bit and even to the inquisitive and exploratory approach with a ready and willing camera. What is common to all these ways of visiting the place and taking in the site is that what is presented here is a new and different kind of interactive experience of urban space.

The space is open to subjective interpretation. The site's embedded message and meaning do not pop into your eyes: there is rather an opportunity being offered to write out your own message, since the degree of the message's seriousness will depend on the subject's personal relation to and involvement with the Holocaust and the Second World War. The message does not get communicated through texts and historical facts – as is the case in so many other monuments ¬– but rather has to be worked out and brought forth by the user him/herself. Denkmal Berlin, in other words, has been conceived as a contemplative site, created by the varying spatiality of the stelae.

In this way, the scene is prepared so that the visitors can obtain some sense of realization about the war's exterminations. The users, the local one and global one, the large one and the small one, the Jew and the anti-Semite, are incontestably compelled to consider why this large plaza site is filled with concrete stelae in various heights. It goes without saying that the memorial does not aim to please the visitor. But it does play a part in compelling the viewer to make up his/her mind and to adopt a very necessary stance in relation to all this.

Body The sharp composition of the site, with its uniform elements placed rigorously in a grid, serves to impart a very peculiar bodily sensation. The space's performative character is generated largely by the body's interaction with the space's elements: the many different heights of the stelae and the space's undulating floor render navigation and orientation difficult and challenging. One is drawn downward into the hollow as we move toward the center of the square, where the vista vanishes. By this means, what emerges is a bodily sensation of having gone astray, of feeling engulfed or of becoming desperate, all of which then become aspects of personal remembrance.

Here is an eyewitness account:
"Initially, I got the feeling I was looking at a grave yard with a number of tombstones. There are no signs or plaques on the slabs. They 'speak' for themselves. But as I walked into the Memorial, the paths descend and the slabs grow taller, and I began to get a 'walled in' feeling. As I continued to walk in, I was no longer able to see the whole Memorial, only just the slabs immediately near me. This happens fairly quickly. At the middle, the slabs rise up to about 10 feet or so, and I definitely got a 'closed in' feeling. As I walked out, the slabs got shorter and the paths rose up, and it was possible to see the whole panorama once again. But I had an instant recollection that I had just been in a dark, penned up place." (Source: Roger von Oech, http://blog.creativethink.com)

Putting things into perspective
It is hard to categorize Denkmal Berlin: is it a memorial, a work of art, a representative urban space, a meeting place or a plaza? Well, it is "both-and" and it is precisely this versatility that makes Denkmal Berlin interesting in a way that is relevant to urban considerations. For Denkmal Berlin differentiates

itself from other spaces and memorials in Berlin by renouncing any associations with conventional understanding, use, and interpretation. The memorial has been designed as a work of art and a sculpture rendered on the scale of the city and ought to be interpreted as a work in which the use and the experience of the site's extraordinary spatiality are rendered essential.

Accordingly, Denkmal Berlin is an urban space that can be apprehended as an "open work", with a nod to Umberto Eco. There may in fact be an intended way of interpreting the site and its elements but this interpretation is evidently not being coached by any engraved text. Instead, the site remains open for subjective bodily understanding and interpretation.

The new monuments that have been placed in and around the city of Berlin constitute the municipal government's mode of relating the story about Berlin's role in the Second World War. They come to grips with a sensitive and emotionally volatile history by owning up to the past and simultaneously distancing themselves from this history's occurrences by focusing attention on the atrocities and guaranteeing that the collective memory will be preserved. Denkmal Berlin thus constitutes one important link in the forging of a commonly shared narrative.

It is in this way that Berlin's memorials like Denkmal Berlin enter onto the urban scene as actively creative elements within a subjective formational process, where recollection, recognition and realization are being generated. These are being carried further as one part of the subject's personal and cultural ballast (cf. Thomas Højrup: *Dannelsens Dialektik*). With the establishment of Denkmal Berlin, the German government is registering its disdain for the things that happened during the Second World War, albeit without rendering the space museum-like or exclusionary.

Berlin
- inhabitants: 3,4 mio.
- size: 892 km^2
- population density: 3811,66 pers./km^2

Denkmal
- size: 19.000 m^2
- established: 1998-2004. Official opening on May 12, 2005
- client: Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas
- architect: Eisenman Architects
- awards: American Institute of Architects, National Honor Award for Design 2007, Berlin Architectural Prize, Distinction 2006, American Institute of Architects, New York Chapter, Honor Award 2005

Since 1990, the city government in Berlin has been preserving parts of The Berlin Wall and the adjoining border stations for purposes of acknowledging The Wall's historic influence on the city. To this end, information plaques, memorials and other features serve today to mark out and to render visible The Wall's former placement as part of a municipal strategy devoted to cultural heritage.

City

Like many other German cities, Berlin was badly battered during the Second World War, when the city lost most of its historic buildings and monuments under the ravaging fire of heavy bombardments. Later on, in 1961, The Berlin Wall was erected as a barrier of concrete that prevented East German people from fleeing to the West, a gesture that so brutally epitomized the repercussions of the war and so clearly symbolized the incompatibility of the forces of might that followed in the wake of the debacle. Up until the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, The Berlin Wall divided the city for a period of 28 years.

Despite the fact that 20 years have passed since The Wall was dismantled, the former division of Berlin can still be sensed. Not only does the physical condition of the buildings typically offer a clue about whether a given place was once a part of East or West Berlin, but social formations and ambiences also serve to disclose the Berlin areas' past history. The past's segregation into East and West is still, undeniably, part of today's conception of Berlin, both in the Berliner's consciousness and in the tourist's quest to discover the historical Berlin.

When the Berlin Wall fell, broken bricks and other kinds of rubble from the wall became popular souvenirs. Most of the wall disappeared very quickly. So as not to be oblivious about the era of the schism, The Wall's former placement has been highlighted at selected locations in and around the city. This occurs partly in the road pavement with double rows of cobblestones or copper bands bearing the inscription "Berlin Mauer 1969-1989". The highlighting is also taking place on the information plaques found at 29 different sites in Berlin that bear the heading, "Geschichtsmeile Berliner Mauer", which disseminate stories about the lives that were unfolded on, close to and around The Wall. Moreover, there is the Berliner Mauerweg, a bicycle course and walking tour that has been an offering since 2006, which serves to remind people of The Wall. The route is 160 kilometers long and consists of more than 40 stations along the way where the interested visitor can read about The Berlin Wall's history. Depending on how long you want to spend and on whether you are riding a bike or moving forward on your feet, you can take in all the contents presented on the entire route or you can turn your attention to selected bits.

These many features along The Wall's former course serve to visualize and re-manifest The Berlin Wall's narratives, which have influenced Berlin up until the present day – socially, mentally and physically. The markings designate places and areas in the city that have all had a significant effect and thereby cast light on an important historical layer of the city that plays a significant role in rendering the past contemporary and relevant.

Putting things into perspective

The pavements, the "Geschichtsmeile Berliner Mauer" plaques and the Berliner Mauerweg are all sporadically placed features that have been distributed along the sequential lapse of The Wall's many kilometers. The individual features can be read in different ways: at a rapid tempo – on a bicycle while riding through the city, where it is The Wall's geographic expanse rather than the individual points that is held in focus – or in more quiet and contemplative immersion at the individual locations. What is common to both ways of experiencing the features is that the interventions leave room for contemporary expressions and needs to be unfurled in the urban scene while, at the same time, the city's history is neither being forgotten nor denied. The features thus do not determine the physical or aesthetic expression of the space. Instead, they set

the scene, in an unobtrusive and aesthetic manner, for the unfolding of a very important story about why the city looks the way it does. Here, the cultural heritage is not a matter of an "either/or" but rather of a "both-and".

The Wall's various memorials and features render the history of Berlin visual. By virtue of their physical placement in the cityscape, they become pictorial cues that help the individual to visualize the past. What this amounts to is the municipal government of Berlin's attempt to propagate and communicate cultural heritage. By and large, all the aforementioned features make up a strategic prevention process, in which the city government is trying to dissociate itself from the incidents that took place during and after the Second World War by choosing not to deny them but, on the contrary, by choosing to turn them into an acknowledged part of the collective memory.

Berlin
- inhabitants: 3,4 mio.
- size: 892 km^2

The Berlin Wall
- establishment/demolition: 1961/1989
- lenght: 154,5 km
- checkpoints: 8

©Biuro Projektów Lewicki Łatak. Photo: Paweł Kubisztal

In Krakow, the buildings have played witness to the different epochs and forms of government that have placed their stamp on the city's history. With the transformation of Nowy Plac Zgody square, yet another historical layer has been added to the city, a layer that offers testimony about the extermination of so many Jewish people during the Second World War.

Krakow is one of the oldest and largest cities in Poland and has always been an important cultural and scientific center of the whole nation. The city was enrolled on UNESCO's "World Heritage" list in 1978 on account of its unparalleled collection of historical buildings. Today, many of the buildings are still standing as physical references to the city's history: medieval castle gates; Renaissance cathedrals; Baroque churches; old synagogues and communism's relatively recent concrete constructions. It is aspects of this cultural legacy for which Krakow is best known but there are other sites that have played a role of vital importance with respect to the city's identity.

One of these places is the Nowy Plac Zgody square located in what was formerly Krakow's Jewish ghetto. During the Second World War, Nowy Plac Zgody functioned as a holding pen, *Umschlagplatz*, for Jews who were slated to be sent to concentration camps. For this reason, during and also after the war, this open city square was filled with an accumulation of the personal effects that the displaced Jewish citizens were forced to leave behind. With a new design of Nowy Plac Zgody, aspects of these Jews' plight are being rendered visible for all to see. Today, sculptures of everyday-looking chairs fill up the expanse of the square, symbolizing the abandoned belongings.

Space
Nowy Plac Zgody's chairs are all made of bronze. All of them are facing in the same direction. The chairs are mounted on individual platforms, made of iron, that elevate and suspend the chairs just a bit over the pavement. Additionally, the chairs have been scaled up in size in order to emphasize that what

we have here are *symbolic representations*. Furthermore, the chairs are placed in a grid. This imparts a formal rigor and monumentality to the square. Conversely, the formalism is undermined by the chairs' reference to objects of everyday use.

Here, we are presented with a monument that pours forth respect through the aid of repetition and stringency while, at one and the same time, it appears as something patently anti-monumental by virtue of its reference to everyday life. Here, there are no conspicuous inscriptions that preach any specific reading of the work but, on the contrary, only a minimal degree of information presented in a simple "shed" found at the edge of the square. Nor has Nowy Plac Zgody been organized around a central focal point, seeing as the individual objects decentralize and fill up the square in a perfectly equal way.

Putting things into perspective
The square is a straightforward and a stirring way of telling about the past's incidents through the vehicle of everyday objects. Nowy Plac Zgody is a formal and contemplative site, where the historical narrative minimizes the utility value of the square for the sake of communicating a specific saga: Nowy Plac Zgody is not a place you go to in order to hang out but it is a plain and simple and evocative space in the city which is hard to pass without being moved in some way. The aesthetic and symbolic qualities come to the fore, at the expense of function and, in this way, the square takes on the character of a visual sensation rather than a pronounced physical interaction.

The symbolic chairs communicate a past that most people will have a difficult time imagining: only 75 years ago Jews had to leave everything they owned behind at Nowy Plac Zgody before being driven away and the enlarged chairs serve quite precisely to illustrate and elucidate this tragic real-life story about the extermination of the Jewish people.

Krakow
- inhabitants: 740.000
- size: 326 km^2

Nowy Plac Zgody Square
- size: 13.093 m^2
- established: 2005
- client: Municipality of Krakow
- architect: Biuro Projektow Lewicki Latak
- price: 22 mio. Danish kroner
- awards: European Prize for Urban Public Space, Special Mention 2006
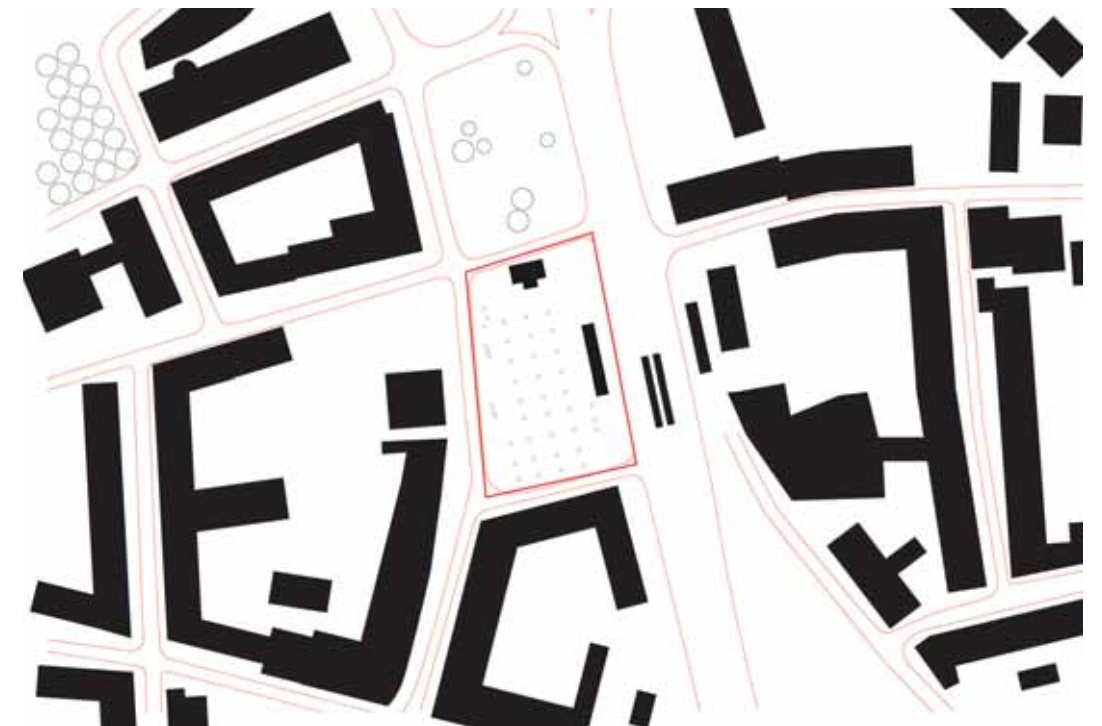
Private and municipal forces in Dublin have been joining forces for purposes of revitalizing the small neighborhood, Smithfield, in the northwestern part of the city. Centrally situated in the quarter is the open city plaza area known as Smithfield Square, which serves as an important anchoring point for the urban regeneration of the area.

CITY   Dublin is Ireland's economic, cultural and administrative center. In the course of the past decade, Ireland's economic growth has been among the highest in Europe and a low tax rate has attracted international companies and residents to Dublin, especially, which has experienced a period of rapid development. Dublin is facing up to the very tangible problem of how it is going to be able to accommodate the influx of more and more new residents without a concomitant expansion of the city's boundaries. Therefore, Dublin's growth has to be consolidated by creating greater density in the center and in the already existing urban structures.

In a concrete sense, various frame plans and plan-administrative initiatives are placing their mark on Dublin's development. In this connection, the clause, Section 23 (in force until 2006), granted special privileges to selected urban areas that rendered private investment attractive with respect to tax-related benefits. This has been especially relevant to the revitalization that has been carried out by private investors in the old working-class district of Smithfield. In addition, a frame plan, the Historic Area Rejuvenation Program (HARP), which arouses associations with Danish urban regeneration plans, has been put into play at Smithfield as part of an attempt to make allowances for the positive tensions between conservation and development.

SPACE   Dublin has a classic medieval urban structure, where the crooked streets only leave room for a handful of open urban spaces. One of these is Smithfield Square, which is located northwest of Dublin's city center. The site has been functioning since 1665 as a cattle market. After the cattle market was shut down in the 1950s, the area

suffered the effects of a drastic downturn. The square, however, continued to function up until 1999 as a parking lot. The open square's lack of any identifying role was symbolic for the surrounding Smithfield, on the whole, which was suffering under the yoke of massive unemployment. In 1997, the municipality of Dublin arranged a competition related to Smithfield Square with the intention of restoring the square's former status as the hub of this urban quarter. The architectural firm, McGarry Ní Éanaigh, won the competition with a project that refers to the open city square's history as a cattle market through the vehicle of a raw and plain design and with the recycling of 300,000 rough-cut cobblestones.

The oblong space's large scale (40 x 200 meters) serves to render Smithfield Square distinct from the rest of Dublin's intimate spaces. The large space has deliberately and programmatically been left vacant as part of an intention to let the plaza stand open as a field of potential for Dublin's citizens. The intention with the plaza has been to make room in a neighborhood where there has hitherto been a lack of breathing spaces. Along the edges of the square, the planners have been working with varied programmatic offerings. Consequently, it is significant that, as a user of Smithfield Square, one most typically moves along the edges of the plaza rather than right across its vacant central surface.

Earlier on, most of the buildings surrounding Smithfield Square were worn-down working class apartment houses, which have now been renovated or replaced. The western side of the square is demarcated by a new modern eight-story building, which infuses a new stylistic expression to the site. Toward the north, a few three-story buildings that are currently slated for demolition establish the border of the square, while an old chimney (presently, a lookout post) in the visitors' center of the former Jameson Whiskey distillery fashions the square's eastern wall. Toward the south, Smithfield Square is bounded by a parking lot with trees.

LIFE-SHAPING   Smithfield Square's many functions constitute an attempt to generate an attractive urban place with the presence of many different cultures. The private investors, in exchange for acquiring the rights to build here, have been instructed to ensure a wide variation of functions. Consequently, they have thus far established a hotel, a fitness center and a supermarket at the square and they have underwritten the costs of re-paving the entire square. And they have done so even though the municipality still owns the urban space and actually bears the responsibility for maintaining the area.

The square has been built with relatively expensive apartments that appeal to a different cross-section of the general public than the people who were formerly residing in the quarter, whereas the two

hotels and the Jameson's visitors' center cater to tourists. Both the fitness center and convenience store are vying to be among the very best in the city and are consequently directing their appeal toward a more exclusive public. The upcoming movie theater is, moreover, going to contain an art cinema, which will presumably draw a small and discerning audience of film buffs.

As we can see, then, the major thrust of the square's functions and activities is addressed to a resourceful and economically prosperous public as well as to an influx of tourists. However, Smithfield Square also contains a few non-exclusive functions: in the southwestern corner of the square, the municipality has opened up a "citizens' service center", where citizens from the district can come in and deal with whatever questions they might have that are related to life

in the city of Dublin. Positioning this administrative office here does give rise to a certain modicum of local traffic on weekdays, which stands in refreshing contrast to the square's more exclusive fabric. This steady stream of activity is also stimulated by the presence of a SPAR supermarket in the northeast corner of the square, which is frequented by people from all walks of life.

Smithfield Square has been put together in such a way that it is impossible to posit any single-valued profile of the plaza's many users. At first glance, Smithfield Square might appear to be a gentrified spot that is reserved exclusively for those people who have all their financial affairs in order but the municipal programs do serve to modify this impression and one is eventually forced to draw the conclusion that this large and unprogrammed space does not in fact have any unilateral social identity. The square – on a given weekday – does not have disruptive elements or any extrovertedly forthcoming activity. Moreover, it is not dominated by specific types of people or by any specific groups.

Body That Smithfield Square is not dominated in any visible way by particular life-shapings has certainly been the programmatic intention all along; it is quite precisely the square's manifestation as a field of potential that renders it so that the square can occasionally provide room for various kinds of temporary arrangements. These certainly lend themselves to accommodating a whole lot of people, to hosting the experience-community and to feeding all the senses. In this vein, Smithfield is taken up, from time to time, by activities and events like a seasonal ice-skating rink, the Chinese New Year celebration and a monthly horse market.

On the first Sunday of every month, the whole square is filled with horses. This serves to establish a line of reference with the past, when the plaza was used as a cattle market. The horses are offered for sale by eager vendors who are surrounded by curious visitors, tourists, and youngsters living in the vicinity. If you cannot afford a nag, which can be purchased for as little as £ 200, you can take a ride on horseback or in the carriage for a more modest outlay.

In a strictly corporeal respect, the horse market and the other events are especially interesting because they introduce the sense faculties and because they infuse movement into Smithfield Square: The horse market envelops the area in what is ¬– for some people – the magical fragrance of a riding stable while the ice-skating rink, open and in use when the season is right for it, encourages the body to perform on gliding blades. However, the horse market and the tumultuous Chinese New Year celebration in the public space are not positive happenings as far as everybody is concerned: there are many folks who complain about the spectacles taking place on Smithfield Square. The sporadic events, which give rise to a different kind of urban experience, are the substance of much criticism leveled by those who would rather see the city as empty, undisturbed and predictable. Of course, whether it makes any sense to bring horses into the modern cityscape could be debated but this is also precisely what makes Smithfield something very special on a monthly basis.

Putting things into perspective
In the Historic Area Rejuvenation Program's frame plan, the schism between a historic area and the adaptation of such an area to modern times serves as the cornerstone for the development of the Smithfield district. This schism can be spotted at the square in the convergence between the old roughcut cobblestones, the horse market and the new modern apartment buildings.

Pursuant to the clause, Section 23, economic capital has been infused into the urban district and channeled specifically toward development of the square. The intention, from the very outset, to clear Smithfield Square of cars and thereby make room for a new revitalizing plaza area containing a symbolic reference to the site's past has basically been successful. The municipality's choice to favor private investors as the driving force behind the area development has proven to bear fruit, seeing as it has successfully gotten things rolling in the quarter and resulted in a veritable boom of advances. However, this out-and-out deregulation of the normal rules for investment procedure actually does place certain new yokes on the process of development, on the subsequent follow-up and on the ultimate impression of owners-

hip – both mentally and concretely – of the square, because as things would have it, the square unfortunately already appears to be worn down and poorly maintained. This could very well be due to the absence of clear definition with respect to ownership. Legally, the city of Dublin owns the square but the preceding developmental process has, to some extent, created a limbo where the square, after being renovated and improved, does not appear to belong to anybody: the private investors, notwithstanding the fact that they have financed the project, have no authority to maintain the place; the local residents, on account of the square's multiple layers of function, have no feeling of ownership and the municipality does not have sufficient funds to follow up on this ambitious project.

The urban regeneration of the Smithfield area is one part of an area strategy that, strategically speaking, has been an attempt to create an attractive anchoring point at Smithfield Square for the benefit of the entire quarter. Smithfield Square offers new functions and programs and constitutes an attempt to think in a holistically oriented way that takes its point of departure in the place's identity by supplementing the old with the new while simultaneously taking the existing local coloring into account. Smithfield Square's new image, predicated on making room for a general improvement of the quarter and supplied with anchoring-points like these, thus has to be apprehended as something greater than one merely site-specific and local renovation.

Dublin
- inhabitants: 505.700
- size: 115 km^2
- population density: 4397,39 people./km^2

Smithfield Square
- size: 11.000 m^2
- established: 2000
- client: The Municipality of Dublin
- architect: McGarry Ni Éanaigh Architects
- price: 33 mio. Danish kroner
- awards: European Prize for Urban Public Space 2000
- previous functions: Dublin's cattle market, parking lot

- surrounding functions: supermarket, fitness center, hotel, museum, movie theater, social welfare office, kiosk, commercial premises and apartments.
- applied plan strategy: Historic Area Rejuvenation Program (HARP)
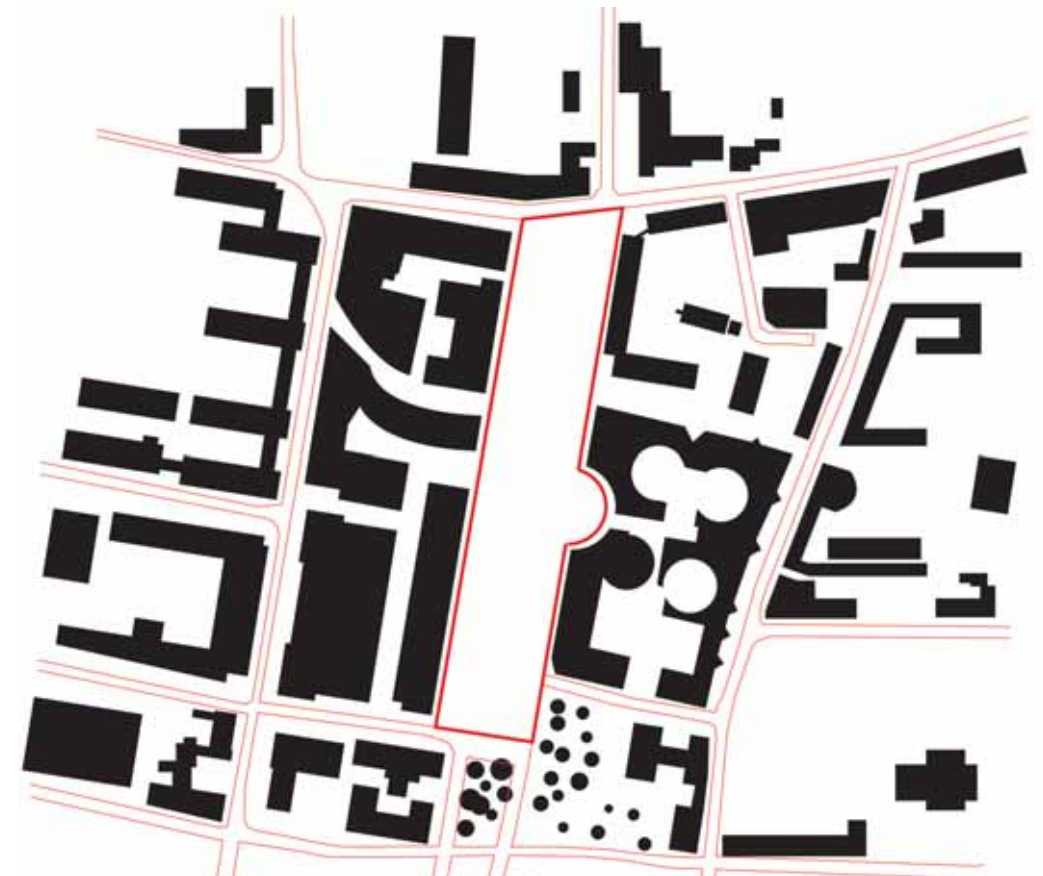
In Dublin, a former industrial port area in the eastern part of the city is being developed under the name Dublin Docklands. The intention is to turn the region into an economic power center and a vibrant residential area, as exemplified by the harbor area and urban space, Grand Canal Plaza.

Dublin Docklands is of vital importance to Dublin's and Ireland's economy. The district is staking its hopes on attracting international enterprises and on anchoring the city's global economic activities in the area with the ambitious intentions of having globalization sprout local roots here. With respect to planning, these intentions are being supported and shored up by the Dublin Docklands Area Masterplan – an area plan that brandishes the objective of attracting multinational firms and ensuring both social diversity and a vibrant urban environment.

Space

Grand Canal Plaza is a spectacular harbor and urban space located in the inner part of Dublin Docklands. It was designed by Martha Schwartz Partners. Grand Canal Plaza, which is stringently confined to red hues, is encircled by large residential and office blocks, a theater designed by Daniel Libeskind Studio and a number of former industrial buildings. On top of all this, there are the view of the harbor and the gusty breeze.

Actually, Grand Canal Plaza is going to be functioning primarily as a space of approach to and egress from the theater. The open city square connects the buildings around its circumference, serving to distribute the various streams of movement leading to and from the area and it fashions transitions between the different parts of Grand Canal Dock. Grand Canal Plaza is divided up into different zones, where it is especially the red carpet – which extends all the way out to the harbor basin – that steals the attention, partly on account of the slightly tilted red-colored poles that protrude many meters up toward the sky. Moreover, the plaza consists of a series of concrete box-shaped structures that contain plants and patches of lawn as well as areas off to the sides that offer the visitor a chance to stop up and enjoy the view of the water.

On the whole, the plaza's expression alludes to the maritime environment with ships' masts and mooring posts and visually, this expression works quite nicely in ensemble with the skyline that is delineated by the high-rise buildings visible behind the poles. Moreover, the harbor basin's proximity and the water's magnificence are being exploited as sensuous qualities. The powerful winds that can start to blow here and the open access to the harbor basin are offset by the shielding lyme grasses and green growth which, supplemental to the maritime aspect, both allude to the unbridled nature in the sand dunes by the seaside.

Grand Canal Plaza's physical layout gives rise to space within space; this leaves room for intimate meeting places and open plaza space right in the middle of Dublin Docklands' large layout. Access to the site is gained either from the water or from the sides. From the waterside, Grand Canal Plaza promises a sensational and direct arrival. Entering from the dry land, though, you might get a feeling of having entered the plaza from the "wrong" angle, inasmuch as you have got to walk right over the plaza's distinctive red carpet to get where you are going. Symbolically speaking, the red carpet, as typology, possesses a formality and a series of connotations that are broken down, however, by the plaza's red poles' informal and playful idiom: the red carpet can be ascended to without any apprehension because you do not feel as exposed as you would on a "real" red carpet.

Putting things into perspective

Grand Canal Plaza is visible from a distance and it articulates a break with its surroundings in terms of its color and its design. The context is interrupted and a plaza emerges which, much like the global enterprises, actively intervenes and clutches onto a local reality with the hold of a "foreign" expression. In this way, Grand Canal Dock manifests a break with the harbor's industrial past and makes room instead for a modern expertise- and experience-based economic reality.

Grand Canal Plaza is being used by many different people at one and the same time, for transit or for shorter stays, but it evades being girdled by a situation where one or more social identities will perceive this as being their space. Accordingly, the plaza's expression is in accordance with Dublin Docklands' underlying intention to create a place where global flows will be thriving. Grand Canal Plaza, by virtue of its break from the surrounding context, constitutes a visible signature, and thus it is quite precisely the mission of the square to impart a distinctive identity to the place so that Dublin Docklands will be exposed and will linger on people's minds.

Dublin Docklands has been singled out by the municipality as a developmental area. Grand Canal Plaza is an important piece in this strategy because it is here that the area's overall goal is being rendered visible. Grand Canal Plaza's role as a groundbreaking landmark is clear and distinct, as is emphasized by its aesthetic and assured design: there is volition behind the expression.

Dublin
- inhabitants: 505.700
- size: 115 km^2

Grand Canal Plaza
- size: 10.000 m^2
- established: 2007
- client: The Dublin Docklands Development Authority
- architect: Martha Schwartz Partners
- price: 60 mio. Danish kroner
- planning strategy: Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan

Stapelbäddsparken at Västra Hamnen [The Western Harbor] in Malmö is not a park in the classical sense but rather a "potential field" that contains, among other things, one of Europe's most elaborate skating terrains. The park constitutes an important element in the transformation of the formerly heavily industrial Västra Hamnen.

Malmö has undergone a rapid and prosperous development in the past 20 years. The city had previously been brought to its knees by shutdowns and relocations among the city's industrial concerns but Malmö has subsequently managed to come up with a new basis for continued development. The new infrastructure, "Platform for Kundskabsstaden Malmö" [Platform for Malmö as a City of Knowledge], takes its point of departure in Malmö as a city of expertise with attractiveness, innovation and cultural ambience as fundamental values. Since the outset of this program, there has been a determined aspiration to find, to experience and to be able to read these values in the public space. The platform is an example of a strong visionary leadership that takes responsibility for transforming Malmö into a city of expertise.

Life-shaping
Västra Hamnen is an important element in Malmö's development. The formerly heavily industrial harbor area is currently being converted into a mixed urban quarter with homes, businesses, schools, service facilities and parks. On its western side, an urban neighborhood that has now been brought to completion, Bo01, dominates the scene, with Santiago Calatrava's "Turning Torso" residential skyscraper as its landmark. In the middle of Västra Hamnen, the Municipality of Malmö has made an area of leftover space available with the goal of establishing a creative meeting place, since it has been the guiding intention all along that younger people's ideas would supposedly play an important role in shaping the new urban district. Skaters from the Föreningen Bryggeriet association rose to the challenge. Working together with the Municipality of Malmö, they managed to convert approximately one third of Stapelbäddsparken's area into the skating zone that

today houses one of Europe's largest and finest outdoor skateparks.

The development of the park was based on a strategic municipal intention to let the development proceed in cooperation with the city's citizens. Stapelbäddsparken embodies values from Malmö's Platform espousing attractiveness, innovation and cultural ambience: the attractive aspect can be found both in the design of the skatepark, which is aesthetically appealing, and in its functionality, which attracts sub-cultural skaters from all over Europe; the innovative aspect can be found in the local branch that the municipal library has opened inside a container positioned at the site – following the express wishes of the skaters. It's not that a library in itself is innovative but the hybrid of book-based knowledge with extreme sports is most certainly innovative.

Putting things into perspective
Stapelbäddsparken is the manifestation of an area strategy in which the users are being called into participation, quite specifically, in one part of the area, in an attempt to make the area stronger and more solidly cast. The remedy prescribes that Stapelbäddsparken's content should sprout forth from the bottom-up, in active dialogue with the people who are using the open site. That, in the actual case of Stapelbäddsparken, these people happen to be a younger segment of skaters is not as single-valued as it might sound: parents from all over the world are busy phoning the Municipality of Malmö in order to find out what *they* can occupy themselves with in the rest of Västra Hamnen while their children are testing out their mettle on the concrete ramps' curves.

Stapelbäddsparken is the recreational element at Västra Hamnen, which is playing its part in branding the region as a whole on both a local and a global scale. The park is one of the reasons that citizens in Malmö head out to this former industrial area. In this way, the park spurs on the citizens' sense of ownership and belonging in relation to the develop-

ment in Malmö. Globally speaking, the activities of the skatepark generate life in the whole city on account of the visiting public. Consequently, the park not only constitutes a vitalizing element at the harbor but is also an important piece in Malmö's new image as a creative city of expertise. Stapelbäddsparken certainly does enter into Malmö's urban-strategic effort to transform Västra Hamnen into an attractive neighborhood. The formula calls for recreational and distinctive facilities that cannot be found anywhere else in the region or anywhere else in Sweden; this being coupled with a democratic and involving process.

Malmö
- inhabitants: 286.440
- size: 335 km²

The Skatepark in front of Stapelbäddsparken
- size: 1.000 m² (the total area of the park is 3,500 m²)
- established: 2005
- client: Malmö Stads Gatukontor og Bryggeriet
- price: 20 mio. Swedish kroner
- award: Scania Region's Architecture Prize 2007
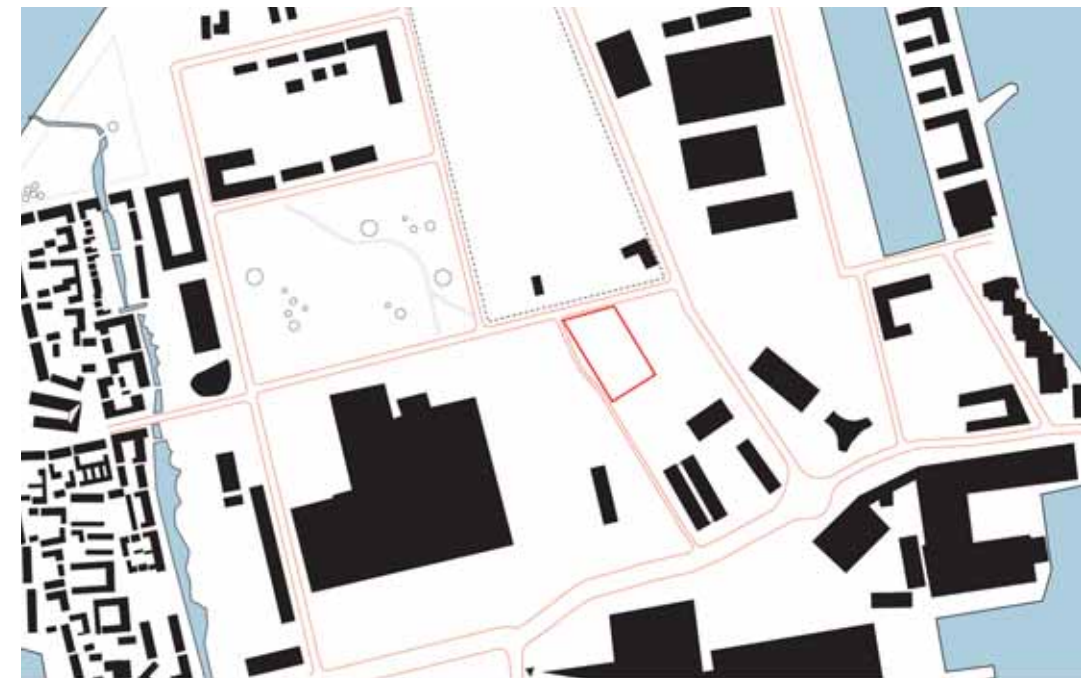
STRATEGIC TOOLS

Against the backdrop of what we have learned from the selected case studies the urban analytic thought-fusion, we have developed a number of strategic tools. The case studies have demonstrated, in different ways, by what means urban space has been used strategically as a developmental implement. The goal is to synthesize the case studies into a few serviceable tools that can be employed when urban space is to be conceptually interpolated into a wider developmental context. A common characteristic of these tools is they can be used for thinking in terms of processes and possibilities while leaving, at the same time, for eventual changes and a pro-active stance in their capacity as essential food for thought.

What is strategy?
Strategy, or *strategos*, actually signifies (military) general and *stratégia* refers to the general's function. Strategy is thus a plan (of action) and a shooting script that contains descriptions of the methods that are going to be used, from start to finish, in solving a given task.

A strategy is a plan for action and accordingly a means to an end. Frequently, strategy is juxtaposed with tactics, which is local and deals with a more short-term action. To put it in another way, while tactics is a plan for winning the single battle, strategy is a plan for winning the war. Strategy, as we are speaking about it here, is the underlying cohesive force between the individual tactical initiatives.

Strategies, however, are always used *in context*, since a strategic way of thinking is necessarily related to social, socio-economic, cultural and urban issues. Working strategically is, then, a flexible and change-conscious way of relating oneself to the city.

The strategic tools have to be regarded as adaptable plan implements, which indicate a new approach to planning. The classic master plan fails to grab hold of the city that is undergoing development. The strategic tools thus distinguish themselves in a significant way from former days' master planning precisely by virtue of orienting themselves toward the context, by virtue of addressing themselves in a pro-active manner to the history, the potentials and the tendencies that are present *at the place*.

Strategy in a holistic perspective
Making use of strategy in context necessarily involves a holistic perspective. In the selected case studies, we have been analyzing the particular urban spaces in relation to these four scales: *city, space, life-shaping* and *body*. This means that when, for example, an acupuncture strategy is deployed on the scale of *space*, not only does it have implications on the spatial scale but also on life-

shaping, on the body and on the city in its entirety. A holistic perspective on the public space therefore entails the suggestion that we move forward with an awareness of the many complex processes these spaces are activating. The strategies are not only tools in the realm of physical and aesthetic urban development but are also intervening into – and making repercussions on – the social, political and economic contexts in the city.

The five strategic tools – *acupuncture, parallelism, area, mnemonics* and *performativity* – are therefore not formulas for the manufacture of good urban spaces, but are, more correctly, articulating an inspirational catalogue that can be employed for laying out guidelines in the context of a holistically oriented and far-sighted urban development.

Facts about Acupuncture
- *Acus* and *punctura* signify, respectively, 'needle' and 'sticking'.

Originally, acupuncture was a Chinese method of healing and administering anesthesia where very thin needles were inserted into the patient's skin at very specific points; through the vehicle of these insertions, the health of the body, on the whole, was influenced. Acupuncture builds on the theory that the body houses a number of energy channels, known as *meridians*, where physical energy can be regulated through local insertions.

Transposing this into the realm of urban planning, the Brazilian urban planner Jaime Lerner has employed the concept of *acupuntura urbana* (urban acupuncture) in order to denote an intervention that can quickly and easily be implemented for the good of the entire city. "Sometimes, urban planning is just too slow and laborious," Lerner has said. The acupuncture strategy is therefore "a way of supplying the city with a quick dose of energy, using few resources" (Lerner 2003).

Requirements: Where? When? How?
Transposed to an urban-related strategy, acupuncture has to do with carrying out local operations with a guiding intention focused on how the particular space influences the city on the whole.

By doing something at one place, we can bring about an effect on another place. The acupuncture intervention is an elaborately scrupulous surgical intervention which, by virtue of its precision, activates a larger system of circulation *somewhere else* than where the insertion in question is being made. An acupuncture strategy implies that one or more "needles" are placed very precisely and deliberately inside one particular urban area in order to activate other designated areas. The intervention can take on the form of a replacement, an intervention, an action or an upgrading of the existing space.

A city consists of a complex network of interconnected spaces. These nerve pathways are not always visible, physically, but can also be constituted by intensity zones in the smooth space (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, *Thoughts*).

Acupuncture also involves a mapping of the intensity zones and nerve pathways of which the city consists. The mapping can include social networks, flows, relations and place-identities within the city. Acupuncture stimulates development along, and on, the city's nerve pathways, albeit within the context of a developmental logic that is not always physically tangible or rationally organized. Many factors can come into play – for example, life-shaping's

The success of the intervention has to be read as a consequence of the space's role in the city, for it is only if the intervention becomes transmitted to the city's other nodes that the acupuncture intervention will take effect.

Acupuncture thus guarantees a sense of the city's coherence and connections and shows how these, within the overall context of the network, can make a difference.

The acupuncture strategy can be a way of reinstating a "balanced disorder" (cf. Sennett) in the space, rendering it so that the meeting between different life-styles and cultures can converge again. At the same time, it is necessary that the activated place links itself up to the city's network and connections so that the intervention will be transmitted naturally.

Quality: Simple means - dramatic effect
With the acupuncture strategy, then, no demands for the construction of icons or cultural lighthouses are being made. On the other hand, the involvement on local grassroots movements and out-and-out physical upgrades, effected with the logic of acupuncture, can generate development on the basis of few resources. One of the impressive qualities of the strategy is that the intervention need not be of wide-ranging caliber; even modest interventions can elicit a massive influence. In the case of Amsterdam's Bijlmer ArenA, the station area constitutes an intervention that conjoins two otherwise dissociated areas. Not only are two areas being connected by virtue of the transition – at the same time, the Bijlmermeer is being infused with other life-shapings by virtue of the area's new functions.

Potentials
Acupuncture is a plain and simple strategy that addresses itself to the city's complex connections and relations. With modest means, the planner can achieve great effects. The mapping out of potential consequences in connection with the acupuncture intervention, moreover, provides insight into the complex urban relations and contexts. Acupuncture is accordingly a plain and simple and local way of improving the city in its entirety.

needs and changes play an important role, seeing as they generate meaning in relation to the city's intensive spaces.

In *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs pointed out how people in the local milieu often possess a detailed and thorough knowledge of the place. People working in grassroots movements and local organizations are often well versed in the city's "nerve pathways" and can accordingly serve as vital sources for providing reliable information about *where, when* and *how* to intervene. By mapping the city's relationships and networks, the weak spots can be identified.

Parallelism

FACTS about Parallelism
- Has to do with something being parallel to, comparable with or consistent with something else and has also to do with bringing about a synergy between different parts.

- Has to do with something happening concurrently, simultaneously or as a consequence of something else.

Parallelism is an approach that gives rise to a connection between two or more places through the means of discreet identical or synchronous interventions. The interventions can be physical and/or social and can take on the character of activities, aesthetic spatialities, construction projects and narratives. The parallel intervention plays a part in binding a larger area together by assigning various roles to it under a common identity.

Requirement: Communication
The parallel intervention does not need to be extensive. On the contrary, with the correct application, it can involve a rather minimal intervention that binds two or more places together. In the smooth space (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, *Thoughts*), there are connections between the city's different spaces in the form of the intensity zones that are brought into being by life-shaping's flows and actions.

Parallelism can thus accomplish more than providing one particular social group with a sense of ownership related to a place: it can also connect the city via a strategy that runs across existing borders – both mental and physical borders. Viewed in a communication-related perspective, a parallel strategy involves knowledge and awareness of the context in order to be able to establish a community that spans the division of the city's otherwise segregated neighborhoods, as is the case with the Amsterdam Bijlmer ArenA.

Quality: Connections across the city
Parallelism can be generated in both a spatial-aesthetic and a socio-cultural way. By placing new functions on the outskirts of the city, the boundary between, for example, the suburbs and the city can be nullified.

The degree of success, however, often depends on how the continuity between the individual interventions is being negotiated. The totality and the individual interventions' roles call for the effectuation of a communicative task that can offer insight into how the city's potential developmental spaces can be connected within an overall strategy.

In Barcelona, the development of forty courtyards in the Eixample district has been deployed as a parallel strategy. Here, by setting up public-private partnerships, the courtyards have been made accessible as semi-public spaces. Concurrent with the development, the strategy has been marketed and communicated in clear terms. The formerly overlooked backyards have now become active spaces, both by virtue of the concrete physical initiatives and by virtue of the renewed focus and attention they have received via the communication strategy.

The wider context is essential in this example because the parallel boost of the yards, combined with a clear communication and application, makes its appearance as a comprehensive development of the area.

Potentials
Parallel strategies are a fusion of different urban districts' roles and possibilities in relation to each other. It is not the individual space that is of vital importance with respect to parallel development but rather the capacity to facilitate development in such a way that the residents become conscious that the specific area is a part of a larger strategy. This awareness concomitantly gives rise to a sense of community that spans the city's geographic areas. Such a sense of community creates, in the long run, a sense of ownership – and belonging – and results in new attention being focused on the city's otherwise overlooked areas.

Mnemonics

Facts about mnemonics
- Is a method of training and improving one's memory. Mnemonics, as a concept, stems all the way to ancient times, when the Greek poet, Simonides, who lived in the 5th century BC, developed the idea of place-memory as a mnemonic method.[15]
- In the *method of loci*, the place, by virtue of its design, its structure and its visual characteristics, could be used systematically for purposes of developing and sharpening the memory.

As an applied strategic tool, mnemonics is a way of creating a shared memory by making use of phenomena and elements that refer to a given narrative or story. When elements, narratives and references are deliberately positioned in the room, the conscious orchestration of shared memories can give rise to a coherent collective history. By embedding specific stories within the individual culturally inherited artifacts, they can, when taken together, make up

---

15. The story of Simonides: The poet Simonides of Ceos was invited to chant a lyric poem at a banquet, held in Thessaly, honoring a nobleman named Scopas. After performing the reading, "a message was brought in to Simonides that two young men were waiting outside who wished to see him. He rose from the banquet and went out but could find no one. During his absence the roof of the banqueting hall fell in, crushing Scopas and all the guests to death beneath the ruins; the corpses were so mangled that the relatives who came to take them away for burial were unable to identify them. But Simonides remembered the places at which they had been sitting at the table and was therefore able to indicate to the relatives which were their dead […] And this experience suggested to the poet the principles of the art of memory of which he is said to be the inventor. Noting that it was through his memory of the places at which the guests had been sitting that he had been able to identify the bodies, he realised that orderly arrangement is essential for good memory." From Yates, Frances A. (1966): "The Three Latin Sources for the Classical Art of Memory" in: *The Art of Memory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

a coherent whole, i.e. a complete narrative about the place, its history, or its residents. Mnemonics lays down a gauntlet before the domestic debate about cultural heritage, which many Danish cities have as programmatic areas of action. It is a valuable and pro-active way of re-thinking the role of cultural legacy in the city.

Requirement: Legibility
Kevin Lynch introduced imageability (or legibility) as a fundamental condition for identification (see Kevin Lynch, *Thoughts*). Clear, recognizable and memorable places make allowances for the individual's need to be identified and to feel connected to a place. The means can be the effects that refer to a given vision of society or perception of a place. In Lynch's optics, there is a connection between physical organization and the mental orientation in the city.

Architecture and urban space, which take their mark in the place's potential significance or which retrieve forgotten tales, play their part in focusing on the city's history as a generator of identity. The collective space is the center for a mnemonic urban development. Mnemonics involves a legibility, in the structural, the physical, the mental and the aesthetic respects.

Quality: Cultural-historical cohesiveness and innovative thinking
The spatial practices of everyday life are rooted in the body's space, which accommodates other needs than those that are traditionally fulfilled by the city's representational spaces and spaces of representation (cf. Lefebvre, *Thoughts*). Mnemonics can indeed be used for unifying the city's representational spaces – the city hall, the town square, the church – with the experienced everyday spaces: by having his or her collective memory stimulated through the presence of recognizable elements, the individual resident can evoke his/her own personal memory, which is naturally rooted in his/her own everyday experience, and thereby generate imaginary space that take its mark in the physical space.

Accordingly, mnemonics is a method of reinstating mental cohesiveness in the city. By assigning identity to the physical urban space, the city dwellers' storehouse of learned life and personally experienced impressions of the city can be activated as one chapter of a larger narrative. Newly acquired lessons and new life-shapings can, in this way, be identified in relation to the city's history, cultural heritage and existing identity. If what we want is for everybody to feel a sense of belonging in the urban space, what needs to be ensured, according to Carsten Paludan-Müller[16] is that cultural heritage does not refer to only one single ethnicity. A mnemonic approach implies an open and inclusive approach that does not adopt any one particular culturally aesthetic sign system or vernacular usage but rather promotes a situation where the viewer him/herself ascribes meaning to the space by activating his/her own memory.

Therefore, a mnemonic urban development builds on in the city's inherent identity, historic narrative and potentials but does not necessarily reproduce these features. Applying an expression or an aesthetics that is not rooted in the city's collective self-understanding might be perceived as a power element emanating from outside. Examples where well-intentioned city governments place sculptures in the urban space and arouse a storm of protest among the citizens are legion. Mnemonics does not involve monuments that represent power and never has to do with aesthetics for the sake of aesthetics. No, it is rather a way of unfurling the city's history, identity and cultural heritage in such a way that the residents can identify with and relate to their own history.

16. cf. Inspiration Conference, June 3, 2008.

By this means, different groups can find a basis for a common identity and a sense of belonging in the space. Mnemonics can be based on the individual's sensory perceptions and corporeally embodied experiences. By making use of scents or sounds, acquired references can be activated and transposed to other places, other times or other experiences.

Potentials
Mnemonics is a tool for creating or manifesting a narrative about the place, where a sense of contact with the place's identity, history and socio-cultural coding stands in the center. As a strategy, it is especially well suited to infusing new life into anonymous and impersonal areas. Mnemonics is a valuable and pro-active way of conceptually interpolating cultural heritage into urban development. The preservation of existing buildings and spaces is not always the only solution. On the contrary, it appears to be possible to re-envision history and the collective memory as another aspect of the place's procedural future development.

Area

FACTS about Area
- Has to do with a place, a site or something of that nature which is demarcated in relation to something else and possesses certain specific characteristics.
- Involves a demarcated part of a larger whole. One example where area strategies have been employed as a consistent strategy can be found in Dublin.
- The area can be defined on the basis of a theme: for example, a sustainable region, a cultural cluster or an urban quarter characterized by its particular kind of expertise. Or it can be defined on the basis of a special economic regulation.

The area strategy can encompass selected demarcated areas of the city where a given approach is being implemented. The interventions activate the area and can consequently give rise to development that transpires across different sections of the city.

Requirement: Place-identity
Georg Simmel's urban-theoretical reflections can be employed as an inspiration for defining smaller communities within the city. Setting off designated sections of the city into smaller quarters, each with their own distinct identities, can presumably play a role in bringing about a local sense of community within the larger metropolis that can re-establish the neighborhood and the close and tight relationships that spill across the differences.

Therefore, the existing features of the place have to be emphasized and cultivated. Mapping out these opportunities constitutes the starting point for working in an area-strategic way. An urban quarter or area possesses an identity that can be marked out and further developed. For this reason, an analysis of the constituent parts of the area and their characteristics, resources and potentials fashions a point of departure for an area strategy. The strengths and weaknesses of the area can be identified by creating territories or domains where the particular life-shapings in question can take on character and be unfolded.

Quality: Cohesive force
One of the qualities of the area strategy lies in its special way of focusing on the local resources of the place as a starting point for development.

The Smithfield Cattle Market in Dublin (see *Case Studies*) is an exemplary case of this way of activating an otherwise dilapidated and outlying area. This focus has entailed that Smithfield, as a whole, has been enhanced as a newly refurbished district in Dublin's collective consciousness. As compared with

the Danish rendition, the urban regeneration scheme, the Irish version has conceptually interpolated economic parameters as being one active aspect of the area strategy.

Although the area strategy is one of the more well-known strategic tools in the realm of urban development, here it must be regarded in a broader perspective, as a way of marking out "the city's seams" – the city's inherent heterogeneity and diversity (cf. Sennet, *Thoughts*). In this way, the area strategy can give rise to a more nuanced and more detailed foundation for a manifold and tolerant composition of residents.

Potentials

An area strategy is typically introduced in parts of the city that have previously been overlooked or assigned a low priority. Area strategies have proven effective in former industrial areas that have been neglected and have been lying fallow for a long time but whose inherent qualities can be developed and transformed into new urban functions. Area strategies, moreover, constitute a process that can be implemented over an extended period of time; this affords additional possibilities of generating a dialogue with the area's interest groups.
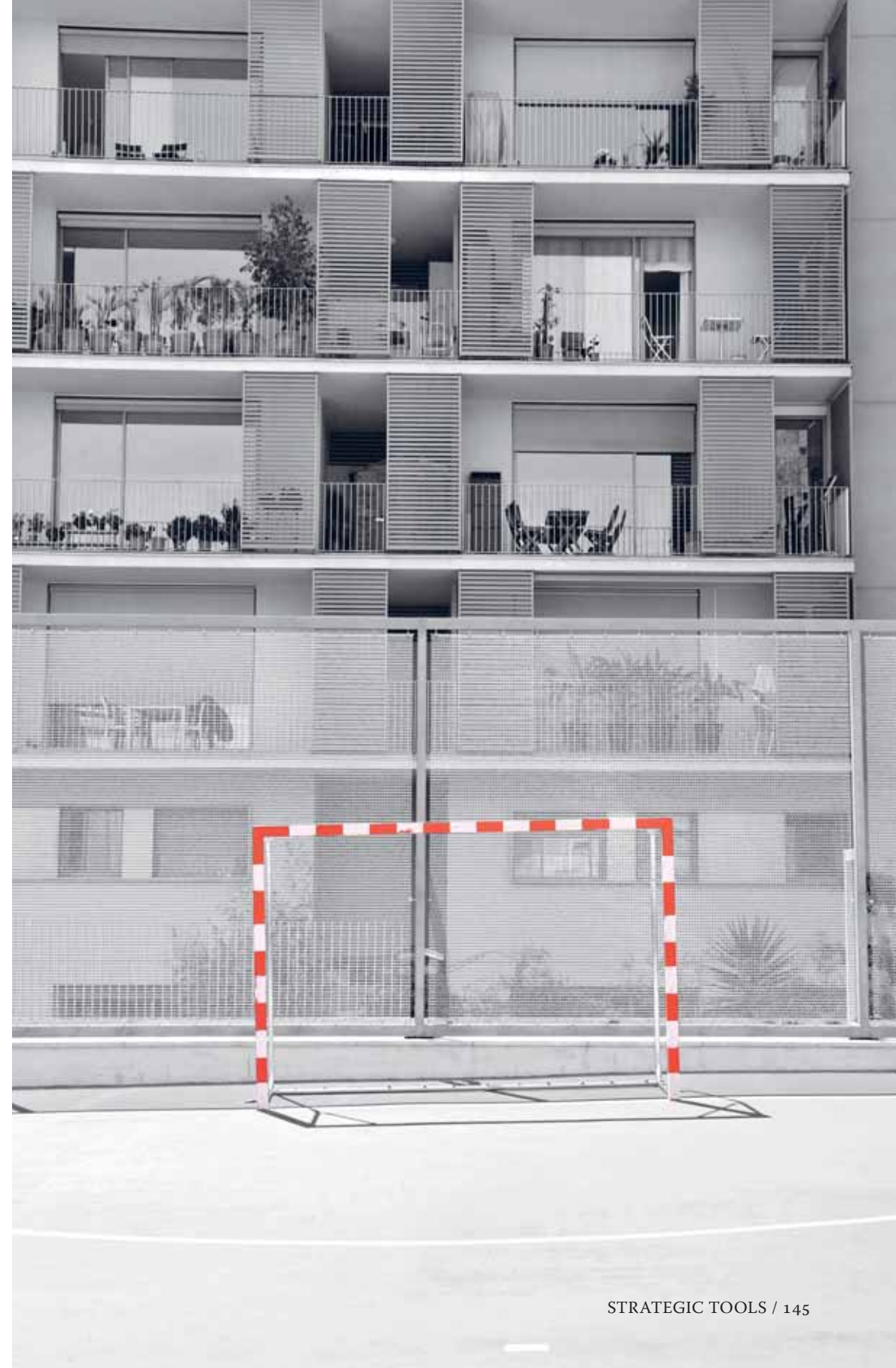
Performativity

FACTS about Performativity

A performative space is a *space of activity*, as contrasted with a *representational space* (see Lefebvre and Deleuze & Guattari, *Thoughts*). By focusing on the actions, events and processes that are taking place within a space's given frames, we can use performativity to develop the city as a relation between the space as a physical frame and the space as a social event. Performativity can accordingly provide an understanding of how we, through our ways of the staging of space, can generate meanings, attract users and cause the space and the place to develop their inherent potentials and events.

Performativity subsumes the reaction, the effect and/or the events that transpire between the space's various players – in both the physical and the social respects. The performative accordingly consists of *getting something to happen*, of providing the occasion for something to occur. Consequently, as a tool, it is especially well suited to urban space that is undergoing development, transformation or change.

Requirement: Impact aesthetics

Every city contains potential performative spaces within its structure. Making use of a performative strategy primarily has to do with being able to envision

the possibilities in the existing urban space and area in order to bring forth the preconditions, or the stage, that have to be prepared so that life-shaping will become activated in a committed fashion. Performative cities or places do not exist in advance of this preparation but a city can indeed be staged and mounted with the employment of physical or sensuous effects so that it becomes actively taken up and captured by its users and so that it comes alive.

The performative space is the connective space that binds the world of social life together with the physical place. For this reason, the performative strategy is both *connective* and *socio-spatial* in nature. The performative space exists in a state of becoming and is never stationary. This entails that the space can be elusive and volatile, i.e. limited in its duration, inasmuch as it does not take on character until it is put to use – upon being sensed and experienced. However, this does not entail that performative spaces cannot be planned out.

Planning performative spaces calls for insight into the sensuous, experience-oriented and affective measures that can attract different kinds of users. Consequently, the performative approach borrows its remedying instruments from visual art's way of organizing space. In the multimedia artist Rafael Lozano-Hemmer's installation, *Under Scan*, people who happened to be passing by the piece became active participants in the formation of its space. What emerged here, as a result of the different people's activation of the video portraits, was a procession of constantly new configurations of spaces and relations. Art's staged space makes concepts available to us so that we can better understand urban space – not merely as purely physical design and not exclusively as socio-cultural application but also, and precisely, as the relation between them.

Quality: The attraction of life-shaping and flows
The smooth space, as described by Deleuze & Guattari, is performative inasmuch as it is constituted by the sensuous and experienced spaces that emerge and arise from the representative space's – or the striated space's – premises. The smooth space cannot be measured in a coordinate system's points but it can cognitively be acquired and experienced as a matrix of processes, life-shapings and the temporary pauses that take place in the convergence among the space's different components. A performative space generates connections and indicates new possibilities and directions; it is therefore a most suitable way of analyzing space that is undergoing development or is about to be converted for purposes of accommodating new functions.

Stapelbäddsparken in Malmö is a prime example of an urban space with performative qualities that functions as an activity park and creative meeting place. The leisure facilities of the park address their appeal toward specific target groups. *Stapelbäddsparken* is a place that is characterized by the social

activity that transpires in the space. Moreover, the physical surroundings constitute a precondition for social interaction. While the city serves as the physical framework around the performative space, life-shaping is composed of the actions and events that activate the space. Life-shaping is typically allured by whatever is experience-oriented and affective in the city and becomes performative when people start to ascribe meaning to the urban space. Life-shaping can, depending on what stage of life or what segment of the population we happen to be dealing with, be stimulated by specific places on the basis of a need for adventure or on the basis of desire, a thirst for knowledge, a sense of curiosity, passion, physical urges, sentimentality, a craving to experience, a need for identification, a sense of affiliation or a sense of belonging to a community.

Henri Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis* demonstrates how the city's physical and sensory space is experienced subjectively and also how we are attracted by – and how we navigate through – the city's physical and corporeally mastered space. *Rhythmanalysis* shows us the city as an individually experienced space that can orchestrate what we learn in our everyday lives through repulsion or through sensuous stimuli. Performative space triggers the user in a sensuous way. Consequently, performativity appeals to our bodily and sensuous-cognitive experience and only after that to our rationality. Therefore, performative spaces will typically elicit an intuitive and immediate effect on the body and on our sensory apparatus. The body's response is a prerequisite for attracting the life-shaping process and for ensuring that life-shaping will be energized with a desire to become committed and occupy the physical space. Staging space that makes an appeal to the body does not necessarily exclude stimulating the intellect. As a matter of fact, it is often the case that the sensuous space is used as a space for learning or acquiring knowledge in extension of intuitive bodily experiences.

Potentials
Performative space attracts people on individual, transitory, interim, sensuous and therefore also highly subjective premises. What it is that attracts some people will not necessarily attract others. A performative planning of an urban space or area will consequently *always* be oriented toward a particular target group. Only seldom will it be able to make its appeal to everybody at once, seeing as it can be difficult to stage and mount a room that is going have a stimulating effect on everybody. A performative strategy related to urban space therefore calls for a prior analysis of the target group. With all this in mind, performativity is not particularly well suited to traditional public squares and plaza areas but more specifically to urban space that is supposed to motivate or appeal to certain special groups, segments or vested interests. A performative urban strategy, in other words, is interest-borne and demands a high degree of ownership and a sense of attachment to the place.

Epilogue

oday, we are navigating through a different reality than we were facing two years ago when we launched *Public Space* as a developmental strategy project. The financial crisis has left its distinct marks: real estate developers have gone bankrupt, stocks have fallen off in value, unemployment is on the rise and large-scale development projects are being postponed indefinitely. In spite of these dark clouds looming on the horizon, we are seeing a growing interest in improving tools that can bring forth better cities with the aid of inclusive, sustainable and vibrant urban space.

The economic situation provides a golden opportunity to stop and reflect on where we are headed. These years, society is moving away from being an expertise/knowledge/information society to being a value society. And this has implications on urban planning, which is in the process of changing from being a functionally colored discipline into a discipline where the focus is being aimed, to an ever increasing extent, at current and future users' *values*.

Successful urban planning takes its mark in the people who are making use of the urban space, in their behavior, their attitudes and their social interactions. The development of the public space has to be based in the community and has to administer the social putty. In order to fulfill this ambition, there is an urgent need to develop new tools that will ensure a user-driven urban development, where the social aspect becomes the point of departure for architectural design. This calls for effective methods for understanding and uncovering the users' values but it also poses demands on a new way of transposing these values into meaningful and flexible plan-instruments.

We are doing what we can to accommodate these changes by working with an interdisciplinarily based, holistically oriented and strategic planning tool.

The city's users as creators of meaning in the public space
Value-oriented potential planning is a flexible tool that focuses on values and potentials as being the bases for urban development. A holistically oriented approach to urban planning is based on a broad interdisciplinary foundation that represents a movement away from modernity's rigid and locked-in master plans, where everything has been determined and planned in advance. Conventional master plans attempt to discount, beforehand, a future that nobody can predict. For this reason, they often fail when the time horizon for a given development project extends over several decades. In contrast to this, a value-oriented potential planning is an open planning tool that is adaptable and can thus continuously absorb whatever changes happen to take place: a method that calls city, space, life-shaping and body into play as four implicit levels and thereby represents a future-oriented, socio-spatial approach that

considers the city's users to be the essential creators of meaning within the public space.

Planning within change

Changes are a fundamental condition that will be integrated, from here on in, into the planning of the public space. For this reason, the urban planning strategies of the future will only be successful to the extent that we dare to work with openness. The attractive urban space of the future will be robust and adaptable at one and the same time: the robust quality ensures that the development of a given area will be based on values that come to be the guiding principle for future development. On the other hand, the adaptability guarantees that the development will proceed in keeping with whatever changes are taking place. The long-term strategy will be based on a deeply rooted set of values while pilot projects of a more temporary character will set the stage for future development.

Impermanence leaves room for the experimental and promotes diversity

Because of the economic climate, the rate at which major development projects are being realized is being scaled down. One of the consequences of this is that, in the coming years, we are going to be experiencing a great many temporary activities. These temporary activities will leave room for experimentation because they are not necessarily bound up with a need for huge start-up capital but are, on the contrary, operating on the basis of a much smaller and more manageable financial footing.

The city is going to have to accommodate diversity and urban spaces are going to have to be meeting places that will engender insight and promote an understanding of what is strange and exotic and foreign. In this connection, impermanence – as a tool – can play a part in stimulating a sympathetic openness to diversity, to change and to the liquid aspect of city life by setting its stakes on temporary spaces for meetings, for dialogue, for curiosity, for experiments and for art. Accordingly, urban planners are going to have to turn their attention to globalization as a condition. Globalization establishes the foundation for a new cultural experience and serves as a parameter that is going to have to be taken into account in the planning strategies of the future.

Impermanence enhances the climate of tolerance in the city. For one thing, consumption, in the meantime, generates attention and stakes out the values on which the development ought to be based. For another, by focusing on diversity and on changes in cultures, in the arts, in lifestyles, in personal preferences and the in functionality of urban space, we can challenge people and maybe even disrupt the conventional and customary patterns of thinking. Impermanence can contribute toward bringing about a heightened awareness

of changeability, can create reflections and can establish meetings that will confront us with what might be strange or foreign and with the "stranger" in ourselves.

The future?

The urban spaces of the future will be meeting places for a – constantly – more variegated and composite urban population.

The planning tools of the future will have to be open for many possible futures. *Futuribles*, a term that is derived from the French movement of the same name, can be translated as "many futures" and encompasses the challenges that planners are facing. Working with *futuribles* has to do with envisioning possible perspectives on a given line of development. Through *futuribles*, we can mobilize foresight. It is all a matter of being able to sense something in its making, of being able to sense something coming into existence – one can, so to speak, practice the future.

We've got to accept the future's openness as a fundamental condition and thereby insist on being open to whatever is in the making. The value-oriented is a way of being far-sighted – without necessarily getting stuck. *Futuribles* open for future potentials rather than closing up our thinking around one single perspective or one isolated alternative.

Helle Juul
Architect MAA, Ph.d.
JUUL | FROST Architects

ILLUSTRATIONS & SOURCES

ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction, Thoughts, Urban Analytic Thought-fusion
Pages 6-61: JUUL | FROST Architects/ Beth Wiberg, Kristine Samson, Rikke Lequick Larsen

Case Studies
Amsterdam Bijlmer ArenA
Pages 68-69 & 71: © Luuk Kramer
Page 73: © JFA-HJ & RL

Koog aan de Zaan
Pages 76 & 78: © Luuk Kramer

Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües
Pages 80-81: © JFA-RL
Page 83, top: © JFA-KS
Page 83, bottom: © JFA-BW
Page 85, top: © JFA-KS
Page 85, bottom: © JFA-Mikkel Klougart

Rambla del Mar
Page 88: © JFA-RL
Page 90, top: © JFA-HJ
Page 90, bottom: © JFA-RL

The Marco Polo Terraces
Pages 92 & 94: © JFA- HJ

Berlin Denkmal
Pages 96-97: © JFA-KS

Pages 99 & 101, bottom: © JFA-MK
Page 101, top: © JFA-RL

Berlin Mauer
Pages 104 & 106: © JFA-KS

Nowy Plac Zgody
Pages 108 & 110: © Biuro Projektow Lewicki Łatak.
Photo: Paweł Kubisztal

Smithfield
Pages 112-113 & 115: © JFA-MK
Page 117, top: © JFA-KS
Page 117, bottom: © Andy Sheridan

Grand Canal Plaza
Pages 120 & 122, top: © JFA-MK
Page 122, bottom: © JFA-KS

Stapelbäddsparken
Pages 124 & 126, top: © JFA- Simon Klanborn
Page 126, bottom: © JFA-HJ

All plan diagrams: © JFA

Cities in development, Strategic tools, The think-tank thinks & Epilogue
Pages 130-148: JUUL | FROST Architects/ Beth Wiberg, Kristine Samson, Rikke Lequick Larsen

SOURCES

Hajer, Maarten (2002): "The New Urban Landscapes", www.opendemocracy.net.
Hajer, Maarten & Reijndorp, Arnold (2002): "In Search Of New Public Domain", Rotterdam: NAi Publishers.
Juul, Helle and Marling, Gitte (2007): "The Danish provincial towns have acquired new and beautiful urban spaces – but are they sufficiently dynamic?" www.byensrum.dk.
Ploger, John (2008a): "Byrum og byudvikling - nogle perspektiver", www.byensrum. dk.
Ploger, John (2008b): "Flydende planlægning", www.byensrum.dk.

THOUGHTS

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

Kevin Lynch
Lynch, Kevin (1960): *The Image of the City*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Georg Simmel
Simmel, Georg (1998): *Hvordan er samfundet muligt?*, Copenhagen: Moderne tankere.
Simmel, Georg (1971), "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), in: *On Individuality and Social Forms – Selected Writings*, edited by Donald N. Levine, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
Simmel, Georg (1903/1978), Aarhus: Arkitektskolen i Aarhus.

Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari
Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari, Félix (1980): *A Thousand Plateaus – Capitalism & Schizophrenia*, London: Continuum.
Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari, Félix: *Hvad er Filosofi?*, Copenhagen: Samlerens Bogklub.

Henri Lefebvre
Lefebvre, Henri (1991): *The Critique of Everyday Life, Volume 1 - Introduction*, translated by John Moore, London: Verso. Originally published in 1947 as *Critique de la vie quotidienne I: Introduction.*
Lefebvre, Henri (1991): *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Originally published in 1974 as *La production de l'espace.*
Lefebvre, Henri (1996): *Writings on Cities*, selected, translated and introduced by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Pierre Bourdieu
Bourdieu, Pierre (1984): *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Originally published in 1979 as *La Distinction.*
Bourdieu, Pierre (1997): *Af praktiske grunde*, Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Richard Sennett
Bauman, Zygmunt (1998): *Globalization – The Human Consequences*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.
Gronlund, Bo (1997): "The Civitas of seeing and the Design of Cities - on the urbanism of Richard Sennett", http://bo.gronlund.homepage.dk/
Sennett, Richard (2008): "Et Samfund hvor man ser hinanden", in: *Byens Rum 1*, edited by Juul et al, Copenhagen: JUULFROST Arkitekter /byens rum som udviklingsstrategi.
Sennett, Richard (1977, 1992): T*he Fall of Public Man*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co.
Sennett, Richard (1970): *The Uses of Disorder – Personal Identity and City Life*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc./London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Noël Burch
Burch, Noel (1973): *Theory of Film Practice*, translated by Helene R. Lane, New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers. Originally published in 1969 as *Praxis du cinema.*

Umberto Eco
Eco, Umberto (1962): "The Poetics of the Open Work", in: *The Open Work*, translated by Anna Cancogni, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (first published in 1989).

Zygmunt Bauman
Bauman, Zygmunt (1999b): "Urban Space Wars: On Destructive Order and Creative Chaos", in: *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1999: 173-185.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2000a): *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2000b): "Urban Battlefields of Time/Space Wars", in: *Politologiske Studier*, 7:4-11.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2000c): "From Our Critics: The Deficiencies of Community", in: *The Responsive Community*, 10 (3):74-79.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2001): "Uses and Disuses of Urban Space", in: Barbara Czarniawska & Rolf Solli (editors): *Organizing Metropolitan Space and Discourse*, Malmö: Liber.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2002a): *Fallesskab – en sogen efter tryghed i en usikker verden*, Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
Bauman, Zygmunt (2002b): "City of Fears, City of Hopes", in: Henning Thomsen (editor): *Future Cities: The Copenhagen Lectures*, Copenhagen: Fonden Realdania.
Jacobsen, Michael Hviid & Nilesh Chatterjee (2001): "The Fall of Public Place: Sociological Reflections and Observations on a Supermodern American Ghost City", in *Sociologisk Arbejdspapir*, 3 (9):1-112. Sociologisk Laboratorium, Aalborg Universitet.

Urban theoretical thought-fusion
Richard Sennett (2007): "The Open City", in: *The Endless City – The Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*, edited by Burdett, Ricky & Sudic, Deyan, London: Phaidon Press Limited
Claus Ronneberger (2008): "Fra regulering til modificering", in: *Byens Rum 1*, edited by Juul et al, Copenhagen: JUULFROST Arkitekter /byens rum som udviklingsstrategi

CASE STUDIES

Introduction to the case studies:
Florida, Richard (2002): *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York: Basic Books.

Amsterdam: Amsterdam Bijlmer ArenA
Interview: Machiel Spaan, m3h, www.m3h.nl.
Interview: Gerard Kwakkenbos, Stadsdeel Zuidoost, www.zuidoost.amsterdam.nl.
Interview: David Keuning, Mark Magazine, www.mark-magazine.com.
Interview: Joost de Natris, Karres en Brands, www.karresenbrands.nl.
Amsterdam Development Corporation (2004): "ArenA Boulevard: dynamic 2nd city centre for Amsterdam".
Bakker, Reinoud: "Towards an attractive and sustainable metropolis in the Dutch delta".
Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening (2007): "ArenAPoort: a New Urban Hub in Amsterdam- Southeast", in: #6 2007 ArenA Poort.
Frieling, D.H. (2004): *Bijlmermeer / Compressed Urbanism*, Delft School for Design, April 23, 2004.
Holek, Annette & Mortensen, Marie Bak (2008): "Arkitektur i udsatte boligomrader – et effektivt redskab i ghettobekampelsen", in: *Arkitekten* no. 2 2008.
Infocentre Amsterdam Southeast: "The Development of Amsterdam Southeast".
JERDE (2005): "The new vision for Amsterdamse Poort".
Nielsen; Regnar M. (2005): "Forvandlingen af Bijlmermeer", in: *Boligen* no. 3 – 2005.
Reijndorp, Arnold (1997): "Between City and State", www.pro.archis.org www.arena-boulevard.nl.

Koog aan de Zaan: A8ernA
European Archive of Urban Public Space: "A8ernA", www.urban.cccb.org.

Barcelona: Jardins de la Torre de les Aigües
Interview: Monica Madrigal, Metropolitan Strategic Plan of Barcelona, www.bcn2000.es.
Interview: Teresa Perez, Centre de Cultura

Contemporania de Barcelona, www.cccb.org.

Gay, Antonio Lopez & Valverde, Joaquin Recano (2007): "Who is moving in Barcelona's central city?".

Hallemar, Dan (2007): "Parkliv i kvarteret", *Arkitekten*, August 2007. www.arkitekt.se/s30970.

Monclús, Francisco-Javier (2003): "The Barcelona model: an original formula? From 'reconstruction' to strategic urban projects (1979–2004)", in: *Planning Perspectives*, no. 18 (October 2003), pp. 399–421.

Muñoz, Francesc: "Barcelona".

Santacana Martorell, Francesc (2008): "Proposta Model Metropolita 2020".

Vernis, Antoni Falcón: "Opening up a city's green spaces: The Adventure", in: *BMM* no. 53, www.bcn.es.
www.geographyfieldwork.com.
www.proeixample.cat.

Barcelona: Rambla del Mar
Interview: Monica Madrigal, Metropolitan Strategic Plan of Barcelona, www.bcn2000.es.

Interview: Teresa Perez, Centre de Cultura Contemporania de Barcelona, www.cccb.org.

Clos, Oriol (2004): "The Transformation of Poblenou: The New 22@ District", in: Marshall, Tim: *Transforming Barcelona*, chapter 11, London: Routledge.

Gay, Antonio López & Valverde, Joaquin Recaño (2007): "Who is moving in Barcelona's central city?"

Monclús, Francisco-Javier (2003): "The Barcelona model: an original formula? From 'reconstruction' to strategic urban projects (1979–2004)", in: *Planning Perspectives*, no. 18 (October 2003), pp. 399–421.

Munoz, Francesc: "Barcelona".

PlanPhilly: "Case study – Barcelona". www.portvellbcn.com.

Hamburg: The Marco Polo Terraces
Hawley, Charles (2007): "Hamburg Builds Its Better Half", in: *Spiegel Online*, January 3, 2007.

Jaeger, Falk (2006): "Waterfront Living and Working: Hamburg's HafenCity", Goethe-Institut, http://www.goethe.de/kue/arc/dos/dos/sls/en3356905.htm.

KCAP: Hamburg Masterplan: HafenCity2008.

www.mirallestagliabue.com.

Berlin: Denkmal
Hoyrup, Thomas (2002): *Dannelsens Dialektik*, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

von Borries, Friedrich & Boettger, Matthias (2008): "Berlin", www.mypublicspace.eu www.eisenmanarchitects.com, www.holocaust-mahnmal.de.

Berlin: Berliner Mauer
Christensen, Søren (2007): "Interkulturel dialog", paper presented on June 18, 2007.

Høyrup, Thomas (2002): *Dannelsens Dialektik*, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
www.berlin.de.

Gazan, Sissel-Jo (2009): "Min by Berlin", Momondo.

Krakow: Nowy Plac Zgody
European Archive of Urban Public Space: "Nowy Plac Zgody", www.urban.cccb.org. www.lewicki-latak.com.pl.

Dublin: Smithfield
Interview: Chris Kelly, Redquartz Development, www.redquartz.com.

Interview: Margaret Coyle, Dublin Kommune, www.dublincity.ie.

Interview: Dr. Niamh Moore, University College Dublin, www.ucd.ie.

Interview: Dr. Paula Russell, University College Dublin, www.ucd.ie.

Interview: Siobhan Ni Éanaigh, McGarry Ni Éanaigh Architects. www.mcgnie.ie.

Callanan, Neil (2002): "Smithfield set for massive development", in: *The Post*, May 19, 2002.

Carswell, Simon (2007): "Redesigning Dublin", in: *The Sunday Business Post*, January 7, 2007.

Dublin City (2007): "Maximizing the City's Potentials".

Dublin City: "The Development Strategy", in: *The Development Plan*, chapter 1.

European Archive of Urban Public Space: "Smithfield", www.urban.cccb.org.
www.anthonyreddy.com.
www.dublindocklands.ie.
www.planum.net.
www.reflectingcity.com.

Malmö: Stapelbäddsparken
Interview: Mats Olsson.

Riisom, Per (2007): "Miraklet Malmo – et

malrettet politisk lederskab", in: *Planering i Malmö*, no. 2 2007.

Dublin: Grand Canal Plaza
Interview: Margaret Coyle, Municipality of Dublin, www.dublincity.ie.

Interview: Dr. Niamh Moore, University College Dublin, www.ucd.ie.

Dublin City (2007): "Maximizing the City's Potentials".

Dublin City: "The Development Strategy", in: *The Development Plan*, chapter 1.

Dublin City Development Board: "Strategic Review - Priority Actions 2006-2008".

Dublin Docklands Development Authority (2003): "Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 2003".

Moore, Niamh (2004): "Globalising Dublin: Indicators of an urban society in transition", in: *Dela* 21, 2004.

Moore, Niamh (2004b): "Transforming social and spatial structures in Celtic Tiger Ireland: Dublin in the 1990s", in: *Hommes et Terres du Nord* 2004-05/1.

Strategic Tools
Kulturarvsstyrelsen & Realdania (2005): "Kulturarv - en vardifuld ressource for kommunernes udvikling", www.kulturarv.dk.

Yates, Frances A. (1966): "The Three Latin Sources for the Classical Art of Memory" in: *The Art of Memory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Paludan-Muller, Carsten (2009): "Cultural Heritage and Intercultural Dialogue", www.byensrum.dk.

Porter, Michael E. (1996): "What is Strategy?", in: *Harvard Business Review*, November-December 1996.

van Iersel, Michiel (2007): "People can't live in museums", August 3, 2007.

Lerner, Jaime (2003): *Acupuntura urbana*, Editora Record.

Photographer: Camilla Hey

HELLE JUUL Architect MAA, Ph.D.
CEO JUULFROST ARCHITECTS COPENHAGEN

Born 1954. Since 1990 principal architect and co-founder of JUUL | FROST architects, urban planners and landscape architects located at REFSHALEØEN on the Copenhagen harbour side. Head of department for Research and communication; project manager for Urban space as a strategic tool for the future.

Education:
Graduated as Architect MAA from School of Architecture in Aarhus in 1981, where she studied architecture and urban development. Obtained her Ph.D. degree in 1994 with her dissertation "Architectonic Displacements. A Polyaesthetic Perspective on Art´s Interpretation of Time and Space"

Member:
Appointed as a member of The European Cultural Parliament, ECP, a forum for European personalities in the fields of arts, culture and letters for dialogue, discussions and debate about crucial and burning issues of importance for European co-operation, European democracy and European culture, fall 2006. Helle Juul has been Head of Exhibition at The Danish Architectural Center (1998-2000), Associate Professor at the Royal Academy of Arts and Architecture for several years, visiting professor at Pratt University (New York), Lund University, Konstakademien (Stockholm) and guest professor at RMIT (Melbourne). Appointed member of the jury of Vizar 2003 - 2007 in Sofia, Bulgaria.

Throughout the years Helle Juul has given a wide range of international lectures and has participated in several international seminar activities. She has been appointed as a jury member for several international and national architectural competitions.
Head of Europan 2010 Denmark, Jury member of Kaspar Zahlin prisen in Sweden 2011, member of the Finnish europan 2011, diploma-jury in architecture at KTH – Royal Technical Highschool (Stockholm), at Lund University and at School of Architecture in Aarhus. She has received series of grants and prizes and is a member of the Danish Society of artists. Recently she has joined VL group 107.